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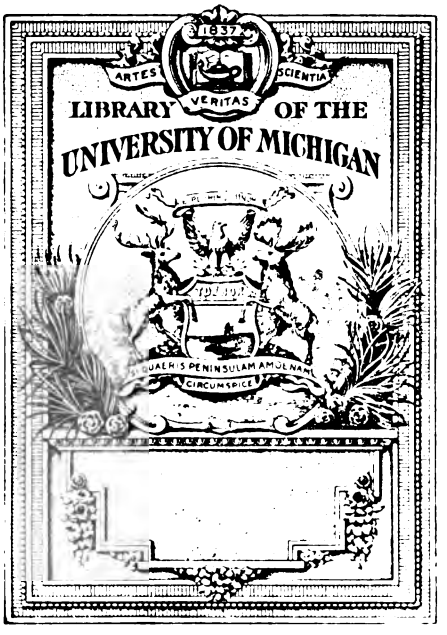
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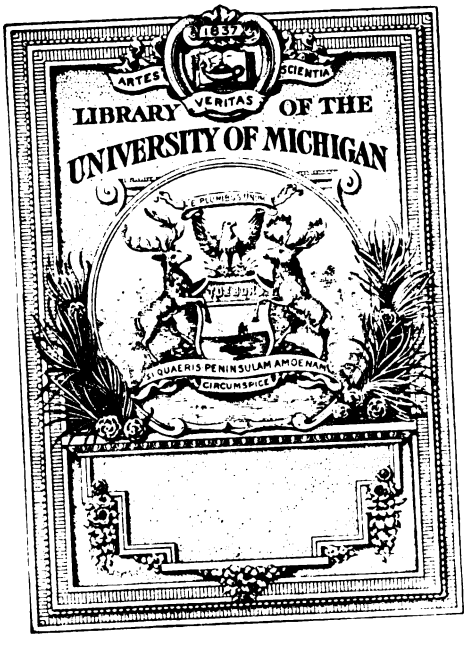
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THE

INFINITIVE IN ANGLO-SAXON

BY

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PREFACE.

An attempt is here made to give a detailed history of the Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon and to treat some substitutes therefor. The study is based upon a statistical reading of the whole of Anglo-Saxon literature with the exception of the glosses and of a few out-of-prints. For a specific statement, see the bibliography. Moreover, in all the more definitely known translations, the Latin originals, duly noted in the bibliography, have been read statistically. I have endeavored to make my statistics complete,[1] but, in such a mass of details, occasional omissions are inevitable. I trust, however, that they will not prove so numerous or so serious as to invalidate this history of the Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon. A chapter is added on "the Infinitive in the Other Germanic Languages," which of necessity rests upon the investigations of others, but which will, I hope, be found something more than a summary.

Perhaps a word concerning its general plan may facilitate the reading of my study. After a brief discussion concerning the nature and the classification of the infinitive, I have striven to give, first, the facts concerning its several uses in Anglo-Saxon; and, secondly, an interpretation of these facts. Accordingly, in the appendix, all occurrences of each use are recorded in alphabetic sequence; and, in the chapters dealing with the respective uses, copious illustrations are given in smaller syntactic groups, in which latter, again, the words are arranged alphabetically. Differences of opinion as to the classification of individual examples are inevitable, but I have tried in each use to distinguish the normal from the abnormal, and, without ignoring the latter, to base my classification and my discussion mainly upon the former. Readers and critics will be the more generous in their judgment of my classifications when they consider the large number of examples to be classified and the inherent difficulty of the task, — a difficulty aggravated by the fact that, in both the English and the Germanic fields, minute classification is not attempted in several of the special investigations made of the infinitive.

The comment is, for the most part, given in the sections headed "Differentiation of the Two Infinitives" and in the chapter on "the Origin of the Constructions of the Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon." In this latter chapter, too, are summarized the Latin correspondents of the infinitives in the closer Anglo-Saxon translations. Both in the historical and in the interpretative sections I have given, so far as I have been able to discover it, the history of opinion concerning the construction in question. As the table of contents shows, I have made the use rather than the form of the infinitive the determining factor in my chapter-division; but, while this is true, I have everywhere sharply separated the inflected infinitive from the uninflected. In a word, I have endeavored to preserve the due balance between form and function so much

[1] Except of the Predicative Infinitive with Auxiliary Verbs, the full tabulation of which seemed unnecessary.

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insisted upon by Professor E. P. Morris in his instructive work, *On Some Principles of Latin Syntax;* whether or not I have succeeded, must be left to others for determination. It is believed that the devices already named and the full table of contents render an index unnecessary.

In the chapter on "the Infinitive in the Other Germanic Languages," the same general plan is followed as far as is possible. As already stated, this chapter is based mainly upon the studies of others. What makes me hope that, despite this, the chapter may prove of interest to Germanic grammarians, is the fact that, with slight modifications for some of the individual languages, the theories that I have advanced for the infinitive in Anglo-Saxon seem to apply also to the infinitive in the other Germanic languages. It is hardly probable that, where so many different lines apparently converge, they should not more or less converge in reality.

This is the first attempt to treat the syntax of the Infinitive in the whole of Anglo-Saxon literature, prose and poetical. Portions of the field, however, have been treated hitherto. The accusative-with-infinitive construction has been discussed by Dr. Carl Krickau, in his Goettingen dissertation, *Der Accusativ mit dem Infinitiv in der Englischen Sprache, Besonders in dem Zeitalter der Elisabeth*, 1877; by Professor J. H. Gorrell, in his Johns Hopkins dissertation, *Indirect Discourse in Anglo-Saxon*, 1895; and by Dr. Jacob Zeitlin, in his Columbia dissertation, *The Accusative with Infinitive and Some Kindred Constructions in English*, 1908. But, as the titles of the first and the third of these monographs indicate, neither is restricted to the Anglo-Saxon period; and, as shown in their bibliographies, no one of the three attempts to cover the whole of Anglo-Saxon literature. The final use of the infinitive is briefly treated by Professor H. G. Shearin, in his Yale dissertation, *The Expression of Purpose in Old English Prose*, 1903, and in his pendant thereto, *The Expression of Purpose in Old English Poetry*, 1909. Less restricted in one way and more restricted in another is the scope of Dr. Karl Koehler's *Der Syntaktische Gebrauch des Infinitivs und Particips im Beowulf*, Muenster, 1886; Dr. T. J. Farrar's *The Gerund in Old English*, a Washington and Lee dissertation of 1902; Dr. Georg Riggert's *Der Syntaktische Gebrauch des Infinitivs in der Altenglischen Poesie*, a Kiel dissertation of 1909; and Dr. H. Willert's "Vom Infinitiv mit *To*," in *Englische Studien*, XLIII, 1910, pp. 100–104. Several uses of the infinitive in Anglo-Saxon are touched on in the dissertations dealing with the syntax of the verb in a single monument, the full titles of which are given in my bibliography. Moreover, most of the uses of the infinitive are briefly discussed in these standard grammars of Anglo-Saxon: *A Comparative Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Language*, by F. A. March, New York, 1873; *Angelsaechsische Grammatik*, by Theodor Mueller, Goettingen, 1883; *Die Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Grossen*, by Dr. J. E. Wuelfing, Bonn, 1894–1901; and in these standard grammars of the English language as a whole: *Historische Grammatik der Englischen Sprache*, by C. F. Koch, 2d ed., Cassel, 1878–1891; *Englische Grammatik*, by Eduard Maetzner, 3d ed., Berlin, 1880–1885; *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*, by Dr. Leon Kellner, London, 1892; *A New English Grammar*,

by the late Dr. Henry Sweet, Oxford, 1892–1898; and the "Syntax" by Professor Eugen Einenkel, in Kluge's *Geschichte der Englischen Sprache*, 2d ed., Strassburg, 1899. Naturally, too, I have examined the special treatises dealing with the infinitive in Middle English and in Modern English, all chronicled in my bibliography.

Of the special treatises dealing with the infinitive in the Germanic languages other than Anglo-Saxon, the most important for Gothic are Dr. Arthur Koehler's "Der Syntaktische Gebrauch des Infinitivs im Gothischen," in *Germania*, XII, 1867, pp. 421–462; and Dr. Otto Apelt's "Ueber den Accusativus cum Infinitivo im Gothischen," in *Germania*, XIX, 1874, pp. 280–297. For the Scandinavian languages the only special study known to me is Dr. C. Grimberg's "Undersökningar om Konstruktionen Accusativ med Infinitiv i den Aeldre Fornsvenskan," in the *Arkiv for Nordisk Filologi*," XXI, 1905, pp. 205–235, 311–357. For Old Saxon the chief articles are Dr. R. Steig's "Ueber den Gebrauch des Infinitivs im Altniederdeutschen," in the *Zeitschrift fuer Deutsche Philologie*, XVI, 1884, pp. 307–345, 470–501, and Dr. H. Pratje's "Syntax des Heliand, I. Das Verbum," in the *Jahrbuch des Vereins fuer Niederdeutsche Sprachforschung* for 1885, XI, 1886, pp. 1–84. For High German the most important treatises are Dr. Otto Apelt's "Bemerkungen ueber den Accusativus cum Infinitivo im Althochdeutschen und Mittelhochdeutschen," in the Weimar *Jahresbericht* of 1875; Dr. Arthur Denecke's *Der Gebrauch des Infinitivs bei den Althochdeutschen Uebersetzern des Achten und Neunten Jahrhunderts*, a Leipzig dissertation of 1880; Dr. E. Herford's "Ueber den Accusativ mit dem Infinitiv im Deutschen," in the Thorn *Program* of 1881; and Dr. S. Von Monsterberg-Muenckenau's *Der Infinitiv in den Epen Hartmanns von Aue*, Breslau, 1885. Other special articles and the standard grammars for the several Germanic languages are noted in Chapters XIV and XVI.

From all these works, both general and special, I have striven to glean whatever is pertinent to my theme, in each instance to give credit therefor, and, whenever possible for me, to add a sheaf to the garnerings of my predecessors.

This monograph could not have been written but for the kindness of the library authorities at several of our older and larger universities, who have generously lent me rare books. For this kindness I wish to express my sincere thanks to the librarians of the following universities: Chicago, Columbia, Cornell, Harvard, and Johns Hopkins. To the authorities of our own library at the University of Texas, I am likewise indebted for many courtesies.

Professor Hermann Collitz, of the Johns Hopkins University, has kindly read the chapter dealing with the infinitive in the Germanic languages other than Anglo-Saxon, and has made helpful comments upon the same, especially upon the bibliographical side. Professor James W. Bright has again deepened my indebtedness to him, which began some years ago when I had the good fortune to study under his personal instruction at the Johns Hopkins University. He has read most of the proof, and has offered many valuable suggestions for the improvement of my study. And my esteemed colleague, Professor Killis

Campbell, of the University of Texas, has twice read the proofs, each time with the eye of a scholar and the heart of a friend.

To the Carnegie Institution of Washington, I am no less grateful than I am indebted for the publication of this monograph. But for this kindness, the work could not have appeared in so full or in so handsome a form.

To all these helpers and friends I tender my abiding gratitude. May they not have cause to regret their participation in the launching of this study!

MORGAN CALLAWAY, JR.

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS,
Austin, Texas, February 15, 1913.

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"The infinitive was originally a *nomen actionis*, formed by means of various suffixes in the different Indo-Germanic languages. The suffix *-ono-*, to which was added the nominative-accusative neuter ending, *-m*, became generalized in primitive Germanic; thus the original form of *beran* was **bhéronom*, the *-onom* of which regularly became *-an* in Old English, Gothic, Old Saxon, and Old High German. On the loss of the final *-n* in Northumbrian, see § 288. In primitive West Germanic the infinitive was inflected in the genitive and dative like an ordinary noun of the *ja*-declension (§ 355), genitive *-ennes*, dative *-enne*. The inflected forms of the infinitive are sometimes called the gerund. The genitive disappeared in prehistoric Old English. The dative *to berenne* generally became *-anne* through the influence of the infinitive ending *-an*. Beside *-enne*, *-anne* there also occur in late Old English *-ene*, *-ane*, and *-ende* with *d* from the present participle."

As to form, then, the Anglo-Saxon had two infinitives: (1) the uninflected, or simple, infinitive in *-an* (occasionally written *-on*, *-un*, *-en*, and in Northumbrian *-a*, with loss of *n* [1]), which in origin is the petrified nominative-accusative case of a neuter verbal noun; and (2) the inflected, or gerundial, or prepositional, infinitive, made up of the preposition *to* plus the dative case of a verbal noun ending in *-anne* (*-enne*, occasionally *-onne;* and, with simplification of the double consonant, *-ane*, *-ene* [2]), though occasionally the *to* is followed by an infinitive in *-an* [3] and occasionally by an infinitive in *-ende* [3] (by confusion with the form of the present participle), both of which forms are counted as inflected in this study. Very rarely, too, we have the *-anne* infinitive not preceded by *to;* [4] and twice preceded by *for to*.[5]

The origin of the infinitive as above given is suggested in the now generally accepted definition of the infinitive as a verbal noun, provided we remember that, as Professor Delbrück [6] tells us, the dual nature of the infinitive has been won, not inherited from the outset. This dual nature of the infinitive is manifested in the fact that in Anglo-Saxon the infinitive, both uninflected and inflected, of almost any transitive verb may at one and the same time perform the office both of a noun and of a verb. But, in most instances, one of these two natures (or tendencies), the substantival and the verbal, predominates in Anglo-Saxon, and, from this point of view, we may roughly divide all infinitives into two comprehensive classes: (1) substantival, when the substantive idea is dominant, as when the infinitive is used as the subject or the object of a verb; and (2) verbal (or predicative), when the verbal, or assertive, idea is dominant, as when an infinitive completes the sense of an auxiliary verb. But, as already stated, these two classes are not mutually exclusive, since, even when used as subject or object, the infinitive may likewise govern an object, and to this extent be verbal. But it will generally be allowed, I think, that, in *He will sing the song*, *sing* is more verbal than *to sing* in *He wishes to sing the song*. Nor does the fact that the more verbal uses of the infinitive were derived originally from the substantival invalidate the helpfulness of this classification.

Although, as just stated, most, if not all, infinitives may by nature be roughly classed as substantival or verbal, it is perhaps best for practical purposes to classify the infinitive, whether uninflected or inflected, according to its dominant function in the sentence. From this consideration of function, we distinguish, as before, the substantival and the verbal (or predicative) uses of the

[1] Sievers,[2] *l. c.*, § 363, anmk. 1.

[2] *Ibidem*, § 363, anmk. 2.

[3] *Ibidem*, § 363, anmk. 3.

[4] See *Ælf. L. S.*, xxxi. 980; *Laws* 442 (2); etc. For the abbreviations used here and elsewhere in this study, see the bibliography.

[5] See *Chron.* 256[b], 1127 E[w.4].

[6] Delbrück,[2] *l. c.*, I, p. 50.

infinitive, but, also, two other uses, the adverbial and the adjectival. According to its dominant function, then, an infinitive is substantival, predicative, adverbial, or adjectival.

In the substantival function, as the name indicates, the infinitive is used as a noun. With a verb the infinitive occurs often as (*a*) its subject, or (*b*) its object, or, occasionally, as (*c*) its predicate nominative, in each of which uses we have both the uninflected and the inflected infinitive. With a noun or pronoun, the infinitive occurs (*d*) as an appositive, normally in the uninflected form. (*e*) As the object of a preposition I have found no clear example of the infinitive; but concerning a possible example see Chapter III below. Typical illustrations of these substantival uses are the following: —

(*a*) As subject: — uninflected: *Greg.* 279.6: Æt ærestum *lyst* ðone monn unnytt *sprecan* be oðrum monnum = 210.15: ut prius *loqui* aliena *libeat;* — inflected: *Greg.* 237.11: sua *dereð* eac hwilum sumum monnum ðæt soð *to gehierenne* = 178.26: ita nonnunquam quibusdam *audita* vera *nocuerunt.*

(*b*) As object: — uninflected: *Greg.* 55.12: Ðonne ðæt mod *ðencеð gegripan* him to upahefenesse ða eaðmodnesse = 32.2: Cumque mens humilitatis culmen *arripere* ad elationem *cogitat; Beow.* 101: oð ðæt an *ongan* fyrene *fremman;* — inflected: *Greg.* 53.3: Be ðæm ðe *wilnað* biscephad *to underfonne* = 28.23: De his, qui *præesse concupiscunt.*

(*c*) As predicate nominative: — uninflected and inflected: *Ælf. L. S.* xxv. 310$^{a\cdot b}$: *Nis* nan earfoðnyss ðæm . . . gode on feawum mannum oððe on micclum werode *to helpenne* on gefeohte and *healdan* (*sic!*) ða ðe he wile.

(*d*) As an appositive: — uninflected: *Bede* 78.22$^{a\cdot b\cdot c\cdot d\cdot e}$: forðon *hyngran, ðyrstan, hatian, calan, wærigian,* — al ðæt is of untrymnesse ðæs gecyndes = 55.32$^{a\cdot b\cdot e}$, 33$^{a\cdot b}$: *Esurire* namque, *sitire, aestuare, algere, lassescere* ex infirmitate naturae *est:* — inflected: *Solil.* 16.16, 17: forðam me ys *egðer* ðara alyfad, ge ðæt good *to lufianne* ge ðæt yfel *to hatianne* = *Licet* enim mihi in quovis *amare* rationem, cum illum jure oderim qui male utitur eo quod amo.

(*e*) As the object of a preposition: see below, Chapter III.

In the predicative (or verbal) function, the infinitive approaches nearest to a finite verb, and is used to complete the assertion of a verb of incomplete assertion, specifically: (*a*) the auxiliary verbs, after which we have habitually the uninflected infinitive; (*b*) verbs of motion (and occasionally of rest) other than in the (*w*)*uton* locution, likewise followed by the uninflected infinitive; (*c*) (*w*)*uton*, also with the simple infinitive; and (*d*) the verb *beon* (*wesan*), which is habitually followed by the inflected infinitive of obligation or of necessity. Under the predicative function, also, I should put the use of the infinitive (*e*) as a quasi-predicate to an accusative subject, or the so-called accusative-with-infinitive construction, in which we have habitually the simple infinitive. Some hold that we have (*f*) a predicative infinitive with a dative subject, but to me the infinitive in such locutions seems more substantival than predicative, — a topic that is discussed somewhat at length in Chapter IX. The following are typical examples of these predicative uses: —

(*a*) With auxiliary verbs: — uninflected: *Beow.* 51: Men ne *cunnon secgan* . . . hwa etc.; *Beow.* 191: ne *mihte* snotor hæleð wean *onwendan;* etc.; — inflected: *Rid.* 37.13: Ðu wast gif ðu *const to gesecganne,* ðæt we soð witan hu ðære wihte wise gonge.

(*b*) With verbs of motion other than *(w)uton:* — uninflected: *Beow.* 234: *Gewat* him ðа to waroðe wicge *ridan* ðegn Hroðgares; *Mart.* 26.10: culfre *com fleogan* of heofonum ond gesæt ofer his heafde.

(*c*) With *(w)uton:* — uninflected: *Greg.* 415.6: *Wuton cuman* ær his dome andettende = 336.4: *Præveniamus* faciem Domini in confessione.

(*d*) With *beon (wesan)*: — uninflected: *Ælf. L. S.* 336.223: ðas feower ana *syndon* to underfonne on geleaffulre gelaðunge and *forlætan (sic!)* ða oðre ðe lease gesetnysse gesetton; — inflected: *Greg.* 315.23: Ac us is suiðe geornlice *to gehieranne* hwæt Dryhten . . . cuæð to Iudeum = 244.1: Solerter namque *audiendum est,* quod etc.; *Greg.* 13.20: Ðætte on oðre wisan *sint to manianne* weras, on oðre wiif = 130.6: Aliter namque *admonendi sunt* viri, atque aliter feminæ.

(*e*) With an accusative subject: — uninflected: *Bede* 34.25: Ða *het* he . . . his ðegnas hine *secan 7 acsian* = 18.25: *iussit milites* eum . . . *inquirere; Greg.* 139.13: ne eft hi ne scoldon hira *loccas lætan weaxan* = 100.9: neque comam *nutrient; Bede* 156.21: Ða *gehyrde* he *sumne* ðara broðra *sprecan,* ðæt etc. = 130.19: *audiret unum . . . disposuisse; Wærf.* 203.25: hwæt *cweðe* wit *ðis beon?* = 248 D: Quidnam, quæso te, *hoc esse dicimus?* — inflected: for possible examples see Chapter VIII.

(*f*) With a dative subject: see Chapter IX.

In the adverbial use, the infinitive modifies a verb or an adjective (occasionally an adverb) as does an ordinary adverb. Of the adverbial uses of the infinitive, the most common is (*a*) to denote purpose, with verbs, in which the infinitive is sometimes uninflected (especially after verbs of motion, of rest, and of giving), but is usually inflected except in the poetry. Frequent, too, is the use of the infinitive (*b*) to denote specification, or respect wherein, with adjectives (occasionally with adverbs), in which the infinitive is habitually inflected. Less frequent and less clear uses of the adverbial infinitive, discussed in the chapter entitled "Other Adverbial Uses of the Infinitive," are to denote (*c*) cause, in which the infinitive is more commonly inflected; (*d*) specification with verbs, in which the infinitive is always inflected; (*e*) result, with adjectives and with verbs, in which the infinitive is always inflected; and (*f*) the absolute relation, in which the infinitive is habitually inflected. Of these adverbial uses, the following are typical illustrations: —

(*a*) Of purpose: *Greg.* 309.14: *eodon* him *plegean* = 238.10: *surrexerunt ludere; Gen.* 526: me her *stondan* het his bebodu *healdan* 7 me ðas bryd forgeaf (?); *Greg.* 329.3[b]: Me ðyrste, & ge me ne *sealdon drincan* = 254.4: sitivi, et non *dedistis* mihi *bibere;* — inflected: *Mk.* 4.3: Ut *eode* se sædere his sæd *to sawenne* = Ecce *exiit* seminans *ad seminandum; Ælf. Hom.* I. 542[m]: he him behet . . . ðæt hi . . . ofer twelf domsetl *sittende beoð to demenne* eallum mannum; *Greg.* 319.1: ða mettas ðe God self *gesceop to etanne* geleaffullum monnum = 246.1: a cibis, quos Deus creavit *ad percipiendum* . . . fidelibus. That some consider the infinitive in *sealdon drincan* objective rather than final is discussed in the chapter on "the Final Infinitive."

(*b*) Of specification with adjectives: — uninflected: *Ælf. Hom.* I. 534[bs]: ic eom *gearo* to gecyrrenne to munuclicre drohtnunge, and woruldlice ðeawas ealle *forlætan (sic!);* — inflected: *Greg.* 281.5: Sie æghwelc mon suiðe *hræd* & suiðe *geornful to gehieranne* = 212.9: Sit omnis homo *velox ad audiendum.*

(*c*) Of cause: — uninflected: *Bede* 484.15: mynstres, on ðam ic *gefeo ðiowian* ðære uplican arfæstnesse = 359.13: in quo supernae pietati *deseruire gaudeo;* — inflected: *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II.* 18.189: ic nu *forsceamige to secganne* mine ungeleaffulnesse.

(*d*) Of specification with verbs: — inflected: *Wærf.* 180.26: ðæt he *gelæred wæs* wyrta *to begangenne* = 217 C[1]: Quod vir gentilis valde libenter accepit, cum *in nutriendis* oleribus quia *peritus esset* audivit.

(*e*) Of result: — inflected: *Bede* 174.22: wundro . . . , ða ðe nu to *long to secgenne* syndon = 143.30: sed haec nos ad alia tendentes, suis *narrare permittimus; Bede* 468.7[a, b]: he hine 7 his ðeode *gelædde to mærsianne* 7 *to weorðianne* ða . . . tide = 332.19: se suosque omnes *ad* . . . tempus *celebrandum perduxit.*

(*f*) Of absolute relationship: — uninflected: see Chapter XII, section vi; — inflected: *Wulf.* 115.3: ðider sculan ðeofas . . . and, hrædest *to secganne,* ealle ða manfullan.

In the adjectival use, the infinitive, habitually inflected, modifies a noun or pronoun. A few examples will suffice for illustration: — uninflected: *L.* 12.5: adræda ðone ðe *anweald* hæfð, seððan he ofslyhð, on helle *asendan* = timete eum qui, postquam occiderit, habet *potestatem mittere* in gehennam; — inflected: *Greg.* 307.9: us salde *bisne* urne willan *to brecanne* = 234.27: ut *exemplum* nobis *frangendæ* nostræ voluntatis præbeat; *Greg.* 127. 1, 2: Gif ðær ðonne sie *gierd* mid *to ðreageanne,* sie ðær eac *staef* mid *to wreðianne* = 88.14, 15: Si ergo est districtio *virgæ,* quæ *feriat,* sit et consolatio *baculi,* quæ *sustentet; Bede* 100.2: ðisses geleafa 7 *wyrcnis* seo lefed God (*sic* for *Gode?*) onfenge 7 allum *to fylgenne* = 82.2: huius fides et *operatio* Deo deuota atque omnibus *sequenda* credatur.

This classification does not differ greatly from that current in most of the treatises on Anglo-Saxon syntax. The chief variations, adopted here primarily for the sake of simplicity, are (1) the limitation of the term *adverbial* to those uses in which the infinitive is an adverbial modifier of verb, adjective, or adverb, — which excludes the objective use, though the latter is included in the wider sense given to *adverbial* in many Germanic treatises; (2) the extension of the term *predicative* so as to cover, not simply, as with Professor Delbrück,[1] the infinitive complementary to the verb *to be,* but also the infinitive complementary to the auxiliaries and to certain other verbs (of motion and of rest), as well as the infinitive quasi-predicative to a subject accusative, the aim being to put under the one head all the uses in which the verbal (or assertive) power of the infinitive is strongest. As a separate chapter is given to each of these subdivisions of the predicative infinitive, the discussion will be equally clear to those who may prefer not to adopt the classification suggested. Nor, I believe, will the fact that the predicative use of the infinitive is, in some instances, of substantival (objective) origin, as when complementary to the auxiliary verbs, and, in others, of adverbial (final) origin, as when complementary to *beon* (*wesan*) and to (*w*)*uton*, invalidate the usefulness of the proposed classification.

Finally, it should be added that, while for the sake of clearness my discussion is arranged according to the function of the infinitive, under each use account is taken as to whether the infinitive is uninflected or inflected, and the ground of differentiation and of subsequent confusion of the two forms is sought.

[1] Delbrück, *l. c.*, II, p. 460.

Of the imperative use of the infinitive I have found no clear example in Anglo-Saxon. The alleged examples of this idiom cited by Dr. K. Köhler [1] and by Dr. Jacob Zeitlin,[2] I, in common with most students of Anglo-Saxon, interpret otherwise. Nor have I found any clear example of the so-called historical infinitive in Anglo-Saxon. Messrs. Roethe and Schroeder, the editors of Grimm's *Deutsche Grammatik*, hold that we have a historical infinitive in the Anglo-Saxon *Exodus:* " Ags. Cædm. Exod. 158 auf *blicon, sungon,* folgt *ðunian, tredan* (sc. *ongunnon*); vgl. *galan* Exod. 577."[3] To me, however, *ðunian* and *tredan* are predicative, each, to a subject accusative; and, instead of *galan,* I read, with Grein and with Professor Blackburn, *golan.*

As the position of the infinitive in Anglo-Saxon varies considerably in the different uses, the matter is treated in the chapters dealing with the several uses.

In form each of the two infinitives so far considered (the one in *-an* and the one made up of *to* + the dative in *-ne*) is active; and in my judgment each of these infinitives is active in sense except when the inflected infinitive is used with the verb *beon* (*wesan*) to denote necessity or obligation, in which construction the Anglo-Saxon infinitive is habitually passive in sense, though occasionally it is active in sense: for further details see the chapter on " the Infinitive with *Beon* (*Wesan*)." Perhaps, too, the adjectivized inflected infinitive with nouns is passive in sense: see Chapter XIII. Some, however, hold that the uninflected infinitive in *-an* is passive in sense after certain verbs (chiefly of commanding, of causing, and of sense perception), but to me this infinitive seems regularly active in sense after this group of verbs as after all other groups, the reasons for which belief are stated in the chapter on " the Objective Infinitive." Once more: some hold that the inflected final infinitive and the inflected infinitive with adjectives are each sometimes passive in sense, — a topic discussed in Chapters X and XI. Finally, it should be added that a brief paragraph concerning the voice of the infinitive is given under the respective uses.

But we do have in Anglo-Saxon, though relatively seldom (especially in the poetry), a true passive infinitive, which is made up of the present infinitive active of the verb *beon* (occasionally of the verb *wesan* or of the verb *weorðan*) plus the past participle of a transitive verb, as in: *Beda* 372.34: geearnode *onfongen beon* = 275.21: *meruisset recipi; Læce.* 152.19: mæg seo wund *wesan gehæled; Greg.* 399.18: ðonne magon hie ðeah *weorðan gehælede* suiðe ieðelice ðurh forgiefnesse & ðurh gebedu = 318.4: et tamen venia *salvantur.* In this compound passive infinitive, the strictly infinitive part of the phrase is not inflected; the participle part is sometimes inflected and sometimes not. In each of the chapters on the several uses of the infinitive, the passive infinitive is treated after the active infinitive.

[1] *L. c.*, p. 63: *Beow.* 1860: *wesan,* ðenden ic wealde widan rices, maðmas gemæne, manig oðerne godum *gegretan* ofer ganotes bæð. — *Wesan* and *gegretan* may be considered as subjunctives, as by some; or as complements to *sculon* (*sceal*), as by others.

[2] *L. c.*, p. 154: *Met. Ps.* 74.5: Ne ahebbað ge to hea eowre hygeðancas ne ge wið gode æfre gramword *sprecan;* ib. 94.6: Cumað him fore ond cneow bigeað on ansyne ures drihtnes, ond him *wepan* fore, ðe us worhte ær = Venite, adoremus, et procidamus; et *ploremus* ante dominum, qui fecit nos. — As Dr. Zeitlin states, most other scholars consider *sprecan* and *wepan* to be subjunctives.

[3] See Grimm, *l. c.*, IV, p. 99.

CHAPTER I.

THE SUBJECTIVE INFINITIVE.

A. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

The active infinitive as the Subject of a finite verb is less common than I had anticipated, despite the fact that I include under this head sentences having *hit* as the grammatical subject and the infinitive as the logical subject. As the subject of an active verb the active infinitive occurs about 356 times; as the subject of a passive verb, about 48 times. Despite the relative infrequency of the subjective infinitive, my number is appreciably larger than that of previous investigators, chiefly because of my inclusion of the inflected infinitive in clauses introduced by a pronoun, — a matter discussed on pages 9 f. below.

1. With Active Finite Verb.

I consider first the active infinitive as the subject of active verbs. Contrary to what one is led to expect from most of the Anglo-Saxon grammars, the subjective infinitive is usually inflected: of the 356 subjective infinitives found, 252 are inflected, and 104 are uninflected. In the prose 322 examples occur, of which 226 are inflected; in the poetry 34 examples occur, of which 26 are inflected. The subjective infinitive is found in Early West Saxon, in the *Chronicle*, in the *Laws*, in Late West Saxon, and, as we have seen, in the poetry.

Usually the subjective infinitive follows its verb, as in *Gu.* 1039 (*nis* me *earfeðe to geðolianne* ðeodnes willan) and *Bede* 2.10 (hit *is god* godne *to herianne* 7 yfelne *to leanne* = no Latin), but occasionally it precedes, as in *Mat.* 20.23 (*to sittanne* on mine swiðran healfe, oððe on wynstran, nys me inc to syllanne = *sedere* autem ad dexteram meam vel sinistram non *est* meum dare). The postposition of the infinitive is largely due, no doubt, to the fact that, as already stated, the clause is often introduced by the pronoun *hit*, and that the infinitive occurs as the subject chiefly of impersonal verbs and of impersonal verb phrases. Possibly, too, the postposition of the infinitive is due in part to the fact that in the Latin originals of the Anglo-Saxon translations this order often occurs. As will be seen later, the frequent postposition of the infinitive, especially in phrases made up of the verb *to be* plus an adjective, tends to cause the use of the inflected infinitive instead of the uninflected; or, rather, this tendency results from the greater proximity of the infinitive to the adjective consequent upon the postposition.

The subjective infinitive that is active in form seems to me habitually active in sense.

I. The uninflected infinitive only is found as the subject with the following verbs, each of which occurs only a few times in this construction: —

becuman, *happen.*
beon, *be,* plus an adjective
gelystan, *please.*
geðyncan, *seem good.*
geweorðan, *happen.*

(1) Of Pleasantness:

softe, *soft, pleasant.*

The examples in full are: —

becuman, *happen:*

Chad, Anhang, 11: ðam cilde ne *becymð* næfre into heofonan rice *becuman*.

beon, *be*, plus an adjective of Pleasantness: —

softe, *soft, pleasant:*

Ælf. Hom. I. 164[1]: Him *bið* swiðe *softe*, and nan geswinc ðæt he fylle his galnysse, and druncennysse, and gytsunge begange and modignysse, and ða unstrangan berype, and *don* (*sic!*) swa hwæt swa hine lyst.

gelystan, *please:*

Læce. 69.31[a, b], 32: hwilum hie wel *gelyst utgangan* 7 him ða byrðenne fram *aweorpan* 7 georne *tilian*, ac ne magon.

geðyncan, *seem good:*

L. 1.3: me *geðuhte*, georne eallum [fram fruman gefylgdum], on endebyrdnesse *writan* ðe = *Visum est* et mihi, assecuto omnia a principio diligenter, ex ordine tibi *scribere*.

geweorðan [-u-], *happen:*

Gen. 1692: Ne meahte hie *gewurðan* weall stænenne up forð *timbran*, ac hie earmlice heapum tohlodon hleoðrum gedælde.

II. The inflected infinitive only is found as subject with the following verbs: —

aðreotan, *weary.*
behofian, *behoove.*
beon, *be*, without an adjective.

beon, *be*, in predicative combination with: —

(1) Adjectives[1] of Ease and Difficulty, and the like:

deoplic, *profound, difficult.*
earfoð(e) [-feð(e)], *difficult.*
earfoðlic, *difficult.*
earfoðre, *more difficult.*
eaðe [e-, ie-, y-], *easy.*
eaðelicor, *more easily.*
eaðelicre, *more easy.*
eað(e)re [e-, ie-], *more easy.*
efneðe, *equally easy.*
hefig, *heavy, unpleasant.*
ieðe: see **eaðe**.
ieðre: see **eað(e)re**.
lang [-o-], *long, tedious.*
langsum [-o-], *long, tedious.*
langsumlic [-o-], *long, tedious.*
leng, *longer.*
uneaðe [-ie-, -y-], *not easy, difficult.*
unieðe: see **uneaðe**.

(2) Adjectives of Goodness, Usefulness, Necessity, and the like:

betst, *best.*
fulfremedlic, *perfect.*
god, *good.*
nyttre, *more useful.*
nyttwierðe [-y-], *useful.*
sel, *excellent.*
selest [-ost], *most excellent.*

(3) Adjectives of Pleasantness and Unpleasantness, and the like:

seðryt, *troublesome*
arwierðlicost [-y-], *honorable.*
deorwierðe, *precious.*
dyslic, *foolish.*
earmlic, *distressing.*
egeslicost, *most terrible.*
gedwolsum, *misleading.*
geomorlic, *sad.*
hefi(g)tyme, *troublesome.*
lað, *loathsome.*
leofost [-ast], *most dear.*
leofre, *more dear.*
lustbærre, *more pleasant.*
pleolic, *dangerous.*
sar, *grievous.*
scandlic [-o-], *disgraceful.*
sceamu, *shame.*
sorhlic, *grievous.*

[1] Instead of an adjective we occasionally have a noun or an adverb in these groups with **beon** and with **gyncan**.

(3) Adjectives of Pleasantness, etc. — continued.

strang [-o-], *distressing.*
unacumendlic, *intolerable.*
unarsæfnedlic, *intolerable.*
waclic, *mean.*
weorc, *hardship.*
weorce, *grievous.*
wynsumere, *more pleasant.*

(4) Adjectives of Right and Wrong, Suitability and Unsuitability, the Customary and the Strange, and the like:

gecopust, *most suitable.*
gecynde, *natural.*
gelimplicor, *more suitably.*
genoh, *enough, sufficient.*
gewunelic, *customary.*
manfullic, *sinful.*
riht [-y-], *right, proper.*
rihtlic, *right, proper.*
rihtre, *more proper.*
sweotol, *clear.*
treowlicre, *safer.*
unaliefedlic [-o-, -y-], *unlawful.*
ungeliefedlic, *incredible.*
unriht [-y-], *wrong.*
wundorlic, *wonderful.*

(5) Other adjectives: **feorr**, *far;* **min**, *mine.*

dafenian, *be fitting.*
derian, *injure.*
gelustfullian, *delight.*
genihtsumian, *suffice.*
gerisan, *befit.*
helpan, *help.*
sceamian, *shame.*
ðyncan, *seem*, in predicative combination with: —

(1) Adjectives of Ease and Difficulty, and the like:

eaðre [e-, ie-], *easier.*
ieðre: see **eaðre**.
lang [-o-], *long, tedious.*
langsum [-o-], *long, tedious.*

(2) Adjectives of Goodness and the like:

selest [-ost], *most excellent.*
selle, *more excellent.*

(3) Adjectives of Pleasantness and Unpleasantness, and the like:

seðryt, *troublesome.*
dyselig, *foolish.*
hefigtime, *troublesome.*
leofra, *dearer.*
sceamu, *shame.*

(4) Adjectives of Right and Wrong, the Customary and the Strange, and the like:

sellic [-y-], *strange.*
wierse [-y-], *worse.*

The subjective infinitive occurs far more frequently with *beon* and with *ðyncan*, plus an adjective, than with the other verbs mentioned. It is possible that, in some of the examples with these two verbs, the infinitive is a modifier of the adjective rather than the subject of the verb plus the adjective, and should be put in Chapter XI. Especially doubtful are the sentences introduced by the demonstrative pronoun *ðæt* or *ðis*, as in *Boeth.* 118.7 (Ðæt *is* . . . *earfoðlic* dysegum monnum *to ongitanne* = 101.30: Mira quidem, inquam, et *concessu difficilis* inlatio) and *Bede* 366.2 (ðis an . . . *is genog to gemyngienne* = 271.10: hoc tantum . . . *commemorare satis sit*); or by *hwæt*, as in *Greg.* 401.16 (Ic eow secgge hwæt eow *arwyrðlicost is to beganne* = 320.6: ad id quod *honestum est*); or by a neuter noun, as in *Ælf. Hom.* II. 386[1] (Ðis fers *is* swiðe *deoplic* eow *to understandenne*). In such sentences, the infinitive seems to me, as a rule, to be subjective; but it is possible, of course, that the pronoun or noun is subjective instead of objective, and that the infinitive is adverbial and modifies the adjective instead of being the subject of the verb. Less doubt-

ful seems to me the infinitive in the clause introduced by a relative pronoun (*ðæt* or *ðe*), as in *Wærf.* 303.1 (eac oðre wisan hi rehton to ecan ðæs wundres be ðære ylcan byrgene, ðæt us *is* nu *lang to asecganne* = 365 B[1]: miraculi, quæ nunc *narrare longum* æstimo) and in *Solil.* 39.9 (for ðæs ðinges lufum ðe ðe *rihtre ys to lufianne* ðonne ðæt = 0). Less doubtful, too, seems to me the infinitive in clauses in which the demonstrative pronoun, *ðæt* or *ðis*, comes, not at the beginning, but at the middle, of its clause, as in *Oros.* 74.7 (Swa *ungeliefedlic is* ænigum menn ðæt *to gesecgenne*, hu etc. = 75.8: utrumque pene *incredibile* apud mortales *erat*). The different interpretation of the infinitive occurring in the several pronominal clauses above described accounts for many of the divergences in my statistics of the inflected infinitive as subject from those of Drs. Wülfing, Farrar, K. Köhler, and Riggert: with me the two former consider the infinitive in such pronominal clauses sometimes subjective and sometimes adverbial; while the two latter apparently consider it adverbial only. Besides this, however, Dr. Riggert puts under the adverbial use (with adjectives) the infinitive in sentences like the following, in which the infinitive seems to me clearly subjective: *Ps.* 83.10: *Betere is* micle *to gebidanne* anne dæg mid ðe ðonne oðera on ðeodstefnum ðusend mæla = quia *melior est* dies una in atriis tuis super millia; *Gu.* 1039: *nis* me *earfeðe to geðolianne* ðeodnes willan; *Beow.* 2445: Swa *bið geomorlic* gomelum ceorle *to gebidanne; Ps.* 117.8[a. b]: *God is* on dryhten georne *to ðenceanne*, ðonne on mannan wese mod *to treowianne* = *bonum est confidere* in Domino quam *confidere* in homine; *Ps.* 117.9[a. b]: *God ys* on dryhten georne *to hyhtanne*, ðonne on ealdormen ahwær *to treowianne* = *bonum est sperare* in Domino quam *sperare* in principibus; *Rid.* 40.22: *Long is to secganne* hu etc.; *Chr.* 597: geceosan mot . . . swa lif swa deað, swa him *leofre bið to gefremmanne; El.* 607: Ðe synt tu gearu, swa lif swa deað, swa ðe *leofre bið to geceosanne.* Indeed, Dr. Riggert[1] finds only three examples of the inflected infinitive as the subject of an active verb in all Anglo-Saxon poetry; one of these is *Beow.* 2093 (To *lang* ys *to reccenne*, hu etc.), which does not differ essentially from *Rid.* 40.22 quoted above, though in the latter, we are told, the infinitive modifies the adjective.

Typical examples are: —

aðreotan, *weary:*

Oros. 42.13: Eac me sceal *aðreotan* . . . ymb ealra Troiana gewin *to asecgenne* = 43.12: *Tædet* etiam . . . *referre* certamina.

behofian, *behoove:*

Solil. 27.12: Ælces licuman æagan *behofað* ðreora ðinga on hym silfum *to habbænne* (*sic!*) = Ergo animae tribus quibusdam rebus *opus est* ut oculos *habeat* quibus jam bene uti possit, ut aspiciat, ut videat.

beon, *be*, without an adjective: —

Mat. 20.23: *to sittanne* on mine swiðran healfe, oððe on wynstran, *nys* me inc to syllenne, ac ðam ðe hyt fram minum Fæder gegearwod ys = *sedere* autem ad dexteram meam vel sinistram non *est* meum dare vobis, sed quibus paratum est a Patre meo.

beon, *be*, in predicative combination with: —

(1) Adjectives of Ease and Difficulty, etc.:

earfoð(e) [**-feð(e)**], *difficult:*

[1] *L. c.*, p. 68.

Greg. 51.5: hit swa *earfoðe is* ænegum menn *to witanne* hwonne he geclænsod sie = 28.3: valde *difficile est*, purgatum se quemlibet posse *cognoscere*.

Oros. 212.30: *is* me nu swiðe *earfeðe* hiera mod *to ahwettanne* = 0.

Chron. 170^{b}, 1050 D: hit *is earfoð to witane* ðara biscopa ðe ðærto comon.

Laws 455, Gerefa, c. 18: Hit *is earfoðe* eall *to gesecganne*.

Bened. 67.1: ðæm unandgytfullum ðæt gastlice angyt (*sic!*) *is earfoðe to understandende* (*sic!* but MSS. TF: *-enne*) butan haligra manna trahtnunge = 126.10: infirmis intellectibus non *erit utile* illa hora hanc Scripturam *audire*.

Ælf. Hom. II. 466^{b}: Eac ðæs dæges godspel *is* swiðe *earfoðe* læwedum mannum *to understandenne* (or the infinitive may modify the adjective).

earfoðre, *more difficult:*

Greg. 453.12: hit *is* ðeah *earfoðre* ealle ætsomne *to læranne* = 384.5: longe tamen *laboriosus est* auditores innumeros . . . *admonere*. — *Ib.* 455.6: ðeah *bið* giet *earfoðre* ælcne on sundrum *to læranne* = 386.11: multo tamen *acriori labore fatigatur*, quando uni contrariis vitiis servienti *prædicare* compellitur.

eaðe [e-, ie-, y-], *easy:*

Beow. 1003: No ðæt *yðe byð to befleonne* (or the infinitive may modify the adjective).

Ps. 76.16: ne *bið* ðær *eðe* ðin spor on *to findanne* = 76.20: vestigia tua non *cognoscentur*.

Boeth. 145.5: Hwæs wundrast ðu ðær swa swiðe, swa *eðe* swa hit *is to ongitanne* = 0.

Bened. 124.12: *Eaðe is to understandenne* of hwylcum antimbre ðeos unðæslicu asprincð ðisse miclam (*sic!*) toðundennesse = 190.2: Quod quam *sit* absurdum *facile advertitur*.

Chron. 239^{m}, 1104 E^{a}: *Nis eaðe to asecgenne* ðises landes earmða.

eaðelicor, *more easily:*

Ælf. Hom. I. 236$^{t\,2,\,3}$: Nu is geðuht ðæt him *sy* sumera ðinga *eaðelicor to arærenne* ðone deadan of ðam duste, ðonne him wære *to wyrcenne* ealle gesceafta of nahte (or predicative with *beon*?).

eaðelicre, *more easy:*

Mat. 19.24: *eaðelicre byð* ðam olfende *to ganne* ðurh nædle eage, ðonne se welega on heofona rice ga = *facilius est camelum* per foramen acus *transire*, quam divitem intrare in regnum coelorum.

eað(e)re [e-, ie-, y-], *more easy:*

Boeth. 81.13: *nis* hire ðeah ðonne *eðre to feallanne* of dune ðonne up = 0.

Greg. 203. 17, 18: him *is* micle *ieðre to gestieganne* on ðone ryhtan wisdom ðonne ðæm lytegan sie *to anbuganne* = 152.14 : 0.

Mk. 10.25: *Eaðere ys* olfende *to farenne* ðurh nædle ðyrel = *Facilius est camelum* per foramen acus *transire*.

efneðe, *equally easy:*

Met. 20.168: Hwæt! hi ðeah eorðlices auht ne haldeð, *is* ðeah *enfeðe* up 7 of dune *to feallanne* foldan ðisse.

uneaðe [-e-, -ie-], *difficult:*

And. 206: *Nis* ðæt *uneaðe* eallwealdan Gode *to gefremmanne* on foldwege, ðæt etc. (or the infinitive may modify the adjective).

Greg. 355.21: forðæm he wisse ðæt hit *bið* swiðe *unieðe* ægðer *to donne*, ge wið ðone to cidanne ðe yfel deð, ge eac sibbe wið to habbenne = 276.1: *Difficile* quippe *erat* ut si male acta *corriperent*, *habere* pacem cum omnibus possent.

Oros. 52.8: Hit *is unieðe to gesecgenne* hu monege gewin siððan wæron = 53.4: quæ per ordinem *disserere* nequaquam *aptum videtur.*

(2) Adjectives of Goodness, Usefulness, etc.: —

betst, *best:*

Solil. 3.6, 7: Ða reahte he . . . hwilc good him *were betst to donne,* and hwilc yfel *betst to forletende* (*sic!*) = mihi . . . quaerenti memetipsum ac bonum meum, quidve mali *evitandum esset* (or the infinitive may modify the adjective).

god, *good:*

Greg. 151, 8[b], 9[a. b]: Eac is to wietanne ðætte hwilum *bið god* wærlice *to miðanne* his hieremonna scylda & *to licettanne* suelce he hit nyte; hwilum eft *to se*[c]*ganne* = 108.18[a. b. c]: Sciendum quoque est, quod aliquando subjectorum vitia prudenter *dissimulanda sunt,* sed quia *dissimulantur, indicanda.*

Ælf. Hom. II. 564[4]: Gif *god is* and halwendlic *to forhæbbenne* fram unalyfedlicum styrungum.

Ælf. Hept.: Gen. 2.18[a]: *Nis* na *god* ðisum men ana *to wunienne* = Non *est bonum hominem esse* solum.

Mat. 17.4[a]: *god ys* us her *to beonne* = *bonum est nos* hic *esse* (according to Stoffel, *l. c.,* p. 53, accusative and inflected infinitive in Anglo-Saxon: see Chapter VIII, p. 119).

Læce. 28.41: Eft wið ðon eac *bið god* lustmocan crop *to lecganne* on gebrocen heafod.

sel, *better:*

Bened. 10.3[a. b]: be . . . drohtunge *sel is to swigienne* ðonne embe *to sprecenne* = 16.13: *melius est silere* quam *loqui.*

selest [-ost], *best, most excellent:*

Prayers IV. 11: Getacna me . . . ðær *selast sy* sawle minre *to gemearcenne* meotudes willan.

Bl. Hom. 205.27: ðonne is hit ealles *selest* to ðæm dæge *to secenne* hwæt ðæs willa sie.

(3) Adjectives of Pleasantness and Unpleasantness, etc.: —

lað, *loathsome:*

Oros. 122.16: nellað geðencan hu *lað* eow selfum *wæs to gelæstanne* eowre aðas = 0.

Chron. 173[m], 1048 E[b]: for ðan him *wæs lað to amyrrene* his agenne folgað.

Wulf. 257.13: him *wæs lað* ðearfendum mannum mete *to syllenne.*

leofost [-ast], *dearest, best:*

Laws 78, Alfred, c. 43: ðeowum monnum eallum sien forgifen, ðam ðe him *leofost sie to sellanne* æghwæt.

leofre, *dearer, preferable:*

Greg. 217.12[a. b]: him *bið leofre* scande *to ðolianne* ðonne ðæt god *to cyðanne* = 164.7, 9: *eligit* patiens quælibet mala *perpeti,* quam . . . bona sua occulta *cognosci.*

Oros. 44.14[a. b]: Heton . . . secgan, ðæt him *leofre wære* wið hiene *to feohtanne* ðonne gafol *to gieldanne* = 0.

(4) Adjectives of Right and Wrong, etc.: —

riht, *right, proper:*

Bede 268.4: swa *riht is to gelyfanne* = 210.6: ut *credi fas est.* — *Ib.* 398.18: swa swiðe swa monnum *riht is to eahtienne* = 289.11: quantum hominibus *aestimare fas est.*

Greg. 283.7: Se slawa ongit hwæt him *ryht bið to donne* = 214.5: Piger enim recte sentiendo quasi vigilat (or the infinitive may modify the adjective).

unaliefedlic [-e-, -y-], *unallowable:*

Pr. Ps. 16.14ª: hi eton swynen flæsc, ðæt Iudeum *unalyfedlic ys to etanne* = saturati sunt porcina.

Wærf. 334.22, 23: ðæt *is* unrihtlic *7 unalyfedlic* ænigum men *to geðæncanne* oððe *to cweðanne* = 401 D: quod *dici nefas est* (or the infinitive may modify the adjective).

unriht, *not right, improper:*

Wærf. 308.18: on ðære ylcan niht, ðæt *is unriht to secganne*, he forspilde hie ðurh forligre = 372 C¹: eamque nocte illa (quod *dictu nefas est*) perdidit (or the infinitive may modify the adjective).

(5) Other Adjectives: —

feor(r), *far:*

Beow. 1922: *næs* him *feor* ðanon *to gesecanne* sinces bryttan. [But, instead of being subjective, the infinitive may be predicative, as Dr. Kenyon, *l. c.*, p. 50, seems to think. Cf. *And.* 424.]

min, *mine:*

Mk. 10.40: Soðlice *nis* hit na *min* inc *to syllenne* ðæt gyt sitton on mine swyðran healfe = Sedere autem ad dexteram meam vel ad sinistram, *non est meum dare.* [But, instead of being subjective, the infinitive may modify *min.*]

dafenian, *be fitting:*

Solil. 32.17: me *dafenað to andsweorianne* ðes ðe ic ongyte = 0.

derian, *injure:*

Greg. 237.11: sua *dereð* eac hwilum sumum monnum ðæt soð *to gehierenne* = 178.25: ita nonnunquam quibusdam *audita* vera *nocuerunt.*

gelustfullian, *delight:*

Ælf. Hom. I. 360ᵇ ²: Us *gelustfullað* gyt furður *to sprecenne* be ðan halgan were.

genihtsumian, *suffice:*

Bened. 90.15: To beddreafe *genihtsumige to hæbbenne* meatte and hwitel etc. = 158.13: Stramenta autem lectorum *sufficiant* matta, sagum, etc.

gerisan, *be fitting:*

Oros. 54.30: cwæð ðæt ðæm weorce nanum men ær ne *gerise* bet *to fandianne* ðonne ðæm wyrhtan ðe hit worhte = 0.

Ælf. Æthelw. 2: Her ongynð seo endebyrdnyss, hu munecum *gerist to healdenne* ðone regollican ðeaw = Incipit ordo qualiter . . . regularis mos a monachis per anni circulum *obseruari conueniat.*

helpan, *help:*

Ælf. L. S. xxxvi. 183: unc bam mæg *helpan to hæbbenne* ðis an.

Læce. 41.12: Wið fefre eft *hylpð* syndrigo marubie *to drincanne.*

sceamian, *shame:*

Chron. 170ᵐ, 1050 D: swa ðæt us *sceamað* hit nu mare *to tellanne.*

Ælf. L. S. 370.100: Us *sceamað to secgenne* ealle ða . . . wiglunga.

ðyncan,[1] *seem*, plus an adjective: —

seðryt, *wearisome:*

Ælf. Hom. II. 374ᵇ: him *ðincð æðryt to gehyrenne* ymbe ða clænnysse.

[1] As the construction with ðyncan plus an adjective is quite similar to that with *beon* (wesan) plus an adjective, I give only a few examples.

selest [-ost], *best, most excellent:*

El. 533: Nu ge geare cunnon, hwæt eow ðæs on sefan *selest ðince to gecyðanne* (or the infinitive may modify the adjective). — *Ib.* 1165: frignan ongan, hwæt him ðæs on sefan *selost ðuhte to gelaestenne* (or the infinitive may modify the adjective).

selle, *better, preferable:*

Ju. 408: ðæt him sylfum *selle ðynceð* leahtras *to fremman* (*sic!*) ofer lof Godes.

III. The uninflected infinitive and the inflected infinitive are each found as the subject of the following verbs: —

aliefan [-e-, -y-], *be allowed.*
beon, *be*, plus an adjective
(1) Of Goodness:
betere, *better.*
selre, *better.*
fremman [**fremian**], *benefit.*
gebyrian, *be fitting.*
gedafenian, *be fitting.*
gelician, *please.*
lician, *please.*
lystan, *please.*
onhagian, please.

With four exceptions (*aliefan, beon* + *selre, fremman* (*fremian*), and *lystan*) the inflected infinitive is the commoner with each verb of this group: with *aliefan* and with *lystan* the uninflected infinitive is the more usual, while with *beon* + *selre* and with *fremman* (*fremian*) the usage is evenly divided.

The following are typical examples: —

aliefan [-e-, -y-], *be allowed:*

(1) Uninflected:

Bede 74.15: æfter hu feola daga *alefað* him ðæm geryne *onfoon* fulwihtes bæðes? = 53.29: quod genuerit, post quot dies hoc *liceat* sacri baptismatis sacramenta *percipere?* — *Ib.* 74.18[a, b]: hwæðer *alefað* hire in circan *gongan* oððe ðæm geryne *onfoon* ðære halgan gemænsumnesse? = 53.32[a, b]: an ecclesiam *intrare* ei *liceat* aut . . . sacramenta *percipere?* — *Ib.* 78.17: ne *alefað* hire in . . . cirican *gongan?* = 55.28: ei non *liceat* . . . ecclesiam *intrare?*

Gosp.: Mk. 3.4[b, c]: Ða cwæð he, *alyfð* restedagum wel to donne, hweðer ðe yfele? sawla *gehælan*, hweðer ðe *forspillan?* = dicit eis: *Licet* sabbatis benefacere, an male? animam salvam *facere*, an *perdere.* — *Mk.* 10.2: Pharisei . . . hine axodon hwæðer *alyfð* ænegum men his wif *forlætan* = interrogabant eum: Si *licet* viro uxorem *dimittere.* — *L.* 6.9[a, b, c]: *alyfð* on restedægum wel *don*, oððe yfele; sawle hale *gedon*, hwæðer ðe *forspillan?* = si *licet* sabbatis *benefacere* an male, animam salvam *facere*, an *perdere?*

(2) Inflected:

Pr. Gu. XX. 85: geryno . . . ða nanegum men ne *alyfað to secganne* = mysteria, quæ non *licet* homini *narrare* (on *alyfað* for *alyfeð*, see Gonser's note).

Mk. 3.4[a]: quoted above under "Uninflected." — *Mk.* 12.14: *Alyfð* gaful *to syllanne* ðam Casere? = *Licet dari tributum* Cæsari?

beon, *be*, plus an adjective of Goodness, etc.: —

betere, *better:*

(1) Uninflected:

Mk. 9.47: *betere* ðe is mid anum eagan *gan* on Godes rice = 9.46: *bonum est* tibi luscum *introire* in regnum Dei. [Concerning the positive here, see Professor J. W. Bright's "An Idiom of the Comparative in Anglo-Saxon," in *Modern Language Notes* for June, 1912, pp. 181–183.]

(2) Inflected:

Gen. 660: His hyldo *is* unc *betere to gewinnanne* ðonne his wiðermedo (or the infinitive may modify the adjective).

Solil. 36.8: ðæh hwa cwæðe ðæt hyt *si betere to habbenne* for bearna gestreone = no Latin.

Mat. 18.9: *betere* ðe *ys* mid anum eagan on life *to ganne* ðonne ðu si mid twam asend on helle fyr = *bonum* tibi *est* cum uno oculo in vitam *intrare*, quam duos oculos habentem mitti in gehennam ignis.

selre, *better:*

(1) Uninflected:

Ælf. L. S. XXV. 144[b]: *Selre* us is to sweltenne and soðlice *anbidian* (*sic!*) ðæs ecan æristes.

Napier's Ad. to Th. 101.322[t 1]: *selre* ðe *bið* anegede *faran* to heofonan rice, ðonne mid twam eagum beon aworpen on ece susle.

(2) Inflected:

Ælf. Hom. I. 486[b 8]: Salomon cwæð, ðæt *selre* wære *to wunigenne* mid leon and dracan ðonne mid yfelum wife and ofersprǽcum.

Ælf. L. S. XXV. 144[a]: quoted under " Uninflected " above.

fremman (fremian), *benefit:*

(1) Uninflected:

Ælf. Hom. I. 394[m]: ac hit ne *fremede* him swa *gedon.*

(2) Inflected:

Mat. 19.10: ne *fremað* nanum menn *to wifienne* = non *expedit nubere.*

gebyrian, *be fitting:*

(1) Uninflected:

Gosp.: Mat. 18.33: hu ne *gebyrede* ðe *miltsian* ðinum efenðeowan swa swa ic ðe gemiltsode? = Nonne ergo *oportuit* et *te misereri* conservi tui, sicut et ego tui misertus sum? (possibly, but not probably, accusative and infinitive: see examples below in which the noun is clearly dative; also Chapter VIII, p. 124).— *L.* 11.42[b]: ðas ðing eow *gebyrede* to donne, and ða ðing ne *forlætan* (*sic!*) = hæc autem *oportuit facere*, et illa non *omittere.* — *L.* 12.12: Halig Gast eow lærð on ðære tide ða ðing ðe eow *specan gebyrað* = Spiritus . . . sanctus docebit vos in ipsa hora quid *oporteat vos dicere* (see note to *L.* 11.42 above). — *L.* 15.32[a, b]: ðe *gebyrede gewistfullian* and *geblissian* = *Epulari* autem et *gaudere oportebat.* — *L.* 24.26[a, b]: Hu ne *gebyrede* Criste ðas ðing *ðoligean*, and swa on his wuldor *gan?* = Nonne hæc *oportuit pati Christum*, et ita *intrare* in gloriam suam?

(2) Inflected:

Laws 446, Rectitudines, c. 3, § 3: Him *gebyriað* (*sic!*) V æceres *to habbanne* — *Ib.* 477, Episcopus, c. 2[a]: ðæt heora ælc wite, hwæt him mid rihte *gebyrige to donne.*

Ælf. Hom. II. 492[t]: us ne *gebyrað to ameldigenne* ða scyldigan.

Ælf. Hept.: De N. T. 20.30: hwæt *gebyrað* us embe ðis *to smeagenne?*

Ælf. Gr. 245.9: nu hæfð se *bene* ða ðing, ðe adverbio *gebyrað to hæbbenne.*

Gosp.: Mat. 26.54[b]: for ðam ðus hyt *gebyrað to beonne* = quia sic *oportet fieri.* — *Mk.* 14.31: ðeah me *gebyrige* mid ðe *to sweltenne* = si *oportuerit me* simul *commori* tibi. — *L.* 2.49: nyste gyt ðæt me *gebyrað to beonne* on ðam ðingum ðe mines fæder synt? = nesciebatis quia in his quæ Patris mei sunt *oportet me esse?* — *L.* 11.42[a]: quoted under " Uninflected " above. — *J.* 9.4: Me *gebyrað to wyrceanne* ðæs weorc ðe me sende = *Me oportet operari* opera ejus qui misit me.

Wulf. 279.4: ne *gebyreð* æt cyrican ænig ðing *to donne.*

gedaf(e)nian, *be fitting:*

(1) Uninflected:

Bede 74.22: All ðas ðing ðære . . . ðeode . . . *gedafenað* cuð *habban* = 54.2: *Quae* omnia rudi Anglorum genti *oportet haberi* conperta. — *Ib.* 342.18: efne ða an ða ðe to æfestnesse belumpon, 7 his ða æfestan tungan *gedeofanade singan* = 259.12: ea . . . quae . . . religiosam eius linguam *decebant* (or accusative and infinitive in Anglo-Saxon?).

Pr. Gu. V. 67, 68, 69: swa ðonne *gedafenað* ðam men [Vercelli MS.: ðane man] gelice ðurh six daga fæsten ðone gast *gefrætwian,* and ðonne ðy seofoðan dæg mete *ðicgan* and his lichaman *restan* = ita etiam *hominem decet* sex diebus per jejunii plasma spiritu *reformari,* et septimo die *comedendo* carni requiem *dare.*

Ælf. Hom. II. 318$^{m\ 2}$: Us *gedafenað* to donne dugeðe on sibbe, mid estfullum mode menniscum gesceafte, and eft on ehtnysse ure lif *syllan* (*sic!*) for ðone soðan God.

Ælf. L. S. 240.31: us *gedafenað* swyðor mid geswince to campigenne for ðam undeadlicum cynincge and ðe *oferswiðan* (*sic!*). — *Ib.* XXIII B. 261: ðe *gedafenað* . . . for me and for eallum *gebiddan.*

Napier's Ad. to Th. 102.34$^{12.\ 3}$: ne *gedafonode* Criste swa *ðrowian* and swa *faran* into his wuldre?

L. 4.43: Soðlice me *gedafenað* oðrum ceastrum Godes rice *bodian* = Quia et aliis civitatibus *oportet me evangelizare* regnum Dei (possibly but not probably accusative and infinitive: see examples in which the noun is clearly in the dative case).

(2) Inflected:

Bede 2.13: ðe *gedafenað* ðine ðeode *to læranne* = 0. — *Ib.* 196.17: Hwæt woldest ðu . . . ðæt . . . hors ðæm ðearfan syllan, ðe ðe *gedafenade* agan (*sic!*) *to habbanne?* = 156.18: Quid uoluisti . . ., equum . . ., quem *te conueniebat* proprium *habere,* pauperi dare?

Solil. 32.16$^{a.\ b}$: Ðe *gedafenað to lerenne* and me *to hlistenne* = no Latin.

Laws 248, VI Æthelred, c. 5, § 2: Cristenan mæn ne *gedafenað to donne.*

Ælf. Hom. I. 124^{b}: ðær ðe bið gesæd hwæt ðe *gedafenað to donne.* — *Ib.* I. 386$^{t\ 2}$: ðær ðe bið gesæd hwæt ðe *gedafenige to donne.* — *Ib.* II. 318$^{m\ 1}$: quoted under " Uninflected."

Ælf. L. S. 228.131: us Iudeiscum ne *gedafenað to genealecenne* eow hæðenum mannum. — *Ib.* 240.30: quoted under " Uninflected." — *Ib.* 314.127: Us *gedafenað to offrigenne* ðam . . . gode. — *Ib.* XXIII B. 228$^{a.\ b}$: Ðe *gedafenað* abbud Zosimus *to biddenne* and *to bletsigenne.* — *Ib.* XXX. 124: swa ðe eac *gedafenað to efstenne* . . . and beon gecostnod.

Wulf. 227.22: swa *gedafenað* ælcum men *to habbenne* restendæg. — *Ib.* 269.24: swa ænigum cristenum men ne *gedafenað to donne* ne huru ðam gehadedum.

gelician, *please:*

(1) Uninflected:

L. 12.32: for ðam eowrum Fæder *gelicode* eow rice *syllan* = quia *complacuit* Patri vestro *dare* vobis regnum.

(2) Inflected:

Oros. 106.24: siððan *gelicade* eallum folcum ðæt hie Romanum underðieded

wære, 7 hiora æ *to behealdanne* = 107.24: universarum terrarum orbem . . . Romanis *paruisse* legibus . . . judices.[1] — *Ib.* 250.19: ænigum folce his ægenu æ *gelicade to healdenne* = 0.

Chron. 182[1], 1052 C[b]: ðæt ðam cynge *gelicode* mid him *to hæbbenne* ðe him getreowe wæron.

lician, *please:*

(1) Uninflected:

Bede 276.12: *licade* us *efencuman* = 214.31: *placuit conuenire nos* (possibly but not probably accusative and infinitive: see examples with *gelician* in which the noun is clearly dative).

Ælf. L. S. 308.32: me bet *licað* to forlætenne nu ðisne . . . wurðmynt and ðæs . . . godes cynedome *gehyrsumian* on haligre drohtnunge.

(2) Inflected:

Pr. Ps. 43.5: for ðam hy ðe ða licodon, and ðe *licode* mid him *to beonne* = 43.4: quoniam *complacuisti* in eis.

Laws 46, Ælfred, Intr., c. 49, § 10: hie ða cwædon, ðæt him ðæt *licode* eallum *to healdanne.*

Ælf. L. S. 308.30: quoted under " Uninflected " above.

A. S. Hom. & L. S. II. 18.293: Gif ðe ðonne *licige to sweltenne.*

lystan, *please:*

(1) Uninflected:

Beow. 1793: Geat ungemetes wel, rofne randwigan *restan lyste.*

Met. 9.19: Næs ðæt herlic dæd, ðæt hine swelces gamenes *gilpan lyste.* — *Ib.* 10.20: Eala ofermodan! hwi eow a *lyste* mid eowrum swiran selfra willum ðæt swære gioc symle *underlutan.* — *Ib.* 19.16: Hwæðer ge nu willen wæðan mid hundum on sealtne sæ, ðonne eow *secan lyst* heorotas 7 hinda? — *Ib.* 19.33, 34: forðæm hi æfre ne *lyst* æfter *spyrian, secan* ða gesælða. — *Ib.* 19.39: swa me hit *don lysteð.*

Bede 398.7[a, b]: cwæð ðæt hine *lyste* mid him *etan 7 drincan* = 288.26, 27[a]: dicens quia ipse . . . *delectaretur manducare* et *bibere* cum eis.

Boeth. 1.11: he halsað ælcne ðara ðe ðas boc *rædan lyste* = 0. — *Ib.* 91.8: ðe . . . *lyste forweorðan* = 78.46: *ad interitum sponte festinent.*

Greg. 279.6: Æt ærestum *lyst* ðone monn unnyt *sprecan* be oðrum monnum = 210.15: ut prius *loqui* aliena *libeat.*

Oros. 50.17: Ðeah swa hwelcne mon swa *lyste* ðæt *witan*, ræde on his bocum = 0.

Wærf. 60.7: me *lysteð acsian* = 192 B[1]: *libet inquirere.*

Bened. 126.17, 18: ðæt hine ne *worian* ne *scriðan lyste* = 194.2: cujus maturitas *eum* non *sinat vagari.*

Ælf. Hom. II. 220[b]: Se leahtor deð ðæt ðam men ne *lyst* nan ðing to gode *gedon.*

Ælf. L. S. 356.297: ðonne ðam menn ne *lyst* on his life nan god *don.*

Ælf. Gr. 211.5: ðonne cymð of ðam *lecturio* me *lyst rædan.* — *Ib.* 214.9: me *lyst geseon* = *uiso.*

Wulf. 141.8[a, b, c]: stingað hine scearplice on ðone muð, forði, swa hwæt swa hinc *lyste etan* oððe *drincan* oððe on unnyt *sprecan.*

Læce. 49.35: hu man *lyste utgan* 7 ne mæg.

[1] See Note 2 at the end of this chapter.

(2) Inflected:

Oros. 102.25: ic gehwam wille ðærto tæcan ðe hiene his *lyst* ma *to witanne* = 0.

Solil. 14.23: Ne *lyst* me ðeah nanes ðinges swiðor *to witanne* ðonne ðises = 0. — *Ib.* 59.33[a, b]: ac me *lyste* hyt nu bet *to witanne* ðonne *to gelyfanne* = 0.

onhagian[an-], *please:*

(1) Uninflected:

Greg. 289.16: ðæt hie ne *anhagað* nane wuht nyttwyrðes *don* = 218.19: Sæpe ergo mansueti dissolutionis torpescunt tædio.

(2) Inflected:

Greg. 341.13: gif he . . . cann gemetgian hwæt hine *anhagige to sellanne* = 264.6: audiant, quomodo quæ habent misericorditer *tribuant.* — *Ib.* 417.17: Forðæmðe ðæt ðætte hine ne *onhagode* utane forð *to brenganne* mid weorcum, innanne he hit geðafode = 338.21: quia etsi rerum tarditas foras peccatum distulit, intus hoc consensionis opere voluntas implevit.

Solil. 26.7: ic eom seo racu ðe me *onhagað* ðe *to gerihtreccenne* = Promittit enim ratio . . . ita *se demonstraturam* Deum tuae menti. — *Ib.* 65.10: Me ne *onhagað* nu ða boc ealle *to asmæaganne* = 0.

Chron. 175[b], 1052 D[c]: Ða ne *onhagode* him *to cumenne* to wiðermale.

Ælf. Hom. I. 448[t 3]: Nu ne *onhagað* us na swiðor be ðam *to sprecenne.*

Ælf. L. S. 4. 37: halgena ðrowunga, ðe me to *onhagode* on englisc to *awendenne.*

2. With Passive Verbs.

The active infinitive is found as the subject of passive verbs about 48 times. The infinitive is inflected about 39 times.

I. The uninflected infinitive only, as subject, is found twice (once preceding and once following the chief verb) with the passive of **bewerian**, *prohibit:* — *Bede* 76.19: *Fulwian* ðonne ðæt . . . wif . . . nænige gemete *is bewered* = 54.31: *Baptizare* . . . mulierem . . . nullo modo *prohibetur.* — *Ib.* 78.31: ne *sceal* him *bewered beon* ðæm geryne *onfon* = 56.9: mysterium . . . *percipere* non debet *prohiberi.*

II. The inflected infinitive only is found as the subject with the passive of the following verbs: —

forgiefan, *give, grant.*
(ge)sellan, *give, allow.*
læfan, *leave.*
ðencan, *consider*, plus **halwende**, *salutary.*
ðyncan, *seem, consider* (*?*), plus **wierðlicor**, *more worthily.*

The examples in full are: —

forgiefan, *give, grant:*

Ælf. L. S. XXIX. 134[a, b]: *beo* ðe *forgifen to bindene* and *to alysenne.*

gesellan, *give, allow:*

Gosp.: Mat. 13.11: For ðam ðe eow *is geseald to witanne* heofena rices gerynu = Quia vobis *datum est nosse* mysteria regni cœlorum. — *Mk.* 4.11: Eow *is geseald to witanne* Godes rices gerynu = Vobis *datum est nosse* mysterium regni Dei.

læfan, *leave:*

Boeth. 42.9: ðonne meaht ðu ongitan ðætte ðæs ealles *nis* monnum ðonne

mare *læfed to bugianne* buton swelce on lytel cauertun = 44.18: uix angustissima *inhabitandi* hominibus area *relinquetur* (or final?).

ðencan, *consider*, plus **halwende**, *salutary:*

Ælf. L. S. XXV. 479: Hit *is* halig *geðoht* and *halwende to gebiddenne* for ðam forðfarendum.

ðyncan, *seem, consider* (?), plus **wurðlicor**, *more worthily:*

Ælf. Hom. I. 48^{14}: ðonne ðe *is geðuht wurðlicor* be Criste *to cweðenne* Godes Bearn ðonne mannes Bearn.

III. The uninflected and the inflected infinitive are each found as the subject of the passive of the following verbs: —

aliefan [-e-, -y-], *allow.* **bebeodan**, *command.*

With each of these verbs the inflected infinitive is commoner than the uninflected, with *aliefan* far commoner.

The following are typical examples: —

aliefan[1] [-e-, -y-], *allow:*

(1) Uninflected:

Bede 84.20: mid ðy him eac *alyfed bið*, swa we ær cwædon, in cirican *gongan* = 59.20; cum ei . . . ecclesiam *licuerit intrare.* — *Ib.* 278.10, 11: nænegum biscope *alefad seo* in ængum ðinge heo *unstillian*, ne owiht of heora eahtum . . . *ongeneman* = 216.7, 8: nulli episcoporum *liceat* ea in aliquo *inquietare*, nec quicquam de eorum rebus uiolenter *abstrahere.* — *Ib.* 278.22: nængum heora *alefed sy* ænge sacerdlice ðegnunge *don* = 216.22: nulli . . . *liceat* . . . officium . . . *agere.* — *Ib.* 280.1: nængum *alefed sy* nemne ælice gesinscipe *habban* = 217.1: nulli *liceat* . . . *habere* conubium.

(2) Inflected:

Gu. 1223: giefe . . ., ðe me *alyfed nis to gecyðenne* cwicra ængum on foldwege fira cynnes.

Boeth. 121.19^{a}: ðæt men *sie alefed* yfel *to donne* = 103.93^{a}: uel *licentiam* uel impunitatem *scelerum* putant *esse felicem.*

Wærf. 39.21: ðæt us nu *nære alyfed to farene?* = 176 A: *pergere* minime *liceret?* —*Ib.* 156.3: ðæt him *wære alyfed* ut *to farenne* = B. 182 B^{1}: atque importunis precibus *ut relaxeretur* immineret. — *Ib.* 214.8: to ðon ðæt him *nære* na *alyfed* ofer ðæt furður *to ganne* = 261 A: ne ei ultra *liceret progredi.*

Bened. 86.6: secggende ðæt him *alyfed nis* wið cuman *to sprecenne* = 154.7: dicens sibi non *licere colloqui* cum hospite.

Bl. Hom. 137.15: us *is alefed* edhwyrft to ðæm ecean life, & heofena rice *to gesittenne* mid . . . halgum.

Ælf. Hom. II. 40^{m}: Þis *nis* nu *alyfed* nanum men *to donne.*

Ælf. L. S. XXV. 684: On ðam dagum *wæs alyfed to alecgenne* his fynd.

Mat. 12.2: Nu ðine leorningcnihtas doð ðæt him *alyfyd nys* restedagun *to donne* = Ecce discipuli tui faciunt quod non *licet facere* sabbatis. — *Ib.* 12.10: *ys* hyt *alyfed to hælenne* on restedagum? = Si *licet* sabbatis *curare?*

Wulf. 210.17: cwæð, ðæt six dagas syndon, 'ðæt eow *is alefed* eowre weorc on *to wyrcenne.*' — *Ib.* 227.12$^{a, b}$, 13: ne mylnum *nis alyfed to eornenne* ne on huntað *to ridenne* ne nan unalyfedlic weorc *to wyrcenne.*

bebeodan, *command:*

[1] *Cf.* Gorrell, *l. c.*, p. 382.

(1) Uninflected:

Ælf. Hom. II. 398$^{b\ 1,\ 2}$: forðan ðe us *is beboden*, ðurh gewrite ðære ealdan æ, *ofsittan* and *fortredan* ða gewilnigendlican lustas.

(2) Inflected:

Bede 206.16: of eallum ðon, ðe on halgum bocum beboden is *to healdanne* = 161.27: nil ex omnibus, quae in . . . literis *facienda* cognoverat (or final?).

Boeth. 40.10: to ðam weorce ðe me *beboden wæs to wyrcanne* = 0 (or final?). — *Ib.* 40.24: Ne mæg he . . . nan ðara ðinga wyrcan ðe him *beboden is to wyrcenne* = 0 (or final?).

Differentiation of the Two Infinitives.

If now we seek to discover what determines the use of the inflected or of the uninflected form of the infinitive as the subject of active verbs, the answer is clear in the case of the verbs having only the inflected form as subject. In the majority of instances the finite verb is made up of the appropriate form of *beon* or *ðyncan* plus an adjective (or occasionally plus an adverb or a noun) that is usually followed by the dative (or occasionally by the genitive) case of nouns and naturally by the inflected infinitive when the adjective is modified by an infinitive; hence, even when not immediately modifying the adjective, but when used as the subject of a finite verb, the infinitive is by the indirect influence of the adjective attracted from the logically expected nominative form, that is, the uninflected infinitive, into the dative form, that is, the inflected infinitive. In the prose *Gen.* 2.18^{a} (*Nis* na *god* ðisum men ana *to wunienne* = Non *est bonum hominem esse* solum) and in the *Chron.* 173^{m}, 1048 E^{b} (for ðan him *wæs lað to amyrrenne* his agenne folgað), for instance, we see the transforming influence of the dative-governing adjectives, *god* and *lað*. Of course, as already stated, at times it is difficult to decide whether the infinitive was intended by the writer to modify the adjective or to be the subject of the finite verb. Most of the remaining verbs of the group are such as habitually govern a dative (or occasionally a genitive), and this oblique regimen is, as in the case of *beon* or *ðyncan* plus an adjective, strong enough to cause the infinitive to be inflected when used as a subject, — a result the more easily brought about by the circumstance that these verbs are in most instances impersonal, and that the infinitive usually follows rather than precedes the finite verb. For example, in *Greg.* 237.11 (sua *dereð* eac hwilum sumum monnum ðæt soð *to gehierenne* = 178.25: ita nonnunquam quibusdam *audita* vera *nocuerunt*) and in *Ælf. L. S.* XXXVI. 183 (unc bam *mæg helpan to hæbbenne* ðis an), we see the same sort of transforming influence exercised by the dative-governing verbs, *derian* and *helpan*. Moreover, because of its frequent postposition, the infinitive is often in close proximity to the transforming adjective or verb. Occasionally, too, out of analogy to these dative-governing verbal phrases, a verb that does not govern a dative has an inflected infinitive as its subject, as has *beon* in *Mat.* 20.23, owing to the influence of the frequently recurring *beon* plus a dative-governing adjective.

As to the verbs having only the uninflected infinitive as subject, it seems natural that *becuman* in the sense of 'happen' and *geweorðan* with the same meaning should have the uninflected infinitive as subject, since there is no factor to cause inflection.

That we have an uninflected infinitive as subject to *beon* plus *softe* is probably due to the great distance separating[1] the infinitive from the verbal phrase.

That *geðyncan* in the sense of 'seem good' has for its subject the uninflected instead of the inflected infinitive seems to contravene the general explanation given of the inflected infinitive above; and it may be an exception that proves the rule, though I doubt this. To me the explanation seems rather this: 'seem good' is only occasionally the sense of *geðyncan;* moreover, the infinitive both in the Latin original and in the Anglo-Saxon is separated from the principal verb by a number of words; in brief, *geðyncan* had but slight dativa1 force to transmit to the infinitive, and this little was evaporated in the distance between it and the infinitive.

Gelystan, we may suppose, merely follows the general rule of the simplex, *lystan*, which latter habitually though not invariably has an uninflected infinitive as its subject.

When we turn to the group of verbs having now the inflected and now the uninflected infinitive as the subject, we find that the group as a whole is true to the general principles already stated, with only two apparent, if not real, exceptions, *aliefan* and *lystan*, each of which is, as stated, found oftener with the uninflected than with the inflected infinitive, *lystan* far oftener. The dativa1 sense in *aliefan*, though not so strong as in *derian*, *helpan*, etc., is still so strong that its having an uninflected infinitive for subject occasions surprise each time until I place the examples with uninflected infinitives side by side with those having the inflected, and discover that, with one exception (*L.* 6.9[a]), in the former examples, the infinitive, in the Anglo-Saxon, is perceptibly farther removed from the finite verb (*aliefan*) than in the latter examples; and that, of the ten examples of the uninflected infinitive, five (*Mk.* 3.4[b, c], *L.* 6.9[a, b, c]) occur in two series of three infinitives each, in one of which series the first infinitive (*Mk.* 3.4[a]) is inflected, — a fact that seems to indicate that the degree of separation[1] from the principal verb is an appreciable factor as to the inflection of the infinitive. Of course, it is open to one to claim that, in a series of the sort under discussion, the *to* is carried over as it were to the succeeding infinitives, or, to put it differently, that the presence of *to* with the first infinitive accounts for the lack of inflection in the succeeding infinitives rather than the distance of the latter from the finite verb. This claim seems improbable, however, in view of the fact that in eighteen[2] series the inflected infinitive is followed by the inflected, while in only six[2] series is the inflected followed by the uninflected; and that in the former series, as a rule, the co-ordinated infinitives are appreciably closer to each other and, therefore, to the principal verb than in the latter series. Again, this claim seems improbable in view of the fact that, with the verb under discussion, *aliefan*, we habitually find the single

[1] Separation from its governing verb, its adjective, or its noun, as we shall see later in Chapters II, XI, and XIII, likewise tends to the loss of inflection on the part of the infinitive. We thus have four additional illustrations of the principle so happily stated by Professor C. Alphonso Smith, in his *Studies in English Syntax*, p. 60: "Other illustrations of the general principle that I have endeavoured to outline will suggest themselves to the reader. Enough have been given, I believe, to show that a dominant characteristic of English syntax, a characteristic that differentiates it sharply from the syntax of Latin, is its insistent tendency to operate at close quarters, to span only limited areas, and to make its laws of concord depend not so much on logic as on proximity. English syntax is essentially a syntax of short circuits."

[2] Given in the notes at the end of this chapter.

infinitive uninflected if remote from the principal verb, but inflected if near it. One exception does occur with *aliefan:* it is difficult to see why we have the uninflected infinitive, *don*, in *Luke* 6.9[a] (*alyfð* on restedægum wel *don*, oððe yfele; sawle hale gedon, hwæðer ðe forspillan? = si *licet* sabbatis *benefacere* an male, animam salvam facere, an perdere?), but the inflected infinitive, *to donne*, in the almost identical passage of *Mark* 3.4[a] (*Alyfð* restedagum wel *to donne*, hweðer ðe yfele? sawla gehælan, hweðer ðe forspillan = *Licet* sabbatis *benefacere*, an male? animam salvam facere, an perdere?); for, while the infinitive is one word further removed from the principal verb in the former than in the latter passage, that alone hardly accounts for the difference in translation. Perhaps the confusion is partially due to the disturbing influence of the adverb *wel* in Anglo-Saxon or of the dativel verb, *benefacere*, in Latin. Another probable factor in the twofold construction with *aliefan* is its double regimen (with an accusative and a dative) when transitive, for, as we shall see in the next chapter, double regimen is, with many verbs, a prolific source of confusion between the uninflected infinitive and the inflected infinitive in the objective function.

In the single example of the uninflected infinitive as subject of *beon* plus *betere* (*Mk.* 9.47) and in the two of *beon* plus *selre* (*Napier's Ad. to Th.* 101.332[t 1], *Ælf. L. S.* XXV. 144[b]), the distance of the infinitive from the verb phrase doubtless contributes to the lack of inflection, for, with *selre*, the first of the two infinitives in a series (*Ælf. L. S.* XXV. 144[a]) is inflected, while the second, with an adverb preceding, is uninflected. It is only fair to state that in *Matthew* 18.9 we have the inflected infinitive with *beon* plus *betere* although the infinitive is as far removed from the verb phrase as in *Mark* 9.47; but in the other examples the infinitive is very near the verb.

In the example of *fremman* (*fremian*), 'help,' with an inflected infinitive as subject (*Mat.* 19.10), we have what we should naturally expect. That, contrary to expectation, we find the uninflected infinitive, *gedon*, in *Ælf. Hom.* I. 394[m], with only two words intervening between it and *fremede*, is probably due to the confusion of meaning between *fremman* (*fremian*) in the sense of 'effect' and in the sense of 'benefit,' and to the consequent double regimen of *fremman* (with an accusative or a dative). In the two passages in question, *fremman* (*fremian*) clearly has the latter of the two meanings.

Of the seven examples of the uninflected infinitive with *gebyrian*, one (*L.* 11.42[b]) is the second of a series of two infinitives with several words intervening between the infinitives. One (*L.* 12.12) precedes the finite verb in Anglo-Saxon, and corresponds to an accusative and predicative infinitive in the Latin original. Two (*L.* 24.26[a, b]) are appreciably separated from the finite verb. One (*Mat.* 18.33) is near the finite verb, but translates a Latin accusative and predicative infinitive, and may itself be considered an instance of the predicative infinitive in Anglo-Saxon, as may the remaining two (*L.* 15.32[a, b]). Personally, however, I believe that, in *Mat.* 18.33 and in *L.* 15.32[a, b], the Anglo-Saxon infinitive is subjective, but I doubt not that the Latin accusative-with-infinitive construction, present in the passage from *Matthew* and in three other passages with *gebyrian* in *Luke*, may have had something to do with the absence of inflection in Anglo-Saxon. Perhaps, also, the twofold meaning of *gebyrian* ('happen' and 'be fitting') in part accounts for the use of the two infinitives.

Of the eleven examples of the uninflected infinitive as subject of *gedafenian*, two (*Bede* 74.22, 342.18) are very near the finite verb, but correspond, the former to a Latin accusative and infinitive and the latter to a Latin noun in the accusative, and the latter may be a predicative infinitive in Anglo-Saxon. Two (*Ælf. Hom.* II. 318[m2] and *Ælf. L. S.* 240.31) are each the second in a series of two infinitives in each of which series the first infinitive is inflected, and the second is appreciably separated from the first. The remaining seven are separated from the finite verb. But the dativel force of the verb, *gedafenian*, occasionally is stronger than the influence of separation, as in *Ælf. L. S.* 240.30, XXIII B. 238[b], in each of which we have the inflected infinitive despite the separation of infinitive from finite verb. In the remaining sixteen examples of the inflected infinitive, the infinitive is very near the finite verb, usually in immediate juxtaposition therewith.

In the single instance of an uninflected infinitive as the subject of *gelician* (*L.* 12.32), the infinitive is separated from the verb, but by only two words. In one of the three instances of the subjective inflected infinitive (*Oros.* 106.24), the infinitive is separated from the verb by ten words; in the other two the infinitive is in close proximity.

In one instance of the uninflected infinitive as subject of *lician* (*Bede* 276.12), the infinitive phrase corresponds to a Latin accusative and infinitive, and we may possibly have the same idiom in Anglo-Saxon. In another instance of the uninflected infinitive (*Ælf. L. S.* 308.32), the infinitive is the second of a series of two infinitives the first of which is inflected, and is considerably removed from the second. In the four instances of the inflected infinitive, the infinitive is near the finite verb, in two instances in immediate juxtaposition.

That the original idiom with *lystan* was the uninflected infinitive is evident. Only the uninflected infinitive is found in the poetry (7 examples). In a total, in prose and in poetry, of about 65 examples, 61 are uninflected, and this despite the fact that in a majority of these cases, in both poetry and prose, the infinitive is in close proximity to, in many instances in juxtaposition with, the finite verb (*lystan*). But why have we with this verb the uninflected rather than the inflected infinitive, especially when the infinitive is so often so near the finite verb, and when, on a first glance, *lystan* seems in sense so closely akin to what for lack of a better word I have termed the dativel verbs? The answer seems to be that the kinship is in reality not so close as it appears, for, while the dativel verbs often govern a dative, *lystan* seldom does so: on the contrary, as is well known, it governs habitually the accusative of the person and the genitive of the thing. It is not unnatural, therefore, that its subjective infinitive should be, as it almost always is, uninflected. The surprise is rather that we find, in four instances (*Oros.* 102.25; *Solil.* 14.23, 59.33[a, b]), the inflected infinitive as subject, — a fact that may be partially due to the disturbing influence of the comparative adverb [1] immediately preceding the infinitive in each example, but more largely, perhaps, to the double regimen of *lystan* (an accusative, occasionally a dative, of the person and a genitive of the thing).

In the single example of an uninflected infinitive as the subject of *anhagian* (*Greg.* 289.16), the infinitive is removed by three words from its verb. Even greater separation, however, fails to withstand the dativel force of *anhagian* in

[1] The comparative adverb has no such disturbing influence in *Solil.* 42.4[a, b].

Solil. 65.10 and in *Ælf. Hom.* I. 448[t 8]. In the remaining examples the inflected infinitive is in close proximity to *anhagian.*

To sum up the matter: verbs and verbal phrases that govern a dative (or occasionally a genitive) normally have the inflected infinitive as subject, especially if the infinitive is near its principal verb. But occasionally even with these verbs we have an uninflected infinitive as subject, the lack of inflection being due partly to remoteness of the infinitive from the finite verb, whether the infinitive occurs singly or in a series; partly to the appearance of the accusative with an infinitive in the Latin original; and partly to the analogical influence of the verbs that naturally take an uninflected infinitive as subject. Other verbs than these habitually take the uninflected infinitive as subject; but here, too, the analogical influence is at times strongly at work, *beon,* for instance, having as subject the inflected infinitive out of analogy to *beon* plus a dative-governing adjective. Still other disturbing factors are diversity of meaning in the principal verb, as in *fremman, gebyrian, geweorðan, geðyncan;* and double regimen of the principal verb, as in *aliefan, fremman,* and *lystan.*

With the passive verbs the differentiation between the two infinitives seems to rest upon the same principle as with the active verbs. As before, the inflected infinitive occurs dominantly with the dativa1 verbs: *aliefan,* and *ðencan* or *ðyncan* plus an adjective or adverb. In the few instances in which the uninflected infinitive occurs as subject of these verbs, the infinitive is appreciably removed from the principal verb. When the inflected infinitive is used, in nearly all cases the infinitive is in close proximity to, usually in juxtaposition with, the chief verb, the exceptions to the last statement, with *aliefan,* being *Bl. Hom.* 137.15 and *Mat.* 12.12, 19.3, in which several words intervene between infinitive and verb; and *Wulf.* 227.12[b], 13, and 285.13, in which we have the second and third infinitives of a series inflected as well as the first. The passive verb seems, therefore, to project its influence, in the case of *aliefan,* somewhat further than does the active.

The inflected infinitive after *lætan* (*Boeth.* 42.9) may be final rather than subjective; in either case the inflection is doubtless due to the presence of a gerund in the Latin original.

That in Late West-Saxon the inflected infinitive is found with *forgiefan* (*Ælf. L. S.* XXIX. 134[a, b]) and *(ge)sellan* (*Mat.* 13.11) is not surprising.

That both infinitives are found as subject with *bebeodan* may be due to the double regimen of this verb, which governs a dative of the person and an accusative of the thing, and, as we shall see in the next chapter, has as object each infinitive. But each of these inflected infinitives may be considered final; and one (*Bede* 206.16) was doubtless suggested by the gerundive of the Latin original.

This theory that the inflected infinitive as subject in Anglo-Saxon is largely due to attraction, seems to me supported, if not confirmed, by what happened to the infinitive in New Testament Greek. In his *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses in New Testament Greek,* Professor E. D. Burton devotes §§ 404–405 to "The Infinitive with τοῦ as Subject or Object." Here we read: "The Infinitive with τοῦ is used even as the subject of a finite verb or as the object of transitive verbs which regularly take a direct

object. This is a wide departure from classical usage, and indicates that the sense of the genitive character of the article τοῦ before the Infinitive was partly lost in later Greek. . . . The origin of this use of the Infinitive with τοῦ is (*sic!*) perhaps in such usages as appear in Luke 17:1; 1 Cor. 16:4; and still more in such as that in Luke 4:10. In Luke 17:1 the genitive is apparently suggested by the idea of *hindering* or *avoiding* in the adjective ἀνένδεκτον; in 1 Cor. 16:4 it is the adjective ἄξιον which gives occasion to the genitive; but in both cases the Infinitive seems to be logically the subject of the copulative verb, the adjective being the predicate. Whether this construction represents the thought in the mind of the writer, or whether the expression is rather to be regarded as an impersonal one, the Infinitive being dependent on the predicate adjective, cannot with confidence be decided. Such usages as Luke 4:10 and 5:7 doubtless owe their origin to the same mental process by which a clause introduced by ἵνα came to stand as the object of a verb of *exhorting*. Ps. Sol. 2:28 compared with Luke 12:45 is also suggestive. It is doubtless the idea of hindering in χρονίζω that gives rise to the genitive in the former passage; in the latter the Infinitive is a direct object."

Again, this explanation of the Anglo-Saxon inflected infinitive as subject seems to me supported by the fact that, in the Slavic languages, after verbs and verbal phrases that govern a dative, we frequently have a dative-with-infinitive instead of an accusative-with-infinitive construction: see Chapter IX and section ix of Chapter XVI.

The chief support of the theory, however, is to be found in the fact that, as we shall see in Chapter XVI, section i, the theory applies to the Germanic languages as a whole.

The foregoing attempt at differentiating the two forms of the infinitive as subject is, I believe, almost entirely my own. Of the influence of attraction upon the infinitive in New Testament Greek and in the Slavic languages, I did not become aware until after I had worked out the theory above given as to the subjective infinitive in Anglo-Saxon, while I was hunting for confirmation of that theory in the kindred Indo-Germanic languages. Dr. Van Draat, in his "The Infinitive *with* and *without* Preceding *to*," says nothing of the Anglo-Saxon period. Dr. Kellner, in his "Abwechselung und Tautologie," gives several examples of the interchange of uninflected and inflected infinitive in Middle English, which he believes due to a more or less conscious striving after variety, but he says nothing of the interchange in Anglo-Saxon. Professor C. A. Smith, in his *Studies in English Syntax*, pp. 41–42, has an interesting note on the interchange of simple and prepositional infinitive after auxiliaries in Shakespeare, in which he discusses the influence upon the infinitive of proximity to the chief verb, but he says nothing of the infinitive in Anglo-Saxon or of the subjective infinitive in Shakespeare. Professor Einenkel, in his "Der Infinitiv im Mittelenglischen," p. 84, speaks of the confusion between a subjective infinitive and an infinitive dependent on an adjective in Middle English as follows: "Ist das infinitivische subject eines adjectivs von einem objectsnomen begleitet, so tritt in den meisten fällen eine kreuzung ein mit dem unter dem infinitiv des zweckes verzeichneten belege: *he is good to see* (*love* etc.), das heisst, das objectsnomen wird zum subject gemacht, während das frühere infinitivische subject eine function erhält, die einem gewöhnlichen zwecksinfinitiv zum verwechseln ähnelt;"

but he does not discuss the confusion in Anglo-Saxon. Professor Kenyon, in his *The Syntax of the Infinitive in Chaucer*, pp. 49–50, quotes the preceding statement by Einenkel, and adds this interesting comment: "Einenkel does not here distinguish very clearly between the simple and prepositional infinitive, but his examples show that he has the latter in mind. My collections from O. E. [= A. S.] are not sufficient to test thoroughly his assumption that the prepositional infinitive as subject in this construction is the original syntax (or, what is equivalent, the simple infinitive, later replaced by the prepositional). But certain considerations seem to point to the *zwecksinfinitiv* as the original construction." Dr. Kenyon then details his reasons for his belief in the priority of the final use of the inflected infinitive with adjectives to the subjective use with verbal phrases, which are too long for quotation in full, but which may be briefly summarized as follows: (1) "The original function of the prepositional infinitive in O. E. was to denote purpose, and (according to Köhler, p. 47, § 10) it was so used first with nouns and adjectives." (2) The use of the uninflected infinitive as subject is rare in *Beowulf* and in Alfred. (3) The inflected infinitive with verb phrases is so often ambiguous in *Beowulf* and in Alfred that the number of examples in which the infinitive is clearly subjective is, Dr. Kenyon thinks, decidedly smaller than that of the examples in which the inflected infinitive is complementary to adjective or noun. I am not sure that the complete statistics given by me will enable one confidently to decide the question propounded by Dr. Kenyon. But my own belief is that the use of the inflected infinitive as subject of verbal phrases is probably contemporaneous with the use of the inflected infinitive as the complement of an adjective, for in each use it is found in the poetry and in the more original prose as well as in the translations and in the later prose. Moreover, while, as stated at the outset of Chapter I, the use of the infinitive is ambiguous in a number of examples, the number of ambiguous examples seems smaller to me than to Dr. Kenyon.

B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

The passive infinitive is occasionally found as the subject of these active verbs: —

beon, *be*, plus an adjective.
gebyrian, *be fitting*.
gedafenian, *be fitting*.
gelimpan, *happen*.
lystan, *please*.

As the examples quoted below show, the passive infinitive is made up of *beon* plus the past participle, and the infinitive part of the phrase is never inflected, although the participle part occasionally is.

The examples in full are: —

beon, *be*, plus an adjective:

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 438, 439: *rihtlic is* me swa besmitenre fram ðinre clænan ungewemmednysse *beon ascirod* and fram *aworpen*.

Napier's Ad. to Th. 101.322[1,2]: *selre* ðe *bið* anegede faran to heofonan rice, ðonne mid twam eagum *beon aworpen* on ece susle. [Cf. *Mat.* 18.9[b]: betere ðe ys mid anum eagan on life to ganne, ðonne ðu *si* mid twam *asend* on helle fyr, = *bonum* tibi *est* cum uno oculo in vitam intrare, quam duos oculos habentem *mitti* in gehennam ignis.]

gebyrian, *be fitting:*

L. 13.16: ne *gebyrede* hyre *beon unbunden* of ðissum bende on restedæge? = *filiam* . . . non *oportuit solvi* a vinculo isto die sabbati? — *Ib.* 17.25: Æryst him *gebyreð* ðæt he fela ðinga ðolige, and *beon* fram ðisse cneorysse *aworpen* = Primum autem *oportet illum* multa pati, et *reprobari* a generatione hac.

gedafenian, *be fitting:*

Ælf. L. S. XXX. 125: swa ðe eac *gedafenað* to efstenne . . . and . . . *beon gecostnod.*

gelimpan, *happen:*

Bede 382.13: ða *gelamp* him . . . ðurh reliquias . . . *gehæledne beon* = 280.3: *contigit eum* . . . per . . . reliquias *sanari.*

lystan, *please:*

Wærf. 287.14: ða ðuhte hire, ðæt hire *lyste beon* to ðam mægdenum *geðeoded* = 348 C: Quibus illa cum *admisceri appeteret.*

For the subjective infinitive in the other Germanic languages, see Chapter XVI, section i.

NOTES.

1. *The Subjective Infinitive in a Series.* — In the following passages, quoted on the pages indicated, we have a series of infinitives in which the first is inflected, but the succeeding is not: *Ælf. Hom.* II. 318$^{m\ 1,\ 2}$, p. 16; *Ælf. L. S.* 240.30, 31, p. 16; *ib.* 308.30, 32, p. 17; *ib.* XXV. 144$^{a,\ b}$, p. 15; *Mk.* 3.4$^{a,\ b,\ c}$, p. 14; *L.* 11.42$^{a,\ b}$, p. 15. In the following passages we have a series of infinitives in which each infinitive is inflected: — (1) with active verbs: *Boeth.* 139.29, 30; *Greg.* 151.8^{b}, 9$^{a,\ b}$; *ib.* 203.17, 18; *ib.* 217.12$^{a,\ b}$; *Oros.* 44.14$^{a,\ b}$; *Solil.* 32.16$^{a,\ b}$; *ib.* 59.33$^{a,\ b}$; *Wærf.* 334.22, 23; *Bened.* 10.3$^{a,\ b}$; *Ælf. Hom.* I. 362$^{b\ 1,\ 2}$, II. 444$^{b\ 1,\ 2}$; *Ælf. L. S.* XXIII B. 228$^{a,\ b}$; *Wulf.* 211.24$^{a,\ b}$; *ib.* 241.21$^{a,\ b}$; Minor Prose: *Cato* 63$^{a,\ b}$; Poems: *Ps.* 117.8$^{a,\ b}$; *ib.* 117.9$^{a,\ b}$; — (2) with passive verbs: *Wulf.* 227.12$^{a,\ b}$, 13; *ib.* 285.12, 13. — It seems useless to give the series in which each infinitive is uninflected.

2. *The Infinitive Occasionally Alternates with a Clause*, as in *Oros.* 106.24, quoted on p. 16 above; *Ælf. Hom.* I. 164^{t}, quoted on p. 8; *Mat.* 19.24, quoted on p. 11; and *L.* 17.25 (passive infinitive), quoted on p. 27. Dr. Kellner, in his "Abwechselung und Tautologie," p. 6, cites the passage from *Orosius* (but not the others), and seems to consider it an example of conscious variation for the sake of variety, and it may be; but to me the variation in each of the examples that I here cite seems due to chance rather than to conscious art.

3. *The Infinitive Alternates with a Noun* in *Wulf.* 196.7 (ðas lyfta and windas he astyrað to ðan swiðe, ðæt mannum ðincð heora *deað leofra*, ðonne ðone egesan *to gehyranne*) and in *Bl. Hom.* 137.15 (quoted on p. 19).

CHAPTER II.

THE OBJECTIVE INFINITIVE.

A. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

1. With Active Finite Verb.

The active infinitive as the Object of an active verb occurs about 3238 times. The objective infinitive is more commonly uninflected than inflected, there being 2709 examples of the former to 529 of the latter. Of the total of 3238 examples of the objective infinitive, about 508 occur in the poetry, of which 491 examples are uninflected and 17 are inflected. As to the prose, the objective use of the infinitive is found in Early West Saxon and in Late West Saxon, in the more original prose as well as in the translations from the Latin.

The objective infinitive, whether uninflected or inflected, normally follows the finite verb, but in each form occasionally precedes it, both in prose and in poetry. With the uninflected infinitive, pre-position is found nearly 150 times in the prose out of a total of 2216 and about 115 times in the poems out of a total of 491. In the prose, pre-position is not infrequently due to the fact that in the Latin original the infinitive precedes the finite verb, as in *Bede* 412.26 (he ðа his geferum . . . *brytian gemde* = 298.25: *prodesse curabat*) and *ib.* 426.3 (ic oft *sæcgan herde* = 305.16: de . . . tormentibus . . . *narrari* . . . *audivi*); occasionally to the fact that the infinitive occurs in a dependent clause, as in *Ælf. L. S.* 286.62 (ðonne we bec rædað oððe *rædan gehyrað*) and *ib.* 502.255 (ða halgan ðe he ealre worulde . . . *onwreon gemynte*). But neither of these two influences is strong enough to counteract the general tendency to post-position, which is frequently found under such conditions, as in *Wærf.* 207.4 (se bera . . ., ðone he *gewunode* for bilewitnesse broðor *cigan* = 252 C[4]: *vocare consueverat*) and *ib.* 84.18 (he *ongan* . . . *weopan* = 209 A[5]: *flere* . . . *cœpit*). In the poetry, pre-position is relatively more frequent than in the prose, and seems to be due in many cases to the exigencies of meter, the infinitive often carrying the alliterating letter, as in *Beow.* 3095 (worn eall gesprœc gomol on gehðo and eowic *gretan het*) and in *Gen.* 1856 (oð ðæt he *lædan heht* leoflic wif to his selfes sele). No doubt, at times, both in poetry and in prose, pre-position is used merely for the sake of variety.

The following is a complete list of the passages in which pre-position of the uninflected infinitive occurs, arranged in alphabetic sequence of the governing verb, which is here cited in the infinitive form: — *aginnan: Laws* 310, II Cnut, c. 4; — *bebeodan* [*bi-*]: *Ju.* 232; — *don: Ælf. L. S.* 214.90; — *gehieran* [*-e-, -i-, -y-*]: *Wærf.* 186.1; *Ælf. Hom.* II. 350[t], 460[t]; *Ælf. Hept.: Pref. to Gen.* 22.10; *Judges:* Epilogue, p. 265, l. 6; *Ælf. L. S.* 286.62, 500.225, XXIII B. 215; *Lœce.* 153.9; *Ps.* 131.6; — *gemed(e)mian: Laws* 410, Judic. Dei, IV, c. 3, § 2; *ib.* § 4; — *gemyntan: Ælf. L. S.* 502.255; — *geseon: Ælf. Hom.* II. 186[t]; — *geswican: L.* 5.4; — *gieman* [*-e-, -y-*]: *Bede* 364.1, 412.26, 442.2; — *hatan: Bede* 238.27, 308.14; *Greg.* 3.2; *Oros.* 44.8, 96.18, 114.33, 122.1, 164.32, 168.27, 228.8[a]; *Chron.* 91[m], 897 A[c]; *Laws* 46, Ælfred, Intr., c. 49, § 9[a]; *Bened.* 15.8, 86.15; *Mart.* 24.27, 46.25, 152.21, 218.23; *Ælf. Hom.* I. 442[t], 470[t], 478[t 1], 484[t 2], 508[b]; II. 122[b], 304[b 4], 384[t 1. 2], 480[m]; *Ælf. L. S.* 114.420, 154.112, 190.365, 414.6, 484.194, XXV. 130, 380; Minor Prose: *Nic.* 514.14; *Beow.* 674, 3095; *Gen.*

1060, 1856; *Dan.* 229; *El.* 129, 862; *Ju.* 161, 254, 303, 575, 579; *Gu.* 1344, 1348; *And.* 587; *Ps.* 50.18[a]; *H. L.* 12; *S. & S.* 275; — *hieran* [*-e-, -i-, -y-*]: *Bede* 348.26, 426.3, 430.12; *Oros.* 156.9, 286.7; *Chron.* 64[b], 851 A; *Wærf.* 2.16; Minor Prose: *Cato*, Zusätze, p. 53, l. 21; *Beow.* 273, 582, 875; *Chr.* 73; *And.* 1176; *Hūl.* 83; — *lætan: Oros.* 258.18, 19; 296.29; *Bened.* 110.19; *Wulf.* 45.25; — *myntan: Bl. Hom.* 223.11, 16; *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II.* 13.167, 251; — *onginnan: Bede* 24.23, 34.19, 56.1, 56.16, 148.30, 154.34, 174.12, 182.8, 256.24, 286.22, 288.10, 362.29, 454.15, 462.17, 466.22; *Boeth.* 25.9, 91.2, 104.31; *Oros.* 60.30, 62.2, 94.34, 106.6, 110.6, 116.28, 218.14, 262.16; *Laws* 306, I Cnut, c. 26, § 1; *Wærf.* 14.14, 32.18, 290.7; *Bl. Hom.* 105.6, 221.8, 18; *Pr. Gu.* IV. 27, 34; XX. 33; *Ælf. Hom. II.* 138[b], 472[b], 502[b 1], 518[b 1]; *Ælf. L. S.* 32.118, XXIII B. 275, 532, 723, XXXI. 1365; *A. S. Hom. and L. S. II.* 18.152; *Wulf.* 191.9, 250.17, 255.9, 262.11; Minor Prose: *Apol.* 27.12[b], 28; *Beow.* 244; *Gen.* 275, 298, 995, 1355, 1681, 2811, 2887; *Dan.* 49, 170, 190, 539, 750; *Ju.* 298; *El.* 157, 303, 306, 311, 570, 697, 849, 1067, 1163; *Gu.* 533; *And.* 1419; *Met.* 25.69, 26.80; *Ps.* 68.27, 76.10. 77.2, 101.6, 106.36, 118.161, 138.16; *Rid.* 29.11, 32.9, 55.10; *Jud.* 42, 81; *Ph.* 188; Minor Poems: *Cal.* 73; *Doomsday* 97; *D. R.* 73, 116; *Fallen Angels* 78; *Har.* 279; *Pharao* 3; *Prayers* III. 16; — *secan: Bl. Hom.* 167.2; *Wald. A.* 18, 20; — *tilian: Bl. Hom.* 165.31[a, b]; *Met.* 10.22, 11.79; — *ðencan: Bede* 36.8; *Boeth.* 93.31, 103.20; *Greg.* 343.21; *Oros.* 44.32, 54.21, 78.30, 132.12, 150.12, 200.17, 230.2, 242.6, 258.15, 258.29; *Wærf.* 239.6; *Bened.* 23.3; Minor Prose: *Bened. Of.*: 62.24; *Beow.* 355, 448, 541, 739, 800, 964, 1535; *Gen.* 1274, 2891; *Ex.* 51; *Ju.* 637; *El.* 296; *Gu.* 260, 274, 277, 298; *And.* 150, 693; *Ps.* 63.3, 88.22, 88.30, 93.20[a], 107.8, 118.91, 118.107, 118.109, 131.15, 149.7[a], 149.8[a]; *Charms* V, C, 16, 17; *D. R.* 121; *Fallen Angels* 183, 208, 364; *Gnomic Sayings* (Exeter MS.) 116; *L. P.* II. 25; *Maldon* 258, 316, 319.

Pre-position of the inflected infinitive is found only about half a dozen times, all in prose: *Bede* 258.8: Ond he rehte endebyrdnesse lifes æteawde, *7* rihte Eastran to *weorðianne lærde* = 204.20: rectum uiuendi ordinem, ritum *celebrandi* paschae canonicum . . . *disseminabat; Laws* 102, Ine B, c. 30: Gif man cyrliscne mannan *flymanfeormienne teo*, be his agenon were geladige [he] hine; *Ælf. L. S.* 530.704: on ðam fyrmestan dagan ðe decius se casere *to rixianne begann; Ælf. Hept.: Ex.* 16.23: gearwiað to morgen, ðæt ge *to gearwienne hæbbon* = quæ *coquenda sunt*, coquite; *Mat.* 20.22: Mage gyt drincan ðone calic ðe ic *to drincenne hæbbe?* = Potestis bibere calicem quem ego *bibiturus sum? Læce.* 58.27: æfter ðam spiwað, sona him *to gifanne biddað*. In some of the foregoing examples (*Bede* 258.8 and *Ex.* 16.23) the pre-position of the infinitive is probably due to the fact that its Latin equivalent precedes the finite verb; in some (*Ælf. L. S.* 530.704), to the fact that the infinitive occurs in a dependent clause; but, as a rule, neither of these two influences overthrows the normal postposition, as is evident from sentences like the following, which are not infrequent: *Bede* 372.12: ðu wast ðæt ic . . . *teolode to lifigenne* to . . . bebode = 275.1: ad . . . imperium . . . *uiuere studui; Ælf. L. S.* XXV. 36: mete, ðe moyses *forbead* godes folce *to ðicgenne*.

I have given the full lists of the pre-positive infinitives because it has been claimed by some that pre-position strongly tends to the use of the uninflected infinitive, and postposition to the use of the inflected form, but, as it seems to me, without much ground for the claim: see the section on the differentiation of the two objective infinitives, especially of the infinitive after *ðencan*.

The objective infinitive that is active in form, whether uninflected or inflected, seems to me prevailingly, if not exclusively, active in sense. Some,[1] however, hold that the uninflected infinitive, though active in form, is passive

[1] Among them are Grimm, *l. c.*, IV, pp. 61–63; Wilhelm, *l. c.*, p. 36; Jolly, *l. c.*, pp. 163–164; Bernhardt,[1] *l. c.*, pp. 383–384; Steig, *l. c.*, p. 311; Wülfing,[2] *l. c.*, II, pp. 47, 189, 191; Zeitlin,[1] *l. c.*, pp. 44–45; K. Köhler, *l. c.*, p. 7; Kellner,[1] *l. c.*, pp. 85, 97; Wilmanns, *l. c.*, pp. 163–167. On the whole, these scholars contend that the infinitive after the verbs named is not necessarily but preferably to be considered passive in sense.

in sense, after verbs of commanding, of causing, and of sense perception, in sentences like the following: *Beow.* 1920: *Het* ðа up *beran* æðelinga gestreon; *Bede* 344.21, 22: him ondweardum *het secgan* ðæt swefn 7 ðæt leoð *singan* = 260.17[a, b]: *iussus est . . . indicare* somnium et *dicere* carmen; —*And.* 397: *Læt* nu *geferian flotan* userne, lid to lande; *Boeth.* 133.25: sume he *læt* ðreagan mid heardum broce = 113.142: quosdam remordet, ne longa felicitate luxurient: *alios* duris *agitari*, ut uirtutes animi patientiae . . . confirment; *Ælf. L. S.* 512.417: se . . . man *let* ðær *ræran* . . . cytan; — *Bl. Hom.* 15.28: we nu *gehyrdon* ðis . . . godspell beforan us *rædan; Chron.* 199[1], 1066 E: Ða ðe cyng W. *geherde* ðæt *secgen*. The advocates of the passive interpretation hold, of course, that the accusative case in the above examples is the subject of the infinitive, while their opponents [1] consider it the object of the infinitive. In favor of the passive interpretation of the infinitive are these facts: that, as the examples in this chapter show, very frequently the Anglo-Saxon infinitive active in form, with or without an accompanying accusative, translates a Latin passive infinitive (with or without an accusative subject) and not infrequently a passive indicative; and that, in most if not all such instances of the infinitive after these verbs in Anglo-Saxon, the infinitive, though active in form, may in modern English be appropriately rendered by the passive infinitive, and the accusative rendered as the subject instead of the object, — a rendition likewise possible in most of the Germanic languages. But, despite this, I must hold that, to the Anglo-Saxon, the infinitive in this idiom habitually seemed active in sense as in form. As we shall see later, for the infinitive that is passive in form as well as in sense, in nearly all its uses, the Anglo-Saxon at first had next to no feeling, and was very slow in borrowing it from the Latin. The same thing is true of the Germanic people as a whole, as will be shown in Chapter XVI. Again, in a very large number of instances the Anglo-Saxon active infinitive after these verbs translates a Latin accusative and predicative active infinitive or a Latin active finite verb. In hundreds of passages, in the poems, in the more original prose, and in the translations, we find these verbs followed by an accusative subject to an infinitive that has at the same time an accusative object, — a fact that proves that there at least the infinitive is of necessity active in sense. Of less weight, but worthy of consideration is the fact that, in the alleged instances of the active infinitive used in a passive sense, very often (except with pronouns) the accusative has postposition — the place for the object accusative — rather than pre-position, as is usual with the subjective accusative. Noteworthy, too, is the survival, in the colloquial "I never heard tell of such a thing," of this objective infinitive active in English, and its very frequent use, both in speech and in writing, in modern German. In a word, the possibility of the passive interpretation of these infinitives is not denied; but it is contended that the active interpretation is more consonant with all the facts so far discovered as to the infinitive, and is truer to the genius of Anglo-Saxon and of the Germanic languages in general.

At times it is difficult to decide whether an infinitive is objective or whether it is adverbial or, occasionally, adjectival. These doubtful cases are indicated

[1] Among these may be mentioned: Erdmann,[1] *l. c.*, I, pp. 200, 205; Denecke, *l. c.*, pp. 5–6; Wunderlich,[1] *l. c.*, p. 125; and Smith,[2] C. A., who, p. 72, writes: "*Het* ða bære *settan*, 'He bade set down the bier,' not 'He commanded the bier to be set down.' The Mn. E. passive in such sentences is a loss both in force and in directness."

in the examples, and can not easily be grouped here for collective treatment. Students and critics of my study will generously bear in mind the inherent difficulty of the subject itself, a difficulty enhanced in the present instance by the large mass of examples to be considered and by the fact that many previous investigators, in both the Anglo-Saxon and in the Germanic fields, have not sought to separate the objective infinitives from the adverbial uses in the narrower sense of the latter term.

I. The uninflected infinitive only is found as the object of the following groups of verbs: —

1. Oftenest with certain Verbs of Commanding and the like, of which group the chief representative is *hatan*, ' command,' ' order.' The complete list is as follows:

abiddan, *bid, command*, which occurs only once.

hatan, *command, order*, which occurs over a thousand times.

2. Next most frequently with certain Verbs of Causing and Permitting, of which the chief representative is *lætan*, ' allow,' ' cause ':

don, *do, cause.*
forgiefan, *grant, allow.*
lætan, *allow, cause.*

3. Less frequently with the following Verbs of Sense Perception:

gehieran, *hear.*
geseon, *see.*
hieran, *hear.*
ofseon, *see.*
seon, *see.*

4. Occasionally with the following Verbs of Mental Perception:

gefrignan, *learn by inquiry.*
gehogian, *think, intend.*
geteon, *determine.*
hogian, *think, intend.*
tweogan [**tweon**], *doubt.*

5. Occasionally with the following Verbs of Beginning, Delaying, and Ceasing:

blinnan, *cease, stop.*
forieldan, *delay, defer.*
ginnan, *begin.*

6. Occasionally with the following Verbs of Inclination and of Will:

behealdan, *take care.*
cunnian, *attempt.*
forefon, *presume, undertake.*
ge-eaðmodigan, *deign, vouchsafe.*
gegiernian, *desire.*
geðyrstigan, *presume, undertake.*
lystan, *desire, yearn.*
onmedan, *presume, undertake.*
wunian, *use, be wont.*

The following are typical examples: —

1. Verbs of Commanding etc.: —

abiddan, *bid, command:*

Ælf. Hom. II. 422[b] [3]: se apostol *abæd* him wæter *beran.*

hatan, *command, order:*

Beow. 199: *Het* him yðlidan godne *gegyrwan.* — *Ib.* 674: *gehealdan het* hildegeatwe.

Gen. 1856: oð ðæt he *lædan heht* leoflice wif to his selfes sele.

Dan. 242: *het* hie hraðe *bærnan.*

Chr. 253: ðа gyldnan geatu . . . *hat ontynan.*

El. 104: *Heht* . . . Constantinus Cristes rode *gewyrcan.*

Ju. 142$^{a.\ b}$, 143: *het* hi ða *swingan,* susle *ðreagan,* witum *wægan.*

Gu. 1344: ðe *secgan het,* ðæt etc.

And. 1272: *Heton* ut hræðe æðeling *lædan* in wraðra geweald.

Bede 36.3$^{a.\ b}$: *Het* hine ða *teon 7 lædan* to ðam deofolgyldum = 19.6: *eum iussit pertrahi.* — *Ib.* 40.18: *het* ða sona *blinnan* fram ehtnysse cristenra manna = 21.21: *cessari* mox a persecutione *praecepit.* — *Ib.* 44.8: ðam dice . . ., ðe we gemynegodon ðæt Seuerus . . . *het* ðwyrs ofer ðæt ealond *gedician* = 25.10: intra uallum, quod *Seuerum . . . fecisse commemorauimus.* —*Ib.* 46.5$^{a.\ b}$: ðær Seuerus . . . iu *het dician 7* eorðweall *gewyrcan* = 27.19: ubi Seuerus quondam uallum *fecerat.* — *Ib.* 90.20: se cyning weorðlice cyrcan *heht getimbran* = 70.20: eius *hortatu* Aedelberct ecclesiam . . . *construxit.* — *Ib.* 110.12: gesetennisse . . . *heht* on Englisc *gewritan* = 90.12: quae *conscripta* Anglorum sermone . . . habentur. — *Ib.* 136.12: Ða *het* se cyning swa *don* = 112.25: Quod cum *iubente rege faceret.* — *Ib.* 166.28: Ða *het* se papa hine to biscope *gehalgian* = 139.16: in episcopatus *consecratus est* gradum. — *Ib.* 440.2^{a}: *heht* me *beran* to rædanne = 312.16^{b}: *iussit* uni . . . mihi ad legendum *deferre.*

Boeth. 37.8$^{a.\ b}$: ða *het* he hi *bindan 7* on balcan *lecgan* = 41.35: Regulus plures . . . *in uincla coniecerat.* — *Ib.* 39.19: Se *het* . . . *forbærnan* æalle Romeburg = 43.2^{a}: *urbe flammata.*

Greg. 3.1: Ælfred kyning *hateð gretan* Wærferð biscep his wordum luflice & freondlice = 0.

Oros. 44.8: ærendracan . . . asende to ðære ðeode, *7* him untweogendlice *secgan het* ðæt etc. = 45.6: missis . . . legatis, qui . . . *dicerent.* — *Ib.* 52.24$^{a.\ b}$: hu se cyning *het* his sunu *ofslean, 7* hiene siððan ðæm fæder to mete *gegierwan* = 53.19: cum filium ejus *interfecit,* epulandumque patri *adposuit.*— *Ib.* 120.33: ðæt se æðeling, . . . Pontius, *het acsian* ðone cyning his fæder, . . . hwæðer etc. = 121.26: Pontius . . . ut *Herennium* patrem *consulendum putaret,* utrum etc. — *Ib.* 288.12: he *het ofslean* Percopiosus = 289.8: Procopium . . . *occidit.*

Chron. 25^{m}, 626 E^{a}: ðær he ær *het getimbrian* cyrican of treowe. — *Ib.* 91^{m}, 897 A^{c}: he hie ðær *ahon het.*

Laws 182, VI Æthelstan, c. 12, § 1: ðæt se cyng . . . *het cyðan* ðam arcebiscope.

Wærf. 50.29, 30: ða *heht* he ða *gesomnian 7 don* on bydene = 185 A: *eas colligi præcepit.* — *Ib.* 202.7: heom ða sona *het syllan* ða andlyfne = 245 C^{1}: Quibus illico alimenta quæ detulerat *præbuit.*

Bened. 86.15: Gif hit . . . se abbod *underfon hate* = 154.17: *Quod* si *jusserit suscipi.*

Bl. Hom. 175.1: ða *heht* he Simon ðone dry *infeccan.*

Mart. 26.3: he *het* hine mid strælum *ofscotian.*

Ælf. Hom. I. 58$^{b\ 1}$: se *het afyllan* ane cyfe mid weallendum ele. — *Ib.* I. 464^{b}: Ða *het* se apostol *tolysan* ða rapas.

Ælf. L. S. XXV. 448: *het abrecan* ðone weall. — *Ib.* XXXII. 122: *het* hine ða *beheafdian.*

Ælf. Hept.: Gen. 40.19: *hæt* Pharao ðe *ahon* = Pharao *suspendet* te. — *Gen.* 41.10: *het sceofan* me . . . on cweartern = *me retrudi jussit* in carcerem. — *Jos.* 2.1: *het sceawian* ðæt land = dixit eis: Ite et *considerate* terram.

Gosp.: Mat. 27.58: Ða *het* Pilatus *agyfan* him ðone lichaman = Tunc Pilatus *jussit reddi corpus.* — *L.* 8.55[a]: he *het* hyre *syllan* etan = *jussit* illi *dari* manducare.

Wulf. 99.8: ða *het* æt nyhstan se casere *feccan* ðæne Symon to him. — *Ib.* 237.1: hy *heton byrigean* ðone godan lichaman.

Læce. 88.7: Ðis eal *het* ðus *secgean* ælfrede cyninge.

2. Verbs of Causing and Permitting:—

don, *cause, make:*

Ælf. L. S. 214.90: gif ðu me unwilles *gewemman* nu *dest* (or accusative and infinitive?).

Ps. 118.25: *do* me æfter ðinum wordum wel *gecwician* (or accusative and infinitive?).

forgiefan, *grant, allow:*

Bede 486.4: ic ðe bidde, duguða Hælend, ðæt ðu me milde *forgife* swetlice *drincan* ða word ðines wisdomes = 360.4: Teque deprecor . . . ut cui propitius *donasti* uerba tuae scientiae dulciter *haurire,* dones etiam etc. [The infinitive may be final, but is more probably objective: see Chapter XI for examples of *drincan* in final use after verbs of giving.]

lætan, *allow, cause:*

Ps. 103. 13: Swylce ðu of foldan fodder neatum *lætest alædan.*

Whale 65: *læteð* hine *beswican* ðurh swetne stenc, leasne willan, ðæt he bið leahtrum fah wið wuldorcyning.

Boeth. 38.12: Ðæt gecynd nyle næfre nanwuht wiðerwearde *lætan gemengan* = 42.53: agit enim cuiusque rei natura quod proprium est nec contrarium rerum *miscetur* effectibus.

Greg. 229.1: hie *lætað gebindan* = 172.16: *capiuntur.* — *Ib.* 349.12: fer ærest æfter him; *læt* inc *geseman* ær ðu ðin lac bringe = 270.3: vade prius *reconciliari* fratri tuo.

Oros. 258.18, 19: he ðæt folc *costigan let* . . ., ða he hie *fordon* ne *let* = 0. — *Ib.* 296.29: ða ða he hiora misdæda *wrecan let* = 297.27: ultima illa Urbem poena *consequitur.*

Chron. 37[t], 675 E[b]: ða *leot* he *rædon* ða gewrite. — *Ib.* 115[b], 963 E[a]: se biscop . . . *leot macen* ðone mynstre. — *Ib.* 157[b], 1023 C[b]: he *let ferian* . . . Ælfeges reliquias.

Wærf. 341.36: gif hi *letað* hi selfe *bebyrgan* on haligre stowe = 416 B: si in sacro loco *sepeliri se faciant.*

Bened. 110.19: hine *gehadian læte* = 0.

Bl. Hom. 13.9: ðonne ne *læteð* he us no *costian* ofer gemet.

Ælf. Hom. I. 150[b]: we sceolon . . . *lætan* hi ðær *bletsian.*

Ælf. Hept.: Ex. 12.23: he . . . ne *læt slean* nanne mann on eowrum husum = non *sinet percussorem ingredi* domos vestros et *lædere.* — *Deut.* 32.39: ic ofslea and ic *læte libban* = occidam et ego *vivere faciam.* — *Judges* 16.18: heo *let* ða swa [*fetian* Philistea ealdreas] = *Misitque* illa ad principes Philisthinorum ac mandavit.

Mat. 5.45: he *læt rinan* ofer ða rihtwisan and ofer ða unrihtwisan = et *pluit* super justos et injustos. — *Ib.* 27.26[a]: ðone Hælynd he *let swingan* = Jesum autem *flagellatum* tradidit eis.

Wulf. 125.13: ne *læt* ðu us *costnian* ealles to swyðe.

Læce. 138.2, 3[a. b. c], 4: *læt niman* ænne greatne cwurnstan *7 hætan* hine *7 lecgan* hine under ðone man *7 niman* wælwyrt . . . *7 lecgan* uppan ðone stan.

3. Verbs of Sense Perception: —

gehieran, *hear:*

El. 661: We . . . ðis næfre ðurh . . . mannes muð *gehyrdon* hæleðum *cyðan* butan her nu.

Gu. 1095: swa he ær ne sið . . . lare *gehyrde* ne swa deoplice drihtnes geryne ðurh . . . muð *areccan.*

Ps. 131.6: Efne we ðas eall on Eufraten *sæcgean gehyrdon.*

Bede 330.17: men ða ðe ðas ðing *gehyrdon secgan* = 252.4: Multique haec . . . *audientes,* accensi sunt in fide.

Boeth. 98.26: ðu *geherdest* oft *reccan* on . . . spellum = 84.64: *Accepisti* . . . in fabulis. — *Ib.* 142.26: we *geherað* hwilum *secgan* ðæt etc. = 0.

Greg. 427.17: ac ðonne hi hit heriað, ðonne lærað hi hit ælcne ðara ðe hit *gehierð herian* = 350.22: quot audientium mentes iniqua *laudantes docent.*

Solil. 50.6: we *gehyrað reden* (*sic!*) on ðam godspelle ðæt Crist cwæde = 0. [Professor Hargrove considers *reden* a past participle, but I take it to be an infinitive.]

Pr. Ps. 41.3: ðonne ic *gehyrde* to me *cweðan* = 41.4: dum *dicitur* mihi.

Wærf. 11.17: wæs gewuna, ðæt man hwilum ymb fisc *gehyrde sprecan* = 153 D: pisces *audiri consueverant,* non videri. — *Ib.* 186.1: swa swa he ær *secgan gehyrde* = 225 C: sed probare studuit quod *audivit.* — *Ib.* 338.1[b]: he . . . *gehyrde* eft *cweðan* to him on andsware = 408 A[3]: responsum protinus *audivit, dicens.*

Pr. Gu. IV. 2: swa swa ic *gehyrde secgan* = sicut . . . *audivi.*

Ælf. Hom. I. 284[1]: Ðonne ðu *gehyrst nemnan* ðone Fæder.

Ælf. L. S. 286.62: ðonne we bec rædað oððe *rædan gehyrað.* — *Ib.* XXXI. 694: ða *gehyrdon* hi *motian* wið martine lange.

Ælf. Hept.: *Gen.* 42.1: Ða *gehirde* Iacob *secgan,* ðæt etc. = *Audiens* autem Iacob, quod etc. — *Ex.* 19.13: Ðonne ge *gehiron* mid ðam byman *blawan* = cum *coeperit clangere* buccina.

L. 19.48: eall folc wæs abysgod ðe be him *gehyrde secgan* = populus suspensus erat, *audiens* illum.

Wulf. 250.15: we *gehyrdon* oft *sæcgan* be ðam . . . tocyme ures drihtnes.

Læce. 153.9: ðæs ðe we *secgan gehyrdan.*

geseon, *see:*

Beow. 231: Ða . . . *geseah* weard Scildinga . . . *beran* . . . beorhte randas. — *Ib.* 1024: maððumsweord manige *gesawon* beforan beorn *beran.*

Greg. 49.25: se ðe wolde ðæt hine mon sende, he *geseah* ær hine *clænsian* ðurh ða colu ðæs alteres = 26.28: is, qui mitti voluit, ante per altaris calculum se *purgatum vidit.*

Oros. 138.26: ða hie *gesawan* ða deadan men swa ðiclice to eorðan *beran* = 0.

Wærf. 273.20: hi *gesawon* sumes . . . ðeowes sawle *beran* upp to heofonum = 33 A[3]: cujusdam servi Dei . . . ad coelum *ferri animam viderunt.*

Ælf. Hom. II. 184[m]: *geseah* . . . sawle *lædan* to heofenan.

Ælf. L. S. 112.399: Ða *geseah* se arleasa *aidlian* his smeagunge.

L. 12.55: ðonne ge *geseoð* suðan *blawan,* ge secgað = quum *videritis* . . . austrum *flantem,* dicitis.

hieran, *hear:*

Beow. 273: swa we soðlice *secgan hyrdon*, ðæt etc. — *Ib.* 38: ne *hyrde* ic cymlicor ceol *gegyrwan.*

Chr. 73: ðæs ðe æfre sundbuend *secgan hyrdon.*

El. 671: we ðæt *hyrdon* ðurh halige bec hæleðum *cyðan.*

And. 1176: ðone ic Andreas *nemnan herde.*

Bede 190.7: ðone hlisan . . . *herde secgan* = 152.18: *rumorem . . . percrebuisse ferebat.* — *Ib.* 430.12: be ðam ic oft *sæcgan herde* = 307.26: de quo *praedicari* saepius *audiui.*

Oros. 138.18: ic *hierde* to soðum *secgan* = 139.18: ut sæpe *dictum est.* —*Ib.* 286.7: swa we hit eft *secgan hierdon* = 287.7: sicut a majoribus nostris *compertum habemus.*

Chron. 64^{b}, 851 A: wæl . . . ðe we *secgan hierdon* oð ðisne . . . dæg.

Wærf. 2.16: cyninga ðara ðe he sið oððe ær fore *secgan hyrde* = 0.

ofseon, *see:*

Ælf. Hom. II. 184^{b}: *ofseah . . . lædan . . .* sawle to heofenum.

seon, *see:*

Rid. 14.1: Ic *seah* turf *tredan.* — *Ib.* 53.1: Ic *seah* ræpingas in ræced *fergan* under hrof sales hearde twegen.

4. Verbs of Mental Perception: —

gefrignan, *learn by inquiry:*

Beow. 74: ic wide *gefrægn* weorc *gebannan* manigre mægðe geond ðisne middangeard.

And. 1094: Ða ic lungre *gefrægn* leode tosomne burgwaru *bannan.*

gehogian, *think, intend:*

Beow. 1989: ða ðu . . . *gehogodest* sæcce *secean.*

geteon, *determine:*

Bede 332.9: Gode anum *geteode ðeowigan* = 253.1: illi soli *seruire decreuisset.*

hogian, *think, intend:*

Gen. 691, 692$^{a, b}$: leode *hogode* on ðæt micle morð men *forweorpan, forlæran, 7 forlædan.*

Jud. 274: *Hogedon* ða eorlas *awecc*[*an*] h[i]ra win[e]dryhten.

Solil. 35.19: ðæt ðæt ðær ofer byð ic *hohgie* (*sic!*) swa ændebyrdlice *gedelan* swa ic . . . mæg = mihi . . . persuasit, nullo modo appetendas *esse diuitias,* sed si provenerint, sapientissime atque cautissime *administrandas.*

Ælf. L. S. XXXVI. 363: Mid ðam ðe ic *hogode helpan* ðinum wife.

tweogan [**tweon**], *doubt:*

Bede 308.26: deað, ðurh ðone heo ne *tweodon* ferende *beon* to ðam ecan rice = 238.7: per quam *se* ad uitam . . . perpetuam non *dubitabant esse transituros.*

5. Verbs of Beginning, Delaying, and Ceasing: —

blinnan, *cease, stop:*

Bede 44.2: Romane *blunnun ricsian* on Breotene = 25.7: *regnare cessarunt.* — *Ib.* 338.16, 17$^{a, b}$: heo næfre *blon . . .* ðoncunge *don*, ge . . . heorde . . . *monian 7 læran* = 256.19, 20: numquam . . . gratias *agere* uel . . . gregem . . . *docere praetermittebat.* — *Ib.* 474.9$^{a, b}$: he ne *blinneð mærsian 7 weorðian* = 347.32: *celebrare . . .* non *desinit.*

forieldan [**-ældan**], *delay, defer:*

Bede 440.19: ða hreowe ða he . . . *forælde doan (sic!)* = 313.2: *facere supersedit.*

ginnan, *begin:*

Bede 60.23: ða *gunnon* heo ðæt . . . lif . . . *onhyrgan* = 46.32: *coeperunt* . . uitam *imitari.*

6. Verbs of Inclination and of Will: —

behealdan, *take care:*

Ex. 110: syllic æfter sunnan setlrade *beheold* ofer leodwerum lige *scinan*, byrnende beam.

cunnian, *attempt:*

Ælf. Hom. I. 450ᵇ: uton *cunnian*, gif we magon, ðone reðan wiðersacan on his geancyrre *gegladian.*

forefon, *presume, undertake:*

Laws 410, Judicium Dei IV, c. 4, § 4: gif hwoelc synnig . . . gistiðia *forefenge* uel hond *gisende (sic!)* = si quis culpabilis . . . indurato *presumpserit* manum *mittere.*

ge-eaðmodi(g)an, *deign, vouchsafe:*

Bede 98.28: ðæt he [= God] *ge-eaðmodige* us *togetacnian (sic!)* . . . hwelc gesetenes to fylgenne sy = 81.30: ut ipse nobis *insinuare* . . . *dignetur*, quae etc.

gegiernian (-gyrn-), *desire:*

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 497: ic *gegyrnode* ða . . . rode *geseon.*

geðyrsti(g)an, *presume, undertake:*

Bede 70.16: se ðe *geðyrstigað onwreon* ða sceondlicnesse his steopmeder = 51.8: *reuelare praesumserit.* — *Ib.* 78.33ᵃ: ne *geðyrstgað onfon* = 56.10ᵃ: *percipere* non *praesumit.*

lystan, *desire, yearn:*

Wærf. 45.22: manige men hine geornlice *lystan* [MS. H.: *lyston*] *geseon* = 180 B¹: multi hunc . . . anxie *videre sitiebant.*

onmedan, *presume, undertake:*

Rid. 56.16: Nu me gieddes ðisses ondsware ywe, se hine *onmede* wordum *secgan* hu se wudu hatte.

wunian, *use, be wont:*

Bede 230.23: mæn *wunedon* wildeorlice *lifigan* = 175.9: homines bestialiter *uiuere consuerant.*

The following is a complete alphabetic list of verbs having only the uninflected infinitive as object: —

abiddan, *bid, command.*
behealdan, *take care.*
blinnan, *cease.*
cunnian, *attempt.*
don, *do, cause.*
forefon, *presume, undertake.*
forgiefan, *grant, allow.*
forieldan, *delay, defer.*
ge-eaðmodi(g)an, *deign, vouchsafe.*
gefrignan, *learn by inquiry.*
gegiernian, *desire.*
gehieran, *hear.*
gehogian, *think, intend.*
geseon, *see.*
geteon, *determine.*
geðyrsti(g)an, *presume, undertake.*
ginnan, *begin.*
hatan, *command.*
hieran, *hear.*
hogian, *think, intend.*
lætan, *allow, cause.*
lystan, *desire, yearn.*
ofseon, *see.*
onmedan, *presume, undertake.*
seon, *see.*
tweogan [**tweon**], *doubt.*
wunian, *use, be wont.*

II. The inflected infinitive only is found as the object with the following groups of verbs: —

1. Very rarely with this Verb of Commanding:

gedihtan, *direct, order.*

2. Occasionally with the following Verbs of Permitting: —

liefan, *allow.* **lofian**, *praise*, but here = *allow* (?).

3. With the following Verbs of Mental Perception: —

æteowan, *show.*
anbidian, *expect.*
aðencan, *intend.*
behatan, *promise.*
bodian, *preach.*
cyðan [and **beodan**], *make known.*
geceosan, *choose.*
gehyhtan, *hope.*
geliefan [-e-, -y-], *believe.*
geswutelian [-eot-], *show, explain.*
geteohhian, *think, determine.*
geðencan, *think, strive for* (?).
læran, *teach.*
mynnan, *direct one's course to, intend.*
ongietan, *understand.*
sirwan, *plot.*
smeagan [smean], *think upon, meditate.*
tæcan, *take (to).*
tæcan, *teach.*
tellan, *account, consider.*
teohhian [tih-, tioh-], *think, determine.*
ðeahti(g)an, *think upon, meditate.*
understandan, *understand.*
weddian, *contract, agree.*
witan [nytan], *know* [*know not*].

4. With the following Verbs of Beginning, Delaying, and Ceasing: —

anforlætan, *abandon.*
elcian, *delay.*
forwiernan, *prevent from, prohibit.*
gælan, *hinder from.*
gefon, *attempt, undertake.*
ieldan, *delay.*
onfon, *undertake, begin.*
underfon, *undertake.*
wiernan, *desist from.*

5. With the following Verbs of Inclination and of Will: —

adrædan, *fear.*
anðracian, *fear.*
beoti(g)an, *threaten.*
fleon, *shun.*
forgieman, *neglect.*
forgiemeleasian, *neglect.*
forsacan, *refuse.*
forseon, *despise.*
gedyrstlæcan, *presume, dare.*
getilian, *strive for, attempt.*
giernan, *desire, yearn for.*
higian, *strive for, be intent on.*
murnan, *care for, lament.*
oferhogian [and **forgieman**], *despise.*
onscunian, *shun, fear.*
reccan, *care for.*
swerian, *swear.*
teon, *accuse.*
wandian, *hesitate, be neglectful of.*
warenian, *shun.*
wiðcweðan, *refuse.*
wiðsacan, *refuse.*

6. With **habban**, *have.*

The following are typical examples: —

1. Verbs of Commanding: —
gedihtan, *direct, order:*
Wulf. 10.10: ðæt wæs ðæt an scyp, ðe godd sylf *gedihte* Noe *to wyrcanne* (or final?).

2. Verbs of Permitting: —
liefan [-e-, -y-], *allow:*
Greg. 451.29: Be ðæm cwæð . . . Paulus . . ., ða ða he sumum *liefde to ðicgganne* ðætte he nolde ðæt hi ealle ðigden = 382.10: 0.
Mat. 19.8: Moyses for eower heortan heardnesse *lyfde* eow eower wif *to*

forlætenne = Quoniam Moyses ad duritiam cordis vestri *permisit* vobis *dimittere* uxores vestras.

Wulf. 174.7: is mæst ðearf, ðæt man fram unrihte gebuge to rihte, . . . ðæt he æfre *life* ænigan men ðis fæsten *to abrecenne.*

lofian in the sense of *allow* (?):

Chron. 185^{b}, 1054 D: he *lofode* Leofwine biscope *to halgianne* ðæt mynster æt Eofeshamme.

3. Verbs of Mental Perception:—

æteowan, *show:*

Bl. Hom. 169.9: hwylc *æteowde* eow *to fleonne* fram ðon toweardan Godes erre?

anbidian, *expect:*

Laws 438, Excom. VII, c. 2, § 3: geniðrode ða men, . . . ðe ðær ænig dæl habbað oððe . . . get *anbidiað to habbanne.*

aðencan, *intend:*

Beow. 2644: ðeah ðe hlaford us ðis ellenweorc ana *aðohte to gefremmanne.*

behatan, *promise:*

Chron. 226^{t}, 1091 E: Se cyng him ongean ða manige *behet* . . . gebygle *to donne.* — *Ib.* 236^{t}, 1100 E$^{b, c}$: he . . . eallan folce *behet* ealle ða unriht *to aleggenne* . . . *7* ða betstan lage *to healdene.*

Ælf. Hept.: Deut. 10.11: lande, ðe ic *behet* hira fæderum *to syllanne* = quam juravi patribus eorum *ut traderem* eis.

Gosp.: Mat. 14.7: Ða *behet* he mid aðe hyre *to syllenne* swa hwæt swa heo hyne bæde = Unde cum juramento *pollicitus est* ei *dare* quodcumque postulasset ab eo. — *Mk.* 14.11: *beheton* him feoh *to syllanne* = *promiserunt* ei pecuniam *se daturos.*

Wulf. 172.14: is mæst ðearf, ðæt man . . . gelæste eall, ðæt man *behate* on godes est *to donne.*

bodian, *preach:*

Ælf. Hom. II. 344^{b}: *Boda* nu eallum mannum dædbote *to donne,* and andetnysse to sacerdum (or the infinitive may modify the noun, *dædbote* ?).

cyðan, *make known:*

Laws 483, Wilhelm I, Prol.: Wilhelm cyng gret ealle ða ðe ðys gewrit to cymð . . . freondlice *7* beot *7* eac *cyð* . . . *to healdenne* (or final?).

geceosan, *choose:*

Ælf. L. S. 200.73: ðu cwyst ðæt ðu *gecure* ða tingregu *to ðrowigenne.*

gehyhtan, *hope:*

Bede 164.21: ðæt he æt him geleornade, ðæt he ða uplican ricu *gehyhte* heofona *to onfonne* = 138.1: regna caelorum *sperare didicit.*

geliefan [-e-, -y-], *believe:*

Bede 330.25$^{a, b}$: ic hit . . . *gelyfde* ðam . . . stære *to geðeodenne 7* in *to gesettenne* = 252.13: *eam* . . . *inserendam credidi.*

geswutelian [-sweot-], *show, explain:*

Mat. 3.7: hwa *geswutelode* eow *to fleonne* fram ðam toweardan yrre? = quis *demonstravit* vobis *fugere* a ventura ira?

geteohhian [-tioh-], *think, determine:*

Boeth. 117.21 God *hæfð getiohhod to sellanne* witu *7* ermða ðam yflum monnum = 0. — *Ib.* 139.29^{a}: of ðam wege ðe wit *getiohhod habbað* on *to farenne* = 121.10: a *propositi* nostri tramite . . . auersa sunt.

Greg. 251.24: gif he ðam gehiersuman mannum *næfde geteohchad* his eðel *to sellanne* = 190.22: Nisi enim correctis hæreditatem *dare disponeret.* — *Ib.* 419.13: Ðæt ilce ðæt he *getiohchod hæfde to biddanne* he cwæð ðæt him wære ær forgiefen = 340.23: Qui dum se adhuc petere promittit, hoc quod *petere se promittebat*, obtinuit. — *Ib.* 445.7: ðonne ðonne hie forlætað . . . ða god ðe hi *getiohchod æfdon* (*sic!*) *to ðonne* (*sic!* for *to donne*), ðæt etc. = 372.19: quia dum *proposita* non *perficiunt*, etiam quæ fuerant cœpta convellunt.

Solil. 37.5: me lyst ðara ðe ic *getiohhod habbe to ætanne* = 0.

Pr. Ps. 10.3: hi wilniað . . . ðæt hi toweorpen ðæt God *geteohhad hæfð to wyrcanne* = 10.4: Quoniam quæ *perfecisti*, destruxerunt.

Ælf. Hom. I. 198ᵇ: Ic *geteohode* min lif on mægðhade *to geendigenne.*

Ælf. L. S. XXXI. 677: ðone ðe he ær *geteohhode* mid teonan *to forseonne.*

geðencan, *think, strive for:*

Ælf. Hept.: Job, XII (= 6.27): ge logiað eowere spræce and *geðencað to awendenne* eowerne freond = eloquia concinnatis, et *subvertere nitimini* amicum vestrum.

læran,[1] *teach:*

Bede 258.8: he rehte endebyrdnesse lifes æteawde, *7* rihte Eastran *to weorðianne lærde* = 204.20: rectum uiuendi ordinem, ritum *celebrandi* paschae canonicum . . . *disseminabat.* — *Ib.* 276.6ᵇ: ongon *læran to healdenne* . . . ða ðing = 214.27ᵇ: coepit *obseruanda docere.*

Boeth. 79.17: ne ðe nan neodðearf ne *lærde to wyrcanne* ðæt ðæt ðu worhtest = 71.3: 0.

Læce. 35.10: Sume an word wið nædran bite *lærað to cweðenne*, ðæt is faul, ne mæg him derian.

mynnan, *direct one's course to, intend:*

And. 295: to ðam lande, ðær ðe lust *myneð to gesecenne.*

Gu. 1062: ðær min hyht *myneð to gesecanne.*

ongietan, *understand:*

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 801: Iohannes soðlice *ongeat* sume ða mynsterwisan *to gerihtanne* swa swa seo halige ær foresæde.

sirwan, *plot:*

Apol. 31.34: he . . . me ða *sirwde to ofsleanne* = 48ᵇ [2]: me *machinabatur occidere* (or final?).

smeagan [**smean**], *think upon, meditate:*

Greg. 55.22: *smeagað* ðeah & ðeahtigað on hiera modes rinde monig god weorc *to wyrcanne* = 32.10: *operaturos* tamen *se* magna *pertractant.*

Pr. Ps. 18.12: ne eac ðinne willan ne mæg *smeagan to wyrcanne* = 0.

Ælf. Hom. II. 146: ðær he sylf *smeade* ðæt hus *to arærenne.*

tacan, *take to:*

Chron. 263ᵐ, 1135 E: Dauid King of Scotland *toc to uuerrien* him.

tæcan,[2] *teach:*

Greg. 165.10: Ða isernan hierstepannan he *tæhte* for iserne weall *to settanne* betuh ðæm witgan & ðære byrig = 120.12: Sartago enim ferrea murus ferreus inter prophetam et civitatem *ponitur.*

Ælf. Hom. II. 216ᵇ: Ðus *tæhte* Crist on ðære Niwan Gecyðnysse eallum cristenum mannum *to donne.*

tellan, *account, consider:*

[1] Cf. Gorrell, *l. c.*, p. 375.

[2] Cf. Gorrell, *l. c.*, p. 370.

Ælf. Hom. I. 158ᵇ: For nahte he *tealde* ænig ðing *to biddenne* buton gesihðe.

teohhian [tih-, tioh-], *think, determine:*

Boeth. 51.6: hwider ic ðe nu *tiohige to lædenne* = 51.15ᵇ: si quonam te *ducere aggrediamur* agnosceres. — *Ib.* 116.12: for ðære wræce *tihodon* hine *to forlætenne* = 0. — *Ib.* 143.19: ne *tiohhode to wyrcanne* = 0.

Greg. 305.4: forðæm he *tiohchode* him ma *to fultemanne* = 232.12: solatium petivit *ut daret.* — *Ib.* 305.5: he sohte hine him to latðeowe on ðæm wege, forðæm he *teohchode* hine *to lædanne* on lifes weg = 232.13: ducem requirebat in via, ut *dux* ei *fieri* potuisset ad vitam. — *Ib.* 445.8: forðæm, gif ðæt ne wexð ðæt hie *tiohhiað to donne* = 372.20: Si enim quod videtur *gerendum*, . . . non crescit.

Solil. 36.12: Ic gehyre nu ðæt ðu ne *tiohhast* nan wif to hæbbenne = 0.

Pr. Ps. 39.16: ða ðe ehtað mine sawle and hy *teohhiað* me *to afyrrane* = 39.15: qui quærunt animam meam, *ut auferant* eam.

ðeahti(g)an,[1] *think upon, meditate:* see *Greg.* 55.22 under *smeagan.*

understandan, *understand:*

Apol. 19.19: ðone deað hi oferhogodon and ðone rædels *understodon to ærædenne* = 0.

weddian, *contract, agree:*

L. 22.5: him *weddedon* feoh *to syllenne* = *pacti sunt* pecuniam illi *dare.*

witan [**nytan**], *know* [*know not*]:

Gen. 243: *nyston* sorga wiht *to begrornianne.*

Ju. 557: *wiste* he ði gearwor, manes melda, magum *to secgan* (*sic!*), susles ðegnum, hu etc.

Oros. 220.9: Hwæðer Romane hit *witen* nu ænegum men *to secganne*, hwæt etc. = 0.

Chron. 224ᵐ, 1087 Eᵈ: ða Englisce men . . . adrengton ma ðonne ænig man *wiste to tellanne.*

Laws 166, V Æthelstan, Prol., 3: we *nytan* nanum oðrum ðingum *to getruwianne* (or with noun?). — *Ib.*: 180, VI Æthelstan, c. 8, § 8: Gyf he *nyte* spor *to tæcenne* (or with noun?).

Ælf. Hom. II. 506ᵇ: Ða *nyste* heora nan his naman *to secgenne.*

4. Verbs of Beginning, Delaying, and Ceasing:—

anforlætan, *abandon:*

Wærf. 337.2: heo byð deadlic, ðonne heo *anforlæt syngiende* (*sic!* but for *syngienne*?), ðæt heo eadiglice 7 rihtlice lifige = 405 B: Anima itaque et mortalis esse intelligitur, et immortalis. Mortalis quippe, quia beate *vivere amittit.*

elcian, *delay:*

Ælf. Hom. II. 282ᵗ: Ne *elca* ðu *to gecyrrenne* to Gode. [Cf. *Ælf. Hom.* II. 26ᵗ: Ðæt he leng ne *elcode* to his geleafan.]

forwiernan, *prevent from, prohibit:*

Ælf. Hom. I. 604ᵐ [1]: Swa swa dæges leoht *forwyrnð* gehwilcne *to gefremmenne* ðæt ðæt seo niht geðafað.

Ælf. L. S. 380.249: god . . . ne eac us *forwyrnð* yfel *to wyrcenne.*

gælan, *hinder from:*

Greg. 445.30: ðonne ne *gælð* us nan ðing *te* (*sic!*) *fullfremmanne* ða godan weorc = 374.14: erga cœptum studium nullo torpore *languerunt.*

[1] Cf. Gorrell, *l. c.*, p. 475.

gefon, *attempt, undertake:*

Ælf. L. S. XXV. 148: hi *gefengon to dreccenne* ðone fiftan broðor.

ieldan [**eldan**], *delay:*

Bede 132.16: Mid ðy . . . se cyning *elde* ða gyt *to gelyfanne* = 110.24: Cum . . . rex *credere differet.* — *Ib.* 430.33[a, b]: ða ðe *eldende wæran to andettenne* 7 *to betenne* heora synna = 308.13[a, b]: qui *differentes confiteri* et *emendare* scelera.

Wærf. 119.2: ða *wæs* he lange *eldende* ðone *to nimanne* = B. 148 C[1]: Quem diu *demoratus* etc.

Bl. Hom. 7.33: to hwon *yldestu* middangeard *to onlyhtenne?*

onfon, *undertake:*

Bede 334.4, 5: ðæt heo *onfeng* mynster *to timbrenne* 7 *to endebyrdienne* = 254.3: contigit eam *suscipere* etiam *construendum* siue *ordinandum* monasterium.

Wærf. 75.33: hwæt ðæt sy ðæt se . . . feond *onfeng* swylcere bylde *to acwyllane* in ðæs huse = 204 A: Quidnam hoc esse dicimus, ut *occidendi ausum* in ejus hospitio antiqus hostis *acciperet.*

Bened. 14.17: Wite eac se abbod, ðæt se ðe *onfehð* saula *to ræccænne* = 26.1: qui *suscipit* animas *regendas* (or final?).

underfon, *undertake:*

Greg. 77.4: ða ðe oðerra monna saula *underfoð to lædanne* on ða treowa hira agenra gearnunga to ðam innemestan halignessum = 50.6: qui . . . animas ad æterna sacraria *perducendas* in suæ conversationis fide *suscipiunt* (or final?). — *Ib.* 161.12: ðonne hie ðara eorðlicra monna heortan *underfoð to læronne* = 116.25: quando terrenum auditorum cor, *ut doceant, apprehendunt* (or final?). — *Ib.* 293.3[a, b]: he *underfeng* ða halgan gesomnunga *to plantianne & to ymbhweorfanne*, sua se ceorl deð his ortgeard = 220.26: 0.

Wærf. 113.22: ðas stowe se Gota *underfeng to clænsienne* = B. 144 C: Locum autem ipse quem *mundandum* Gothus *susceperat* (or final?). — *Ib.* 325.10: se me *hæfde underfongen to forswelgenne* = 392 B[4]: Gratias Deo, ecce draco qui me *ad devorandum acceperat* fugit (or final?).

wiernan, *desist from:*

Greg. 381.6: Swa eac se ðe ne *wirnð* ðæs wines his lare ða mod mid *to oferdrencan*[*n*]*e* ðe hine gehieran willað, he bið etc. = 296.9: et dum vino eloquii auditorum mentem *debriare* non *desinit*, etc.

5. Verbs of Inclination and of Will: —

adrædan, *fear:*

Mk. 9.32: hi *adredon* hine *ahsiende* (*sic!* but for *ahsienne*?) = 9.31: *timebant interrogare* eum.

anðracian, *fear:*

Ælf. Hom. II. 554[1]: Hi *anðraciað to gefarenne* lifes wegas.

beoti(g)an, *threaten:*

Chad. 193: swa swa he *beotige* us *to slenne* 7 ðonne hweðere ðonne gyt ne slæð = quoties . . . quasi *ad feriendum minitans* exerit nec adhuc tamen percutit (or final?).

fleon, *shun:*

Greg. 33.12: Forðæm se wealhstod [self] Godes & monna, ðæt is Crist, *fleah* eorðrice *to underfonne* = 14.4: regnum *percipere vitavit* in terris.

forgieman [-y-], *neglect:*

Laws 453, Gerefa, Inscr., c. 3, § 1[a. d]: oferhogie he oððe *forgyme* ða ðing *to beganne 7 to bewitanne.*

forgiemeleasian [-y-], *neglect:*

Ælf. Hom. II. 102[b]: Gif ðu *forgymeleasast to dælenne* ælmessan.

forseon, *despise:*

Wærf. 180.17: he *forseah to donne* ðæt heo hine bæd = 217 B[1]: non solum *facere*, sed etiam audire *despiceret.*

Ælf. Hom. II. 374[1]: *forsihð to cumenne.*

Ælf. L. S. 290.96: Sume fæston eac swa ðæt hi *forsawon to etanne.*

Wulf. 296.28: forðan hig *forsawon* ær *to healdenne* ðone halgan dæg mid rihte.

gedyrstlæcan, *presume, dare:*

Bened. 15.13: ðæt nan ne *gedyrstlæce* . . . his agenne ræd *to bewerigenne* = 28.3: ut non *præsumant* . . . *defendere* etc. — *Ib.* 106.4: ne *gedyrstlæce* he na ða ðenunga *to beginnenne* = 172. 12: nullatenus aliqua *præsumat.*

Ælf. Hom. II. 392[1 2]: He *gedyrstlæhte to ganne* up on ðære sæ ðurh Crist.

getilian, *strive for, attempt:*

Solil. 35.17: ne æac maran *getilige to haldænne* ðonne ic gemetlice bi beon mage = mihi . . . persuasit, nullo modo *appetandas esse divitias.*

giernan [-y-], *desire, yearn for:*

Bede 480.11: monige . . . hi seolfe *7* hira bearn ma *gyrnað* in mynster ond on Godes ðeowdomhad *to sellenne* ðonne etc. = 351.21: plures . . . se suosque liberos . . . *satagunt* magis . . . monasterialibus *adscribere* uotis quam bellicis exercere studiis.

Bl. Hom. 53.25: swa ða halgan dydon ðe on ðyssum life naht ne sohton ne ne *gyrndon to hæbbenne.*

Pr. Gu. I. 7: ða *gyrnde* he him his gemæccan *to nymanne* = *adoptata* sibi coaetanea *virgine* inter . . . puellarum agmina etc. — *Ib.* II. 93: ða *girnde* he his sealmas *to leornianne* = Dum enim litteris edoctus psalmorum canticum *discere maluisset.*

higian, *strive for, be intent on:*

Greg. 105.14: ðætte sua hwelc sua inweard *higige to gangenne* on ða duru ðæs ecean lifes = 72.18: ut quisquis *intrare* æternitatis januam *nititur.*

Wærf. 178.3[a. b]: gif we *higiað* to oðra æðelra wera wundrum ða *to gereccanne 7 to asecganne* = B. 204 C[2]: ut si *ad* aliorum miracula *enarranda tendimus.*

oferhogian [and **forgieman**], *despise:*

Laws 453, Gerefa, Inscr., c. 3, § 1[a. b]: quoted under *forgieman* above.

onscunian, *shun, fear:*

Ælf. Hom. II. 346[1 3]: Hwi *onscunast* ðu *to underfonne* ðisne lichaman?

Ælf. Hept.: Ex. 8.26: ða ðing, ðe Egipstisce *onscuniað to offrianne* = abominationes enim Ægyptiorum *immolabimus* domino deo nostro?

reccan, *care for:*

Laws 40, Ælfred, Intr., c. 40: Leases monnes word ne *rec* ðu no ðæs *to gehieranne.*

Ælf. L. S. 440.122: gif ge *rohton* hit *to gehyrenne.*

swerian, *swear:*

Chron. 268[m], 1140 E[1. s]: Ðis . . . *suoren to halden* (*sic!*) ðe King *7* te eorl; . . . alle . . . *suoren* ðe pais *to halden* (*sic!*).

teon, *accuse:*

Laws 102, Ine B, c. 30: Gif man cyrliscne mannan *flymanfeormienne teo*, be his agenon were geladige [he] hine. [MS. E: . . . *fliemanfeorme teo;* MS. H.: . . . *flyman feormie, 7* hine mon *teo.*]

wandian, *hesitate, be neglectful of:*

Chron. 178[1], 1052 E[b]: he ne *wandode* na him metes *to tylienne*, eode up.

Laws 138, I Eadweard, Prol.: Ne *wandiað* for nanum ðingum folcriht *to geregceanne* [MS. B: *to gerecanne*].

Ælf. Hom. II. 554[1 2]: swa-ðeah ne *wandiað to licgenne* on stuntnysse heora asolcennysse.

Ælf. L. S. XXXI. 699: ða *wandode* he lange him ðæt *to secgenne.* — *Ib.* XXXI. 1036: He eac ne *wandode* on ðam . . . felda ða hæðenan *to cristnigenne.*

Wulf. 191.6: bydelas . . ., ðe . . . *wandiað* godes riht *to sprecanne.*

warenian, *shun:*

Bede 474.20: ðone hie . . . *warenedon to anfonne* = 348.9: quem . . . *uitabant.*

wiðcweðan, *refuse:*

Ælf. Hom. II. 516[b]: Ne *wiðcweðe* ic, Drihten, *to deorfenne* gyt.

wiðsacan, *refuse:*

Greg. 383.19: hu, ne *wiðsæcð* se ðonne eallunga Godes ðegn *to bionne*, se ðe wiðsæcð ðæt etc.? = 298.17: profecto *esse se* Dei *denegat*, qui etc.?

6. **Habban**,[1] *have.*

Most of the examples are doubtful. In some examples it is difficult to tell whether the infinitive depends on *habban* or on a neighboring noun or adverb. In some examples the infinitive seems to denote futurity; in others, necessity. The examples in full are: —

Boeth. 52.27: Nære hit no ðæt hehste god gif him ænig butan wære, forðæm hit ðonne *hæfde to wilnianne* sumes godes ðe hit self næfde = 52.10: quoniam relinqueretur extrinsecus, quod *posset optari* (?).

Laws 106, Ine, c. 42: Gif ceorlas gærstun *hæbben* gemænne oððe oðer gedal-land *to tynanne* (or final?).

Ælf. Hom. II. 78[m]: gecyrrað nu huru-ðinga on ylde to lifes wege, nu ge *habbað* hwonlice *to swincenne.*

Ælf. Hept.: Ex. 16.23: gearwiað to morgen, ðæt ge *to gearwienne hæbbon* = quodcumque operandum est, facite, et quæ *coquenda sunt*, coquite. — *Judges* 3.20[a]: ic *hæbbe* ðe *to secganne* ures godes ærende = Verbum dei *habeo* ad te.

Mat. 20.22: Mage gyt drincan ðone calic ðe ic *to drincenne hæbbe?* = Potestis bibere calicem quem ego *bibiturus sum?*

A. S. Hom. & L. S. II: 15.149: Geswiga ðu earmingc, ne *hæfst* ðu nan ðingc on me *to donne* (or with noun?).

The following is a complete alphabetic list of the verbs having only the inflected infinitive as object: —

adrædan, *fear.*
æteowan, *show.*
anbidian, *expect.*
anforlætan, *abandon.*
anðracian, *fear.*
aðencan, *intend.*
behatan, *promise.*
beoti(g)an, *threaten.*

[1] Cf. Buchtenkirch, *l. c.*, p. 32; Wülfing,[2] *l. c.*, II, p. 209; Kenyon, *l. c.*, p. 109.

bodian, *preach.*
cyðan (and **beodan**), *make known.*
elcian, *delay.*
fleon, *shun.*
forgieman, *neglect.*
forgiemeleasian, *neglect.*
forsacan, *refuse.*
forseon, *despise.*
forwiernan, *prevent from, prohibit.*
gælan, *hinder from.*
geceosan, *choose.*
gedihtan, *direct, order.*
gedyrstlæcan, *presume, dare.*
gefon, *attempt, undertake.*
gehyhtan, *hope.*
geliefan, *believe, hope.*
geswutelian [-eot-], *show, explain.*
geteohhian, *think, determine.*
getilian, *strive for, attempt.*
geðencan, *think, strive for* (?).
giernan, *desire, yearn for.*
habban, *have.*
higian, *strive for, be intent on.*
ieldan, *delay.*
læran, *teach.*
liefan, *allow.*
lofian, *praise, allow* (?).
murnan, *care for, lament.*
mynnan, *direct one's course to, intend.*
oferhogian [and **forgieman**], *despise.*
onfon, *undertake, begin.*
ongietan, *understand.*
onscunian, *shun, fear.*
reccan, *care for.*
sirwan, *plot.*
smeagan [**smean**], *think upon, meditate.*
swerian, *swear.*
tacan, *take* (*to*).
tæcan, *teach.*
tellan, *account, consider.*
teon, *accuse.*
tih(h)ian, *think, determine.*
ðeahti(g)an, *think upon, meditate.*
underfon, *undertake.*
understandan, *understand.*
wandian, *hesitate, be neglectful of.*
warenian, *shun.*
weddian, *contract, agree.*
wiernan, *desist from.*
witan [**nytan**], *know* (*know not*).
wiðcweðan, *refuse.*
wiðsacan, *refuse.*

III. The uninflected infinitive and the inflected infinitive are each found as the object with the following groups of verbs: —

1. With the following Verbs of Commanding and the like: —

bebeodan, *command.*
beodan, *command.*
bewerian, *prohibit, forbid.*
biddan, *request.*
forbeodan, *forbid.*
gehatan, *order.*

2. With the following Verbs of Permitting: —

aliefan, *allow.*
geðafian, *allow.*
sellan, *grant, allow.*

3. With the following Verbs of Mental Perception: —

findan, *find.*
geleornian, *learn.*
gemyntan, *intend, determine.*
gestihhian, *determine, decide.*
leornian, *learn.*
myntan, *think, intend.*
ðencan, *think, attempt.*
wenan, *hope, expect.*

4. With the following Verbs of Beginning, Delaying, and Ceasing: —

ablinnan, *cease, desist from.*
aginnan, *begin.*
beginnan, *begin.*
fon, *undertake, begin.*
forlætan, *abandon, omit.*
geswican, *stop, desist from.*
onginnan, *begin.*

5. With the following Verbs of Inclination and of Will: —

forhogian, *despise, neglect.*
forhycgan, *despise, neglect.*
ge-earnian, *deserve, earn.*
gemed(e)mian, *deign, vouchsafe.*
geðristlæcan [-y-], *presume.*
gewil(l)nian, *desire.*
gewunian, *use, be wont.*
gieman, *care.*
ondrædan, *fear.*
secan, *seek.*
tilian [**teolian**], *attempt, strive for.*
wil(l)nian, *desire.*

Typical examples are the following: —

1. Verbs of Commanding: —

bebeodan [bi-], *command:*

(1) Uninflected:

El. 1018: Ða seo cwen *bebead* cræftum getyde sundor *asecean.*

Ju. 232: *gelædan bibead* to carcerne. — *Ib.* 295: ðæt he Iohannes *bibead* heafde *biheawan.*

Bede 36.31[a, b]: het ða 7 *bebead* hraðe *swingan* 7 *tintregian* ðone Godes andettere = 19.31: *caedi . . .* Dei *confessorem* a tortoribus *praecepit.* — *Ib.* 388.20: Ða *bebead* se biscop ðeosne to him *lædan* = 283.27: *Hunc . . . adduci praecipit* episcopus.

Laws 46, Ælfred, Intr., c. 49, § 7: he *bebead* ðone hlaford *lufian* swa hine.

Ælf. Hom. I. 380[b 1, 2]: Nero *bebead* Petrum and Paulum on bendum *gehealdan*, and ða sticca Simones hreawes mid wearde *besettan.*

(2) Inflected:

Bede 412.1: ða ðing, ðe ic *bebead* him *to secganne* = 297.30: quae tibi *dicenda praecepi* (or final?).

Oros. 292.27: ðær Maximus mid firde bad æt Aquilegia ðære byrig, 7 his ealdormen Andregatia *hæfde beboden* ða clusan *to healdanne* = 293.28: Aquileiae tunc Maximus victoriae suae spectator insederat. Andragathius comes ejus summam belli *administrabat* (or final?).

Chron. 206[1], 1070 A[b]: se arcebiscop . . . *bebead* ðam biscopan . . . ða serfise *to donde* (*sic!* for *to donne*).

Laws 42, Ælfred, Intr., c. 49[a]: Ðis sindan ða domas ðe se . . . God self sprecende wæs to Moyse 7 him *bebead to healdanne.*

Ælf. Hom. II. 316[b]: gif ge wyrcende beoð ða ðincg ðe ic *bebeode* eow *to gehealdenne.*

Ælf. L. S. 22.203: foresceawige hwæt heo gehwylcum lime *bebeode to donne.*

Wulf. 294.28: ða godan weorc, ðe god us *beboden hæfð to adreoganne* on ðam drihtenlican dæge. — *Ib.* 296.5: wite ge . . . ðæt ic æfre fram frymðe *bebead* ðone drihtenlican dæg *to healdenne.*

beodan, *command:*

(1) Uninflected:

Ælf. Hom. II. 262[1]: bædon ðæt he *bude* ða byrgene *besettan* mid wacelum weardum.

(2) Inflected:

Greg. 47.13: ðonne he for nanre anwielnesse ne wiðcuið ðam nyttan weorcum ðe him mon *beodeð to underfonne* = 24.24: cum ad respuendum hoc, quod utiliter *subire praecipitur*, pertinax non est.

Pr. Ps. 39.7: Ne *bud* (*sic!*) ðu me na ælmessan *to syllan* (*sic!*), ne for minum synnum = holocaustum et pro peccato non *postulasti.*

Laws 42, Ælfred, Intr., c. 49, § 3[a]: we geascodon ðæt ure geferan sume . . . to eow comon 7 eow hefigran [wisan *budon*] *to healdanne* ðonne we him budon.

Wulf. 231.1: behealdað . . . ða fæstendagas, ðe men eow *beodað to healdenne.*

beweri(g)an [bi-], *prohibit, forbid:*

(1) Uninflected:

Bede 82.24: we him ~~ne sculon~~ *biwerigan* ~~ðam halgan~~ geryne onfon = 58.27[b]: a nobis *prohiberi* non debet *accipere.*

(2) Inflected:

Bede 80.7: mid ðy seo æ monig ðing *bewereð to etanne* swa swa unclæne = 56.32: Nam cum multa lex uelut immunda *manducare prohibeat.*

biddan, *request, demand:*

(1) Uninflected:

Versuchung Christi 9: brohte him to bearme brade stanas, *bæd* him for hungre hlafas *wyrcan.*

Ælf. Hom. II. 182[m]: se ðe *bitt æræran* his sunu.

A. S. Hom. & L. S. II. 15.152[e]: *bæd wyrcan* scearpa piles = 0. — *Ib.* 15.288[a, b]: *bæd* ðære fæmne (*sic!*) *fet* and handan (*sic!*) tosomne *gebindon* (*sic!*) and innen ðone weallende cetel *gesetton* (*sic!*) = 217.320[a, b]: Tunc *iubet* praefectus afferi vas magnum plenum aqua et *ligari manus* et pedes beatae Margaretae et ibi *eam mortificari.*

Apol. 23.34[a]: Apollonius hi *bæd* ealle *gretan* and on scip astah = 42[t]: *vale dicens* omnibus conscendit ratem.

(2) Inflected:

Læce 58.27: æfter ðam spiwað, sona him *to gifanne biddað.*

forbeodan,[1] *forbid:*

(1) Uninflected:

Bede 70.8: seo . . . æ bewereð 7 *forbeodeð* ða scondlicnesse *onwreon* mægsibba = 50.34: lex *prohibet* cognationis turpitudinem *reuelare.*

(2) Inflected:

Greg. 369.3: Godes æ, ðe us *forbiet* diofulum *to offrianne* = 286.5: legem Dei, quæ idcirco data est ut *sacrificia* satanæ *prohibeat.*

Laws 214, Krönungseid, Prol.: ða hine man halgode to cinge, 7 *forbead* him ælc wedd *to syllanne.*

Ælf. Hom. I. 122[t]: Moyses æ *forbead to hrepenne* ænigne hreoflan. — *Ib.* II. 534[b]: se Drihten ðe *forbead* ðam bydelum *to berenne* pusan oððe codd.

Ælf. L. S. XXV. 89: moyses *forbead* swyn *to etenne.*

Ælf. Hept.: De V. T. 4.43: he *forbead* se ðeah blod *to ðicgenne.*

Ælf. Gr. 242.7: *de intus* wiðinnan, *de foris* wiðutan *forbead* Donatus *to cweðenne.*

Wulf. 200.3[a, b]: he *forbyt* ælcum men aðor *to bycganne* oððe *to syllanne.*

gehatan, *order, promise:*

(1) Uninflected:

Bede 144.27, 28: he *gehet* . . . stapolas *asetton* (*sic!*) 7 . . . ceacas *onahon* = 118.11: *erectis stipitibus,* aereos *caucos suspendi iuberet.*

(2) Inflected:

Bede 316.22: se cyning him *geheht* ge lond ge micel feoh *to gesyllenne* = 243.16: *promiserit se* ei terras ac pecunias multas *esse donaturum.*

Bl. Hom. 181.26: se ðe englas *gehet* wið me *to sendenne.*

2. Verbs of Permitting:—

aliefan, *allow:*

(1) Uninflected:

Gosp.: Mat. 8.21[b]: Drihten, *alyfe* me ærest to farenne and *bebyrigean* minne fæder = Domine, *permitte* me primum ire, et *sepelire* patrem meum (or

[1] Cf. Gorrell, *l. c.*, pp. 373, 475.

predicative?). — *L.* 9.59: *alyf* me æryst *bebyrigean* minne fæder = *permitte* mihi primum ire, et *sepelire* patrem meum (or predicative?).

(2) Inflected:

Mat. 8.21[a]: quoted above.

Ælf. L. S. 102.227: ðam *alyfde* se casere heora cristendom *to healdenne.*

geðafian, *allow, consent:*

(1) Uninflected:

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 606: him ne *geðafode* fulfremodlice on ða eorðan *astreccan.*

(2) Inflected:

Bede 276.31: hwæðer heo *geðafedon* ða domas *to healdenne* = 215.24: si *consentirent* ea . . . *custodire.*

Ælf. Hom. I. 4[b]: Se . . . God *geðafað* ðam arleasan Antecriste *to wyrcenne* tacna.

sellan, *grant, allow:*

(1) Uninflected:

Beow. 3056: nefne god sylfa . . . *sealde,* ðam ðe he wolde (he is manna gehlyd) hord *openian.*

(2) Inflected:

Schöpf. 30: ðonne him frea *sylle to ongietanne* godes agen bibod.

3. Verbs of Mental Perception:—

findan, *find, strive:*

(1) Uninflected:

El. 1255: swa ic on bocum fand wyrda gangum, on gewritum *cyðan* be ðam sigebeacne.

(2) Inflected:

Dan. 544: bæd hine areccan, hwæt seo run bude, hofe haligu word 7 in hige *funde to gesecganne* soðum wordum, hwæt etc.

geleornian, *learn:*

(1) Uninflected:

Bede 404.22: he *geleornode* . . . ingong *geopenian* ðæs heofonlican lifes = 292.17: *didicerat* . . . *patere* . . . introitum.

(2) Inflected:

Bede 210.31: eall ða ðe he *geleornade to donne* = 164.22: quae *agenda didicerat.*

gemyntan, *intend, determine:*

(1) Uninflected:

Ex. 199: *hæfdon* hie *gemynted* to ðam mægenheapum to ðam ærdæge Israhela cynn billum *abreotan* on hyra broðorgyld.

Chron. 22[b], 616 F[a. b]: he *hæfde gemynt* eal ðis land *forlætan* 7 ouer sæ *faran.*

Ælf. L. S. 154.127[b]: se *hæfde gemynt* mynster to arærenne and mid munecum *gesettan.* — *Ib.* 502.255: ða halgan ðe he ealre worulde . . . *onwreon gemynte.*

(2) Inflected:

Ælf. Hom. I. 414[1]: ðaða God *gemynte* his yfelnysse *to geendigenne.* — *Ib.* II. 578[1 2]: ðæt tempel ðe his fæder *gemynte to arærenne.*

Ælf. L. S. 154.127[a]: quoted under "Uninflected" above. — *Ib.* 212.51: swa hwæt swa ðu *gemyntest* on forðsiðe *to donne.* — *Ib.* XXV. 769: Heliodorus ða *gemynte* ða maðmas *to genimenne.*

Ælf. Hept.: Num. 24.11: ic *hæfde gemynt* ðe *to arwurðienne = decreveram . . . honorare* te.

Wulf. 277.26: Dauid cyning hit *hæfde gemynt* ær *to donne.*

gestihhian, *determine, decide:*

(1) Uninflected:

Bede 218.9: *gestihhade* his life *geendian* = 168.2: uitam *finire disposuit.*

(2) Inflected:

Solil. 38.1: be ðam ðingum ðe ðu me ær sedest ðat ðu *gestyohhod hæfde to forletanne* = 0.

leornian, *learn:*

(1) Uninflected:

Ælf. Hom. II. 416[b]: ðæt men *leornion agyldan* god for yfele.

(2) Inflected:

Bede 246.7: ða ða he in wreotum *leornade to donne* = 194.29: quae in scripturis *agenda didicerat.*

Greg. 441.17: Ðonne hi *leorniað* mid fulre estfulnesse ða soðan god *to secanne* = 368.15: Tunc igitur pleno voto *discunt* vera bona *discere.* — *Ib.* 441.28: *Leornað* ðonne *to lufianne* ðæt he ær forhogde = 368.25: *discat diligere* quæ contemnebat.

Ælf. L. S. 132.242: Ða ðe habbað geleafan and *leornodon to campienne.* — *Ib.* 344.127[b]: Ne het he us na *leornian* heofonas *to wyrcenne.*

myntan, *think, intend:*

(1) Uninflected:

Beow. 713: *Mynte* se manscaða manna cynnes sumne *besyrwan* in sele ðam hean.

Chr. 1058: Ær sceal geðencan gæstes ðearfe, se ðe Gode *myntеð bringan* beorhtne wlite.

Met. 26.72: *mynton forlætan* leofne hlaford.

Bede 392.20: *mynte* heo for hiere to abbuddissan *gesettan* = 286.1: abbatissam eam pro se *facere disposuerat.*

Wærf. 12.11: oð ðæt hit [= clif] com ðær hit *mynte feallan* ofer ðæt mynster = 15 A[2]: 0. — *Ib.* 123.1: stan . . ., ðone hi *mynton hebban* upp = B. 154 A: lapis . . ., quem in ædificium *levare decreverant.* — *Ib.* 254.35: *mynte slean* ðone Godes wer = 312 A[1]: 0.

Bl. Hom. 223.7: *mynte* hine *slean;* — so: 223.11. — *Ib.* 223.16: he hine *stingan mynte.*

(2) Inflected:

Chron. 265[m], 1137 E[f]: alse he *mint to don* (*sic!*) of ðe horderwycan.

ðencan,[1] *think, attempt:*

(1) Uninflected:

Beow. 800, 801: on healfa gehwone *heawan ðohton,* sawle *secan.*

Gen. 2437: Wit be ðisse stræte stille *ðencað* sæles *bidan.* — *Ib.* 2891: hwær is ðæt tiber, ðæt ðu torht gode to ðam brynegielde *bringan ðencest?*

Ex. 51: ðæs ðe hie wideferð *wyrnan ðohton* Moyses magum.

Ju. 637: ðær hi stearcferðe ðurh cumbolhete *cwellan ðohtun.*

El. 296: ðe eow . . . *lysan ðohte.*

Gu. 260: gif ðu ure *bidan ðencest.*

[1] Cf. Gorrell, *l. c.*, p. 423.

And. 150, 151, 152: ðæt hie banhringas *abrecan ðohton, . . . tolysan* lic and sawle, and ðonne *todælan* etc.

Met. 1.12: sceotend *ðohton* Italia ealle *gegongan.*

Ps. 61.4: Swa ge mine are ealle *ðohton* wraðe *toweorpan* = honorem meum *cogitaverunt repellere.*

Jud. 59: *ðohte* ða . . . idese mid widle and mid womme *besmitan.*

Seaf. 52: ðam ðe swa *ðenceð* on flodwegas feor *gewitan.*

Bede 36.8: gif ðu *gewitan ðencest* fram ðam bigange ure æfæstnysse = 19.11: si . . . *discedere temtas.* — *Ib.* 456.2: ðæt he *ðohte* hine him to yrfewearde *gedon* = 324.32: ut heredem sibi illum *facere cogitasset.*

Boeth. 93.32: *ðencð* ætgædere *bion* = 80.100: id unum *esse desiderat.*

Greg. 55.12: Ðonne ðæt mod *ðenceð gegripan* him to upahefenesse ða eaðmodnesse = 32.2: *arripere . . . cogitat.*

Oros. 54.21: for ðon he him *cweman ðohte* = 55.18: *adfectans* tyranni amicitiam. — *Ib.* 150.12: Ða ðæt ða oðre geascedon ðæt he hie ealle *beswican ðohte* = 151.7: cum *decipi se* ab Antigono sigillatim *viderent.* — *Ib.* 200.17: to ðon ðæt hie hit *acwencan ðohton* = 201.9: *ad extinguendum* ignem concurrerunt.

Bened. 23.3: caflice *cuman ðencað* = 46.4: *volumus* velociter *pervenire.*

Ælf. L. S. XXXI. 1059: *ðohte . . . ætberstan* ðam deaðe.

Ælf. Hept.: Gen. 48.17ᵇ: *ðohte* hi to ahebbanne of Ephraimes heafde and *gesettan* ofer Manases heafod = manum patris . . . levare *conatus est* de capite E. et *transferre* super caput M.

L. 1.1: For ðam ðe witodlice manega *ðohton* ðara ðinga race *geendebyrdan* ðe on us gefyllede synt = Quoniam quidem multi *conati sunt ordinare* narrationem etc.

(2) Inflected:

Ps. 118.59: Swa ic wegas ðine wise *ðence to ferenne* fotum minum = *Cogitavi* vias tuas, et *converti* pedes meos in testimonia tua (or with adjective?).

Charms V. C. 4ᵃ· ᵇ· ᵉ· ᵈ, 5ᵃ· ᵇ: swa ic *ðence* ðis feoh *to findanne* næs *to oð-feorrganne* and *to witanne* næs *to oðwyrceanne* and *to lufianne* næs *to oðlædanne.*

Boeth. 53.11: ðeah hi . . . *ðencan to cumanne* = 0.

Greg. 11.14: ðonne hit *ðencð* fela godra weorca *to wyrcanne* = 32.6: Quod mens præesse volentium plerumque sibi ficta bonorum *operum promissione* blanditur.

Oros. 282.9ᵃ: *ðohte* his sunu [*to*] *beswicanne,* 7 him siððan fon to ðæm onwalde = 283.8: Maximianus . . . confirmatum jam in imperio filium potestate regia *spoliare conatus* etc. — *Ib.* 292.28ᵇ: *ðuhte* (should be *ðohte?*) him self on scipum *to farenne* east ymbutan, 7 ðonne bestelan on Theodosius hindan = 293.29: dum navali expeditione hostem *praevenire* et obruere *parat.*

Chron. 224ᵐ, 1087 Eᵉ: se eorl . . . *ðohte to gewinnanne* Engleland.

Laws 206, IV Eadgar, c. 1, § 2: gif he . . . hit *ðencð to ætstrengenne.*

Wærf. 119.9: *ðohte to acwellane* ða sawla = B. 148 C³: se *ad exstinguendas* discipulorum animas *accendit.*

Ælf. Hom. II. 454ᵇ ²: ge *ðencað to awendenne* eowerne freond.

Ælf. Hept.: Gen. 37.21: he *ðohte* hine *to generianne* of hira handum = *nitebatur liberare* eum. — *Gen.* 48.17ᵃ: quoted above under " Uninflected."

wenan, *hope, expect:*

(1) Uninflected:

Beow. 934: Ðæt wæs ungeara, ðæt ic ænigra me weana ne *wende* to widan feore bote *gebidan.*

Met. 1.83: ne *wende* ðonan æfre *cuman* of ðæm clammum.

(2) Inflected:

Chron. 267^{b}, 1140 E^{c}: Eustace . . . nam ðe Kinges suster of France to wife, *wende to bigæton* (*sic!*) Normandi ðærðurh.

4. Verbs of Beginning, Delaying, and Ceasing:—

ablinnan, *cease, desist from:*

(1) Uninflected:

Ælf. L. S. XXX. 39: beheold ðone heort and wundrode his micelnysse and *ablan* his *æhtan.*

(2) Inflected:

Ælf. Hom. II. 74^{4}: he . . . ne *ablinð to asendenne* bydelas and lareowas to lærenne his folc.

aginnan, *begin:*

(1) Uninflected:

Pr. Ps. 9.30: ðonne *aginð* he sylf *sigan*, oððe afylð = 9.10: *inclinabit* se et cadet.

Chron. 206^{m}, 1070 A^{c}: Ða *agann* se arcebiscop Landfranc *atywian* mid openum gesceade.

Laws 310, II Cnut, c. 4: we beodað, ðæt man eard georne *clænsian aginne* on æghwylcum ende.

Gosp.: Mat. 24.49: *agynð beatan* hys efenðeowas = Et *cœperit percutere* conservos suos. — *L.* 14.29: *agynnað* hine *tælan* = *incipiant illudere* ei.

Wulf. 85.1: he *aginð leogan* deoflice swyðe.

Minor Prose: *Apol.* 19.28: *agan rowan*, oð ðæt he becom to Antiochiam = 38^{m}: *navigans* attigit Antiochiam. — *Apol.* 25.9: ða *agan* se cyngc *plegan* wið his geferan = 43^{m}: dum cum suis pilæ *lusum exerceret.*

(2) Inflected:

Chron. 6^{b}, 40 F: Matheus on Judea *agan* his godspell *to writen* (*sic!*). — *Ib.* 8^{b}, 49 F: Her Nero *agann to rixiende* (*sic!* for *to rixienne*). — *Ib.* 8^{b}, 116 F: Her Adrianus se casere *agann to rixienne.* — *Ib.* 8^{b}, 137 F: Her Antoninus *agann to rixienne.* — *Ib.* 137^{m}, 1006 E^{b}: *Agan* se cyng georne *to smeagenne* wið his witan.

beginnan, *begin:*

(1) Uninflected:

Creed 37: he xl daga folgeras sine runum arette *7* ða his rice *began*, ðone uplican eðel *secan.*

Chron. 201^{m}, 1067 D: Ða *begann* se cyngc Malcholom *gyrnan* his sweostor him to wife.

Ælf. Hom. II. 142^{m}: Ða *begann* se wer dreorig *wepan.*

Ælf. L. S. 216.96: *begunnon* hi *teon* to . . . galnysse huse. — *Ib.* 230.186: Ða *began* se halga petrus him eallum *secgan.*

L. 7.49: Ða *begunnon* ða ðe ðar sæton betwux him *cweðan* = Et *cœperunt* qui simul accumbebant *dicere* intra se.

Wulf. 214.24: ðæt gelamp iu, ðæt an halig ancer . . . *began* hine *ðreatigan.*

(2) Inflected:

Chron. 243^{4}, 1110 E^{b}: Ðises geares me *began* ærost *to weorcenne* on ðam niwan mynstre.

Bened. 32.1: *beginð to healdenne* = 60.1: *incipiet custodire.*

Ælf. Hom. I. 22ᵇ: and *begunnon* ðа *to wyrcenne.* — *Ib.* II. 196ᵇ ¹: ða ðær *begann to brœstligenne* micel ðunor, and liget sceotan on ðæs folces gesihðe.

Ælf. L. S. 36.184: *begann* hi *to wrœgenne.* — *Ib.* 530.704: on ðam fyrmestan dagan ðe decius se casere *to rixianne begann.*

Ælf. Hept.: Gen. 8.3: Ða wæteru . . . *begunnon to wanigenne* = *coeperunt minui.* — *Gen.* 18.27: Nu ic æne *begann to sprecanne* to minum drihtne = Quia semel *coepi, loquar* ad dominum meum. — *Num.* 3.10: gif hwa . . . *beginne to ðenienne,* swelte he deaðe = externus, qui *ad ministrandum acceserit,* morietur. — *Judges* 10.6: folc *begunnon to geeacnienne* heora . . . synna = Filii . . . peccatis veteribus *jungentes* nova.

fon, *undertake, begin:*

(1) Uninflected:

Wulf. 133.14ᵃ·ᵇ: ðonne *fehð* seo wealaf sorhful and sarigmod geomrigendum mode synna *bemœnan* and sarlice *syfian.*

(2) Inflected:

Wœrf. 197.6: ðæt ða ðe in ðone biscop *fengon to healdenne,* ðæt hi ne mihton adreogan ða mycelnesse ðæs regnes = 240 D: ut hi qui eum *custodiendum acceperat,* immensitatem pluviæ ferre non possent (or final?).

Ælf. L. S. 70.345: *fængon* on . . . mærgen ealle *to clypienne* kyrrieleyson. — *Ib.* XXXIV. 64: he *feng to rœdene* (*sic!*).

Ælf. Hept.: Judges 3.6: *fengon to lufienne* heora fulan ðeawas = 0. — *Judges* 13.1: hig *fengon* eft *to gremienne* ðone . . . god = *fecerunt malum* in conspectu domini.

Wulf. 105.33: ða hæðenan . . . *fengon to wurðienne* æt nyhstan mistlice entas.

forlætan, *abandon, omit:*

(1) Uninflected:

And. 802ᵇ: *forlætan* moldern *wunigean* open eorðscræfu.

(2) Inflected:

Greg. 393.28: ðæt hie ne *forlæten to wilnianne* ðara ðe Godes sien = 310.26: ut tamen *appetere,* quæ Dei sunt, non *omittant.*

geswican, *stop, desist from:*

(1) Uninflected:

Ælf. L. S. XXXIII. 206: Ic bidde ðe ðæt ðu ne *geswice gebiddan* me ðæt ic mote findan etc.

L. 5.4: Ða he *sprecan geswac,* he cwæð to Simone = Ut *cessavit* autem *loqui,* dixit ad Simonem.

(2) Inflected:

Ælf. Hom. I. 46ᵗ: Ne *geswicð* ðes man *to sprecenne* tallice word ongean ðas halgan stowe and Godes æ. — *Ib.* II. 156ᵗ: se . . . munuc ne *geswac* na ðe hraðor ðam oðrum *to ðenigenne* on gedafenlicum tidum.

Ælf. L. S. XXXI. 497: se fæder ne *geswac* hine *to biddenne* mid wope.

onginnan [-y-], *begin* (occasionally *attempt*):

(1) Uninflected:

Beow. 101: oð ðæt an *ongan* fyrene *fremman.* — *Ib.* 244: no her cuðlicor *cuman ongunnon* lindhæbbende!

Gen. 1316: *ongan* ofostlice ðæt hof *wyrcan.* — *Ib.* 1355: *stigan onginneð.*

Ex. 584: *ongunnon* sælafe segnum *dælan.*

Dan. 49: ðæt he *secan ongan.* — *Ib.* 599: *Ongan* ða *gyddigan.*

Chr. 1363: *Onginneð* ðonne to ðam yflum ungelice wordum *mæðlan.*

Ju. 27: *ongon* fæmnan *lufian.* — *Ib.* 298: *sacan ongon.*

El. 157: *fricggan ongan.* — *Ib.* 1205: *ongan læran.*

Gu. 261: *Ongin* ðe generes *wilnian.* — *Ib.* 533: *secan onginnað.*

And. 450: *ongan clypian.* — *Ib.* 671: Huscworde *ongan* ðurh inwitðanc ealdorsacerd herme *hyspan.*

Bede 28.17: *ongunnon eardigan* ða norðdælas = 12.10: *habitare . . . coeperunt.* — *Ib.* 56.2[a, b]: ða *ongunnon* heo *forhtigan* 7 *ondredan* him ðone siðfæt = 42.25: *perculsi timore.* — *Ib.* 106.19: *taltrigan ongunne* = 86.29: *uacillare inciperet.* — *Ib.* 106.25: ða *ongon . . .* ða staðolas . . . *ecan* = 87.6: *augmentare . . . curauit.* — *Ib.* 148.30: cirican . . ., ða he *timbran ongon* = 125.22: ecclesiam . . ., quam ipse *coepit.* — *Ib.* 154.34: *dagian ongan* = 129.11: *incipiente diluculo.* — *Ib.* 180.3[a]: *ongunnon . . . seofian* = 146.17[a]: cum . . . *quererentur.* — *Ib.* 180.29: *ongon . . . byrnan* = 147.17: *contigit* culmen domus . . . *flammis impleri.* — *Ib.* 200.12: Ða *ongunnon . . .* oncras upp *teon* = 158.13: *temtabant . . .* nauem *retinere.* — *Ib.* 352.21: *ongan* hatlice 7 biterlice *wepan* = 264.18: *solutus est in lacrimas.* — *Ib.* 438.4: *ongon ðrowian* = 311.17: acri *coepit* dolore *torqueri.*

Boeth. 3.6: hine *ongan frefrian* = 0. — *Ib.* 34.11: ða eorðan *ongan delfan* æfter golde = 40.30: primus . . . *fodit.* — *Ib.* 91.2: hit *wanian onginð* = 78.39: cum uero unum esse *desinit.* — *Ib.* 127.2: Ða *ongon* he *smearcian* 7 cwæð = 107.5: *arridens.*

Greg. 25.20: ðeah ða woroldlecan læcas scomað ðæt hi *ong[i]nnen* ða wunda *lacnian* = 6.9: *videri medici* carnis *erubescunt.* — *Ib.* 213.8: ða *ongon* he æresð *herigean* etc. = 160.2: *laudat.*

Oros. 56.32[a, b]: *ongan* ða *singan* 7 *giddian* = 59.1: *carmine . . . recitato.* — *Ib.* 60.18: *ongon ricsian* = 61.19: *regnare coepit.* — *Ib.* 182.7: ða *ongunnon* Sardinie, swa hie Pene gelærdon, *winnan* wið Romanum = 183.6: Sardinia . . . *rebellavit.*

Solil. 10.6: hy eft *onginnað searian* = 0.

Pr. Ps. 3.4: Ða *ongan* ic slapan and slep, and eft aras = 3.6: Ego dormivi et *somnum cepi*, exsurrexi. — *Ib.* 31.3: min ban and min mægn forealdode; ða *ongan* ic *clypian* ealne dæg = inveteraverunt ossa mea, *a clamando* me tota die.

Chron. 20[m], 597 A: Her *ongon* Ceolwulf *ricsian.*

Laws 306, I Cnut, c. 26, § 1: gyf ðær hwylc ðeodsceaða *sceaðian onginneð.*

Wærf. 11.14: hine *ongunnon* ða his magas *bysmrian* = 153 C[2]: *cæperunt* eum parentes ejus *irridere.* — *Ib.* 64.34, 65.1: he *ongan . . . andswarian . . .* 7 *cweðan* = 196 A[1, 2]: *cæpit . . . respondere, dicens.* — *Ib.* 73.21: ða *ongunnon* hi *helpan* hire lichaman = 201 B[1]: cujus carni magicis artibus ad tempus *prodesse conarentur.* — *Ib.* 145.17[a, b]: he *ongan . . .* earfoðnyssa *gebetan . . .* 7 . . . hi *hyrtan* = B. 172 C[2, 3]: *studuit . . . corrigere* et . . . *sublevare.* — *Ib.* 207.3: ða *ongan* he *beon* sarig = 252 C[3]: *affligi cæpit.* — *Ib.* 266.28: se man *onginneð . . .* neowlinga *lifigean* = 325 B: hic vero tunc *vivere inchoat.* — *Ib.* 317.2: se gewunode, ðæt he me *ongan secgan* = 381 C[1]: mihi *narrare consueverat.* — *Ib.* 321.27: se gewunode, ðæt he *ongan* sceos *wyrcan* = 388 B[2]: qui calceamenta *solebat operari.*

Pr. Gu. II. 105: ðæt he ða *ongan wilnian* westenes and sundersetle = *petere meditabatur.* — *Ib.* III. 17: ealand . . . ðæt . . . *eardian ongunnon* = insulam . . ., quam multi *inhabitare tentantes.* — *Ib.* IV. 34: Sona ðæs ðe he westen *eardigan ongan* = Sub eodem . . . tempore . . . *eremitare initiavit.*

Bl. Hom. 55.10[a, b]: *ongan smeagan & ðencan.* — *Ib.* 105.6: *ðingian ongan.* — *Ib.* 151.1: hie ða *ongunnon* mid sweordum & mid strengðum ðyder *gan.*

Ælf. Hom. I. 62[b]: he *ongann* Godes geleafan openlice *bodian.* — *Ib.* I. 380[m]: *ongann fleogan.* — *Ib.* II. 138[b]: he his geferan *befrinan ongann.*

Ælf. L. S. 32.118: ða gebroðra sona *ceosan ongunnen* eugenia to abbude. — *Ib.* 124.118: ða *ongunnon* heora magas mycclum *behreowsian.* — *Ib.* 426.199: absalon . . . *ongan winnan* wið ðone fæder.

Ælf. Hept.: Gen. 4.26: Enos *ongan* ærest *onclypian* drihtnes naman = *coepit invocare* nomen domini.

Mat. 4.2: ða *ongan* hyne syððan *hingrian* = postea *esuriit.* — *Ib.* 11.7[a]: ða *ongan* se Hælynd *secgan* be Iohanne = *Cœpit* Jesus *dicere.*

Wulf. 44.26, 27: *ongan* ða *singan* and ðus *secgan.* — *Ib.* 191.9: gif ðar hwilc ðeodscaða *scaðian onginneð.*

(2) Inflected:

Boeth. 127.23: ic sceal ðeah hwæthwugu his *onginnan* ðe *to tæcanne* = 108.16: aliquid *deliberare conabimur* (or final?).

Greg. 423.8: for ðæm lytlan gode ðe hi geðenceað, & no ne *anginnað to wyrceanne* = 344.29: ut et illi dum de bono aliquid agunt, quod tamen non *perficiunt.*

Pr. Ps. 48.7: gif he sylf na ne *onginð to tilianne* ðæt he ðæt weorð agife to alysnesse his sawle = 48.8: Non dabit Deo propitiationem suam, et pretium redemptionis animæ suæ.

Chron. 30[t], 656 E[a]: se abbot . . . *ongan to wircene.* — *Ib.* 147[t], 1016 E[a]: Ða *ongan* se æðeling Eadmund *to gadrienne* fyrde.

Bened. 62.5: *onginne to rædenne* = 116.9: *audeat legere.*

Ælf. Hom. I. 50[m]: hine *ongunnon* ærest *to torfienne.* — *Ib.* I. 140[m]: ðonne *onginð* he *to murcnienne.* — *Ib.* I. 150[t]: swa hraðe swa he *ongann* man *to beonne.* — *Ib.* I. 314[t]: *ongunnon to sprecenne* mid mislicum gereordum. — *Ib.* I. 448[b]: Iulianus ða *ongann to lufigenne* hæðengyld. — *Ib.* II. 78[b]: Witodlice . . . *ongann* se hiredes ealdor *to agyldenne* ðone pening. — *Ib.* II. 128[b]: *Ongann* ða Augustinus mid his munecum *to geefenlæcenne* ðæra apostola lif. — *Ib.* II. 160[t]: *Ongunnon* ða ða æðelborenan on Rome-byrig him *to befæstenne* heora cild to Godes lareowdome. — *Ib.* II. 178[b 4]: *Ongann to flowenne* mid ele. — *Ib.* II. 486[b 1, 2]: Ða *ongunnon* ða apostoli hi *to lærenne,* and *to secgenne* hu etc. — *Ib.* II. 488[b 3]: hi ðærrihte *ongunnon to ceowenne* heora lichaman. — *Ib.* II. 488[b 7]: Ða *ongunnon* ealle ða næddran *to ceowenne* heora flæsc and heora blod sucan.

Ælf. L. S. 228.154: *Ongan* ða *to secgenne* ðone soðan geleafan. — *Ib.* 328.112: cwæð . . . ðæt . . . menn *ongunnon* godspel *to writenne.* — *Ib.* 538.820: nebwlite *ongann to scinenne* swilce seo . . . *sunne.* — *Ib.* XXVI. 45: *ongann* embe godes willan *to smeagenne.*

Ælf. Hept.: Jos. 3.7: ic *onginne* ðe *to mærsigenne* = *incipiam exaltare* te. — *Jos.* 3.16: swa ætstod se stream and *ongan to ðindenne* ongean = steterunt aquæ *descendentes.* — *Judg.* 13.5: he *onginð to alysenne* his folc = *incipiet liberare* Israel.

Ælfric's Minor Prose: *Ælf. Gr.* 212.3: ic *onginne to wearmigenne* = *calesco.* — *Ib.* 212.4: ic *onginne to anðracigenne* = *horresco.* — *Ib.* 212.7: ic *onginne to blacigenne* = *pallesco.* — *Napier's Ad. to Th.* 102.31[b]: ða *ongunnon* hi *to ceorigenne* ongean ðam hiredes ealdre. — *Ib.* 102.37[b 2]: *ongan to forhtienne.*

A. S. Hom. & L. S. II. 12.143: Sume men *onginnað* god *to donne.* — *Ib.* 12.146: sume men *onginnað* yfel *to donne.*

Wulf. 195.1: ðonne *onginð* he hy *to pinsianne* on mistlicre wisan. — *Ib.* 199.8: ðonne *onginð* he *to winnanne* togenes ðam twam godes ðegnum. — *Ib.* 200.1: he *onginð* deoflice *to wedanne.*

Nic. 416.25: *ongan* ða cnyhtas *to axienne* etc.

5. Verbs of Inclination and of Will: —

forhogian, *despise, neglect:*

(1) Uninflected:

Bede 464.10: hine *forhogde onfon* = 329.29: eum *suscipere contemsit.*

Wærf. 34.6: ðæt he *forhogode* togenes *gretan* = 172 A: *resalutare despiceret.*

(2) Inflected:

Chr. 1288: hu hi fore goddædum glade blissiað, ða hy, unsælge, ær *forhogdun to donne,* ðonne him dagas læstun.

Wærf. 180.18: he . . . *forhogode* hit *to gehyrenne* = 217 B²: sed etiam *audire despiceret.*

Ælf. Hom. II. 376ᵇ ²: Sume sind gelaðode, and *forhogiað to cumenne.*

forhycgan, *despise, neglect:*

(1) Uninflected:

Bede 76.30ᵃ: ðætte wiif *forhycgað* heora bearn *fedan* = 55.9: *nutrire contemnant.* — *Ib.* 76.33: heo *forhycgað fedan* ða ðe heo cennað = 55.12: *despiciunt lactare.*

(2) Inflected:

Bl. Hom. 41.36: ða ðe . . . *forhycgað* ða Godes dreamas *to geherenne.*

geearnian, *deserve, earn:*

(1) Uninflected:

Bede 350.23: ðu *geearnie* hine ðe mildne *metan* = 263.20: propitium eum *inuenire merearis.* — *Ib.* 470.9: ðæt he *geearnode* swylce gife *onfon* = 345.29: quod tale munusculum . . . *mereretur accipere.*

Ælf. Hom. I. 446ᵇ ²: forðan ðe hi *geearnodon* ðæt *beon* ðæt hi heriað. — *Ib.* II. 598ᵐ: ðæt we *geearnion,* on naman ðines leofan Suna, *genihtsumian* on godum weorcum. — *Ib.* II. 600ᵇ: ðæt we *geearnion beon* wurðful wunung etc.

(2) Inflected:

Ælf. L. S. XXX. 431: ðæt we . . . moston . . . *geearnian to onfone* ðone gemanan ðara haligra.

gemed(e)mian [gi-], *deign, vouchsafe:*

(1) Uninflected:

Laws 410, Judicium Dei IV, c. 3, § 2ᵃ: we biddað, *gisende* ðu *gimeodumia* Gast ðin halig = quesumus, *mittere digneris* Spiritum tuum sanctum. — *Ib.*, § 4: ah ðu soð 7 halig dom bifora allum on ðassum uel in ðissum *œdeawa* ðu *g[i]meodum* = sed tu uerum et sanctum iudicium coram omnibus in hoc *manifestare digneris.* [See Note 2 at the end of this chapter.]

Ælf. Hom. I. 50ᵗ ²: Ðone deað soðlice ðe se Hælend *gemedemode* for mannum ðrowian.

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 713: ic bidde . . . ðæt ðu lytles hwæthwegu *gemedemige underfon* me ðæs ðe ic hider brohte. — *Ib.* XXIII B. 738: goldhord, ðe ðu me sylfum ær *gemedemodest œteowan.*

(2) Inflected:

Ælf. Æthelw. 51: ðu ðe *gemedemedest* met (*sic!* for *me?*) *to gehealdene* on ðissere nihte = qui me *dignatus es* in hac nocte *custodire.* [With this compare

the following passages, in which the infinitive is probably consecutive after *gemedemian*, used reflexively in the sense of 'humble one's self':—*Greg.* 301. 13: ure Aliesend . . . hine *gemedomode to bionne* betwiux ðæm læssðum 7 ðæm gingestum monnum = 228.5: Redemtor . . . *fieri* inter omnia *dignatus est* parvus;—*Ælf. Hom.* II. 464[1]: ðurh ðæt se . . . Godes Sunu hine sylfne *gemedemode* ðæt gecynd *to underfonne*;—*Ælf. L. S.* XXXIII. 210: biddan we god ðæt he hine *gemedemige to ætywenne* hwæt sy gedon be his dehter. Compare, too, *Ælf. Hom.* I. 32[1], in which *gemedemian* (*hine*), 'humble one's self,' is followed by a consecutive clause introduced by *ðæt*.]

geðristlæcan [-y-], *presume, undertake:*

(1) Uninflected:

Laws 46, Ælfred, Intr., c. 49, § 9[e]: Forðam ic ne dorste *geðristlæcan* ðara minra awuht fela on gewrit *settan*.

Wærf. 207.24: ðy læs se halga wer . . . *geðristlæhte* ofer ðæt ænigne man *wyrgan* = 253 A[1]: ne vir . . . *intorquere* ultra *præsumeret* jaculum maledictionis.

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 277: naht *geðrystlæhte specan*. — *Ib.* XXIII B. 645: [ne] *geðrystlæcende* aht *secgan*. — *Ib.* XXIII B. 745: ne *geðrystlæhte* he . . . nan oðer ðæs lichaman *oðhrinan*.

(2) Inflected:

Laws 414, Judicium Dei VII, c. 13 A[1, 2]: ic halsige ðe (eow) . . . ðæt ðu (ge) na *geðristlæce* (*-læcon*) natestohwi to ðisum husle *to ganne* ne furðon to ðisum weofude *to genealæcenne*.

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 721: he ne *geðrystlæhte* æniga ðinga heo *to lettenne*.

A. S. Hom. & L. S. II. 11.122: næfre nan man ne *geðristlæce* ænigne deofles bigencg *to donne*.

Wulf. 34.14, 15: ac se . . . man . . ., se ðe *geðristlæcð to mæssianne* oððon husl *to ðicgeanne*.

gewilnian, *desire:*

(1) Uninflected:

Wærf. 208.14: se *gewilnode feran* to him = 253 C[2]: *pergere studuit*.

Ælf. Hom. I. 608[1]: Drihten . . . us *gewilnað* gearwe *gemetan*. — *Ib.* II. 588[1, 2]: swa eac nu of eallum ðeodum *gewilniað* men to geseonne ðone . . . Crist ðurh geleafan, and ðone . . . wisdom *gehyran* (*sic!*).

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 187: he *gewilnode* hine *geðeodan* ðam ðe ðær fleah.

Mat. 13.17[b]: managa . . . *gewilnudon* ða ðing to geseonne ðe ge geseað (*sic!*), and hig ne gesawon; and *gehyran* ða ðing etc. = multi . . . *cupierunt* videre quæ videtis . . .; et *audire* quæ auditis.

(2) Inflected:

Chron. 219[m], 1086 E[b]: Gif hwa *gewilnigeð to gewitane* hu gedon mann he wæs.

Laws 45, Ælfred, Intr., c. 49, § 3[b]: ða *gewilniað* hira sawla (*to*) *syllanne* for Dryhtnes noman.

Ælf. Hom. I. 550[1]: forðan ðe hi *gewilniað* fela *to hæbbenne*. — *Ib.* I. 552[1]: *gewilniað* God *to geseonne*. — *Ib.* II. 588[1]: quoted under "Uninflected" above.

Ælf. L. S. 196.22: *gewilnode to ðrowigenne* for cristes naman. — *Ib.* XXIII B. 358: ic *gewilnode* mid him *to farenne*.

Mat. 13.17[a]: quoted under "Uninflected" above.

Minor Prose: *Apol.* 18.17: he . . . ðæt gefremede man *gewilnode to bediglianne* = 37[b]: perpetratoque scelere . . . impietatem . . . *cupit celare*.

gewunian, *use, be wont:*

(1) Uninflected:

Bede 62.4: in ðære cirican seo cwen *gewunade* hire *gebiddan* = 47.13: *orare consuerat.* — *Ib.* 172.16: monige *gewunedon* . . . *secan* . . . mynster = 142.19: monasteria *adire solebant.*

Laws 38, Ælfred, Intr., c. 30: Ða fæmnan ðe *gewuniað onfon* gealdorcræftigan . . . ne læt ðu ða libban.

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 164ᵃ· ᵇ, 165: he *gewunode* . . . ðone ryne his siðfætes *gefæstnian* and standende *singan* and mid gebigedum cneowum *gebiddan.*

(2) Inflected:

Greg. 273.17: ðæt ðæt hit ær *gewunode to fleonne* hit gemet = 206.14: cor quod *fugere consuevit* invenitur.

Oros. 34.5: Ða sæde . . . ðæt he *gewunode* monige wundor *to wyrcenne* = 35.3: Nam et prodigiorum sagacissimus erat.

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 368: Ic . . . ða swingle me fram awearp, ðe ic seldon *gewunode* on handa *to hæbbenne.*

Ælf. Hept.: Num. 22.4: swa swa oxa *gewunað to awestenne* gærs = quomodo *solet* bos herbas . . . *carpere.*

A. S. Hom. & L. S. II. 12.45: *gewuniað of to drincanne.*

gieman [-e-, -y-], *care:*

(1) Uninflected:

Bede 364.1: degolnesse *witan* ne *gymde* = 0. — *Ib.* 412.26: he ða his geferum . . . *brytian gemde* = 298.25: *prodesse curabat.* — *Ib.* 442.2, 3: Ðær he . . . ða gedwolan . . . *gereccan gemde* 7 . . . from . . . eagum *ahwerfan* = 313.19, 20: Qui si . . . errores . . . *corrigere* . . . ac . . . a . . . oculis *abscondere curasset.*

(2) Inflected:

Beow. 2452: oðres ne *gymeð to gebidanne* burgum in innan yrfeweardes.

Bede 208.16: ma *gemde* for ðam ecan rice *to compienne* = 162.28: *militare curaret.* — *Ib.* 362.10: folc . . . to lufan . . . *gemde to gehwyrfenne* = 269.16: uulgus . . . ad . . . *conuertere curabat* amorem.

ondrædan, *fear:*

(1) Uninflected:

Bede 72.9ᵇ: ða ðe him ne *ondrædað* weotonde *syngian* = 52.2: qui non *metuunt* sciendo *peccare.* — *Ib.* 326.15: ða *ondred* he *ondettan* = 250.8: *timuit* se militem fuisse *confiteri.*

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 552: ða ic me *ondrædе* eft *genydan* to ðam geligre.

(2) Inflected:

Greg. 49.18: Ðæt ilce ðæt he untælwyrðlice *ondred to underfonne* = 26.23: hoc . . . *expavit.*

Solil. 43.3: ða ðing ic *ondrede* æac to *forleosenne* swiðor = *caetera . . . deesse timeo.*

Ælf. Hom. II. 104ᵇ: ne *ondræt* (*sic!*) ðu ðe *to dælenne.*

Mat. 1.20: nelle ðu *ondrædan* Marian ðine gemæccean *to onfonne* = noli *timere accipere* Mariam. — *Ib.* 2.22: he *ondred* ðyder *to faranne* = *timuit* illo *ire.*

Wulf. 248.14: ðisses ic me *ondrædе* swyðe *to gebidanne.* — *Ib.* 286.27: ne *ondræt* (*sic!*) ðu ðe *to dælenne.*

Nic. 500.15: hwæt *ondrætst* ðu ðe ðone hælend *to onfonne*?

secan, *seek:*

(1) Uninflected:

Wald. A. 18: ðu . . . *feohtan sohtest* mæl ofer mearce. — *Ib.* 20: ðy ic ðe metod ondred, ðæt ðu to fyrenlice *feohtan sohtest.*

Bl. Hom. 167.2: he . . . *feðan sohte.*

Gosp.: Mat. 12.46: ða stod hys modor and his gebroðra ðær ute, *secende spæcon* (*sic!*) to him = *quærentes loqui* ei. — *L.* 20.19: Ða *sohton* ðara sacerda ealdras and ða boceras hyra handa on ðære tide on hine *wurpan* = *quærebant* . . . *mittere* in illum manus.

(2) Inflected:

Pr. Ps. 34.4: ða ðe *secað* mine sawle *to fordonne* = *quærentes* animam meam. — *Ib.* 36.32: *secð* hine *to fordonne* = *quærit mortificare* eum.

Ælf. Hept.: Ex. 2.15: Ða Pharao . . . *sohte* Moises *to ofsleanne* = *quærebat occidere* Moysen.

L. 6.19: eal seo menigeo *sohte* hine *to æthrinenne* = *quærebat* eum *tangere.*

tilian [**teol-**], *attempt, strive for:*

(1) Uninflected:

Met. 10.22: hwy ge ymb ðæt unnet ealnig swincen, ðæt ge ðone hlisan *habban tiliað* ofer ðioda ma, ðonne eow ðearf sie? — *Ib.* 11.79: ðe we mid ðæm bridle *becnan tiliað.*

Bede 230.26: Ða *teolode* se . . . wer . . . stowe . . . *clænsigan* = 175.23: *Studens* . . . locum . . . *purgare.*

Greg. 233.22: ðæt he *tiolode* menn *forlæran* ðæt hie wurden eac forlorene = 176.20: damnationem suam perditus adhuc alios *perdendo* cumulavit.

Pr. Ps. 25.5: ic næfre ne *teolade sittan* on anum willan mid ðam arleasum = cum impiis non *sedebo.*

Bl. Hom. 165.31[a, b]: hine ær monnum *gecyðan & gesecgan teolode*, ærðon ðe he sylfa lifde & mennisc leoht gesawe.

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 403[a]: *teolode* toforan ðam temple *becuman.*

(2) Inflected:

Bede 210.32: eall . . . he bighygdelice *teolode to healdanne* = 164.23: cuncta . . . sollicitus *agere curabat.* — *Ib.* 372.12: ðu wast ðæt ic . . . *teolode to lifigenne* to . . . bebode = 275.2: ad . . . imperium . . . *uiuere studui.*

Boeth. 43.15: hu nearo se . . . hlisa bion wile ðe ge ðær ymb swincað 7 unrihtlice *tioliað to gebrædanne?* = 45.33: gloria quam *dilatare* ac *propagare laboratis?*

Greg. 61.18: He sceal *tilian* sua *to libbanne* swa etc. = 36.20: Qui sic *studet vivere*, ut etc. = *Ib.* 463.5: him self ne afealle, ðær ðær he oðre *tiolað to ræranne* = 398.11: ne alios *erigens* cadat.

Pr. Ps. 25.3: ic symle *tilode* mid rihtwisnesse ðe and him *to licianne* = *complacui* in veritate tua.

Bl. Hom. 219.18: *teolode to arisenne.*

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 686: *teoligende* his cneowu *to bigenne* hire ongeanweardes.

wil(l)nian, *desire, be desirous of:*

(1) Uninflected:

Met. 29.3: Gif ðu nu *wilnige* weorulddrihtnes heane anwald hlutre mode *ongitan* giorne.

Bede 182.17: heo *wilnade gehealdan* . . . ban = 148.9: *desiderabat* . . .

ossa *recondere.* — *Ib.* 218.6: ðа *wilnade* he hine seolfne from eallum bigongum ðisse worulde fremðne *gedon* = 167.31: *cupiens* se . . . *alienare.* — *Ib.* 418.28: he *willnade* from him *onfon* . . . reliquias = 301.26: reliquias . . . *se sperans accipere.*

Boeth. 14.19: gif ðu *wilnige* on rihtum geleafan ðæt soðe leoht *oncnawan* = 23.22: si *uis* lumine claro *cernere* uerum. — *Ib.* 52.19: hi *wilniað* ealle ðurh mistlice paðas *cuman* to anum ende = 52.5: *nititur peruenire.*

Greg. 17.19: ða ðe ðan [ne] git *will[ni]að* oðerra monna *gereafian* = 246.11: qui *rapiunt* aliena. — *Ib.* 43.1: ðara goda ðe hie *wilniað* synderlice *habban* = 20.25: quæ privata *habere appetunt,* bonis privant.

Solil. 13.1: ic *wilnege cuman* to ðe = ad te *ambio.*

Pr. Ps. 13.9: ða ðe *wilniað fretan* min folc = 13.4: qui *devorant* populum meum.

Ælf. Hom. I. 432$^{b\ 1,\ 2}$: We *wilniað* mid urum hlaforde clænlice *sweltan,* swiðor ðonne unclænlice mid eow *lybban.*

Ælf. L. S. XXXIII. 142: ic . . . *wilnode* to munuclicum life *gecyrran.*

L. 23.8: mycelre tide he *wilnode* hine *geseon* = *Erat* enim *cupiens* ex multo tempore *videre* eum.

(2) Inflected:

Met. 19.44: Hi *wilniað* welan *7* æhta *7* weorðscipes *to gewinnanne.*

Bede 68.13: *wilniað* him to ærfeweardum *to habbenne* = 50.12: *habere* heredes *quaerunt.*

Boeth. 42.12: ge *wilniað* eowerne hlisan ungemetlice *to brædanne?* = 44.20: *de peruulganda* fama . . . *cogitatis?* — *Ib.* 55.23: *wilniað to begitanne* = 53.52: qui nihilo *indigere nituntur.* — *Ib.* 56.4: *wilnað to begitanne* = 53.58^{b}: *adipisci* . . . *laborat.* — *Ib.* 56.19: *wilnað to begitanne* = 54.67: quod *habere* fruique *delectet.* — *Ib.* 56.20: *wilniað to begitanne* = 54.68: *adipisci* . . . *uolunt.*

Greg. 25.9: *wilniað* ðeah lareowas *to beonne* = 4.8: *docere concupiscunt.* — *Ib.* 145.12: Se ðonne ðe *wilnað* woh *to donne* = 104.17: Qui ergo et prava *studet agere.* — *Ib.* 203.8^{b}: ðæt hie *wielnien to wietanne* ðæt etc. = 152.6: ut *appetant scire.* — *Ib.* 399.3: ðeah ne bioð na gemengde buton ðonne hi *wilniað* bearn *to gestrienanne* = 316.20: sed tamen extra *suscipiendæ* prolis admixtionem debitam, nulla carnis voluptate solvuntur.

Oros. 54.16: *wilnade* sum æðeling *to ricsianne* in Argentine = 55.16: *arrepta tyrannide.*

Solil. 32.20: *Wilnast* ðu maran *to witanne* ðonne be Gode and be ðe silfum? = *Amasne* aliquid præter tui Deique *scientiam?* — *Ib.* 37.1: simle swa ic ma *wilnige* ðæt leoht *to geseonne* = nam quanto augetur spes *videndae* illius . . . pulchritudinis. — *Ib.* 56.5: Hwæs *wilnast* ðu ma *to witanne?* = quid *scire* prius *mavis?*

Pr. Ps. 41. Intr.: ða he *wilnode* to hys eðle *to cumanne* of his wræcsiðe = 0.

Ælf. L. S. XXXIII. 253: ic *wilnode* ðe *geseonne* (*sic,* without *to*).

Mat. 20.28^{a}: Ge *wilniað to geðeonne* on gehwædum ðinge = 0.

The following is a complete alphabetic list of the verbs having both the uninflected infinitive and the inflected infinitive as object: —

ablinnan, *cease, cease from.*
aginnan, *begin.*
aliefan, *allow.*
bebeodan, *command.*
beginnan, *begin.*
beodan, *command.*

bewerian, *prohibit, forbid.*
biddan, *request, demand.*
findan, *find.*
fon, *undertake, begin.*
forbeodan, *forbid.*
forhogian, *despise, neglect.*
forhycgan, *despise, neglect.*
forlætan, *omit.*
ge-earnian, *deserve, earn.*
gehatan, *order, promise.*
geleornian, *learn.*
gemed(e)mian, *deign, vouchsafe.*
gemyntan, *intend, determine.*
gestihhian, *determine, decide.*
geswican, *stop, desist from.*
geðafian, *allow.*
geðristlæcan [-y-], *presume, undertake.*
gewil(l)nian, *desire.*
gewunian, *use, be wont.*
gieman, *care.*
leornian, *learn.*
myntan, *think, intend.*
ondrædan, *fear.*
onginnan, *begin* (occasionally *attempt*).
secan, *seek.*
sellan, *grant, allow.*
tilian [**teolian**], *attempt, strive for.*
ðencan, *think, attempt* (?).
wenan, *hope, expect.*
wil(l)nian, *desire.*

2. *With Passive Verbs.*

At times the Modern English *John told me the story* is, in the passive, rendered, unhappily I think, by *I was told the story by John*, in which latter the direct object, *story*, of the active is illogically retained in the passive. This objective in the passive construction is by not a few grammarians called "the retained objective,"—an awkward name, but, despite his objurgatory remarks thereon, not inferior, I think, to that proposed by Professor C. Alphonso Smith,[1] "the objective by position." Similarly, at times, an active infinitive is found as the retained object of a few passive verbs which, when active, take a dative and an accusative as objects or an accusative and an infinitive as an objective phrase. This construction with the infinitive after passive verbs is by many, especially in Germany, called, not "the retained objective," but "the nominative with the infinitive." Both terms seem to me infelicitous, but, as I am unable to suggest a good substitute, I adopt the former as the less objectionable of the two. See, further, Einenkel,[1] *l. c.*, p. 257, who discusses this idiom in Middle English, and Erckmann, *l. c.*, pp. 10–11, who discusses it in Modern English.

I. This objective infinitive is uninflected only with the passive of the following verbs: —

aliefan, *allow.*
(ge)fremman, *make.*
(ge)seon, *see.*
hatan, *command.*

The examples in full are: —

aliefan [-y-], *allow:*

Ex. 44: *Wæron* hleahtorsmiðum handa belocene, *alyfed* laðsið leode *gretan.*

(ge)fremman, *make:*

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 38: Wel oft eac swilce ðæs ðe hi rehton ðæt he *wære gefremed* wyrðe *beon* ðære godcundan onlihtnysse ðurh æteowednyss fram gode ðære gastlican gesihðe (or consecutive?).

(ge)seon, *see:*

Bede 68.14, 15ª: heora weoruldgod, ða heo agan, him healdað ða ðe heo geare *gesegene beoð eahtan ⁊ witnian* = 50.13: quae possident, ipsis seruant, quos irati *insequi uidentur.* — *Ib.* 142.5: ðæt he *wæs gesewen* Criste *ðeowian*

[1] See his interesting discussion of this idiom in his *Studies in English Syntax*, pp. 66–71.

7 eac deofolgeldum = 116.7: Christo *seruire uideretur* et diis. — *Ib.* 338.3: ða *wæs* heo *gesegen* mid . . . beorhtnesse leohtes *scinan* = 256.6: *refulgere uidebatur.*

Chron. 235[m], 1100 E[a]: to ðam Pentecosten *wæs gesewen* . . . æt anan tune blod *weallan* of eorðan. (Cf. *Oros.* 162.6: mon *geseah weallan blod* of eorðan = 163.5: sanguis e terra . . . *visum est manare* de coelo.)

Laws 410, Judicium Dei IV, c. 3, § 2[b]: gisende ðu gimeodumia Gast ðin halig . . . ofer ðas gescæft wætres, ðio from fyre *giwalla bið gesene* = aque, que ab igne *feruescere uidetur.*

Wærf. 203.21, 22: an ðing wæs, ðæt *gesewen wæs* on him tælwyrðe *beon*, ðæt full oft swa mycclu blis in him wæs *gesægenu beon*, ðæt he etc. = 248 C[1, 2]: unum erat *quod* in eo reprehensibile *esse videatur*, quod nonnunquam tanta ei lætitia *inerat*, ut illis tot virtutibus nisi sciretur esse plenus, nullo modo crederetur.

hatan, *command:*

Bede 278.18: Gif . . . *haten* ham *hweorfan*, ne wille = 216.16: noluerit *inuitatus redire.*

II. The objective infinitive is inflected only with the passive of these verbs: —

deman, *condemn.* (ge)**myngian**, *remind.*
forbeodan, *forbid.*

The examples in full are: —

deman, *condemn:*

Wærf. 254.13: ðæt se Sanctulus . . . *wæs gedemed to acwellanne* = 309 D: Cognito itaque quod Sanctulus qui inter eos pro sanctitatis reverentia magni honoris habebatur *occidendus esset.*

forbeodan, *forbid:*

Ælf. Hept.: Lev. 11.8: Hara and swyn *synd forbodene to æthrinenne* = Lepus quoque et sus, horum carnibus non vescemini nec cadavera *contingetis.*

(ge)**myngian**, *remind:*

A. S. Hom. & L. S. I. 3.3: we *synd gemyngode* . . . eow nu *to secgenne* sum ðing.

III. The uninflected infinitive and the inflected infinitive are each found as the object with the passive of **forlætan**, *permit.* Only one example of each infinitive has been found: — uninflected: *Bede* 424.3: *eam* eft *forlæten* mid monnum *liifgan* = 304.12: apud homines *sum* iterum *uiuere permissus;* — inflected: *Bede* 412.29: Ða ðæt se . . . wer . . . geseah, ðæt he ne *wæs forlæten*, ðeodum godcunde lare *to bodienne* = 298.30: Ut . . . uidit uir . . ., quia nec ipse *ad praedicandum* gentibus uenire *permittebatur.*

For the infinitive active (uninflected and inflected) after a few verbs passive in form but active in sense, see Note 2 to this chapter.

Differentiation of the Two Infinitives.

It is by no means easy to discover what differentiates the use of the uninflected infinitive from the inflected infinitive as object in the groups (I and II) in which only one form of the infinitive is used; this differentiation is still less easy in the group (III) in which the same verb has as its object either the

uninflected infinitive or the inflected infinitive. And yet a few general principles seem to emerge from an examination of the groups, principles helpful to a solution of the problem despite the difficulty of precise formulation and despite a number of apparent, if not real, exceptions thereto.

To begin with group I, verbs having as object only the Uninflected Infinitive, it is to be observed: —

1. The objective infinitive in most instances appears to the modern Englishman as a direct (accusative) object, and doubtless so appeared to the Anglo-Saxon, for it occurs usually with verbs having the direct object in the accusative, as may be seen by a reference to the list given on page 36. Of this list, the verbs most frequently so used are the verb of commanding (*hatan*), the verb of causing and permitting (*lætan*), the verbs of sense perception, and the verbs of mental perception.

2. Occasionally, however, the uninflected objective infinitive occurs with verbs having another regimen than that of 1, and it occurs: —

(*a*) Occasionally with verbs governing (*aa*) a genitive or an accusative (*cunnian*, 'attempt;' *hogian* (*hycgan*), 'think,' 'intend;' *lystan*, 'desire;' *tweogean* (*tweon*), 'doubt') or (*bb*) an accusative or a dative (*wunian*, 'use,' 'be wont'), though verbs of double regimen usually (especially when one of the cases is an accusative), as we shall see, govern both the uninflected and the inflected infinitive.

(*b*) Very rarely with a verb governing the genitive only (*blinnan*, 'cease from'). As we shall see below, p. 68, the compound, *ablinnan*, is followed by either infinitive.

(*c*) Very rarely with a verb not found with a case (*onmedan*, 'presume,' 'undertake').

As to group II, verbs having as object only the Inflected Infinitive, it is to be noted: —

1. To the modern mind, in the majority of instances, the objective infinitive appears as the "indirect object," under which phrase I here include genitive objects (occasionally also instrumental objects) as well as dative objects; and as a rule it doubtless so appeared to the Anglo-Saxon; for in most instances this inflected infinitive is found as the object with verbs whose noun object is in the genitive or the dative (occasionally the instrumental); or with verbs followed by a preposition plus an oblique case; or with verbs followed indifferently by an "indirect" case or by a prepositional phrase. To be more specific, the inflected infinitive as object occurs: —

(*a*) With certain verbs having an accusative of the direct object and a dative of the indirect object, with most of which (*æteowan*, 'show;' *cyðan*, 'make known;' *geswutelian*, 'show;' *geteohhian*, 'arrange;' *læran*, 'teach;' *tæcan*, 'teach') the infinitive appears to us as the indirect object toward which the action of the main verb tends. With one (*geceosan*, 'choose') the simplex governs a genitive; in one (*liefan*, 'allow') the dativel sense is strong; one (*swerian*, 'swear') is found only in the later *Chronicle;* while the remaining verb (*tellan*, 'tell') is found only once.

(*b*) (1) With certain verbs followed by an accusative plus a prepositional phrase (*gefon*, 'undertake,' + *to; læran*, 'teach,' 'direct,' + *to* or *on; under-*

standan, 'understand,' + *be* or *ymbe; warenian*, 'shun,' + *from* or *wið*) or (2) with certain verbs followed by a prepositional phrase (*beotigan*, 'threaten,' + *to; elcian*, 'delay,' + *to; gehyhtan*, 'hope,' + *on; giernan*, 'desire,' + *æfter; higian*, 'strive for,' + *to; murnan*, 'lament,' + *æfter* or *for; sierwan*, 'plot,' + *ymb; smeagan*, 'meditate,' + *be* or *on* or *ymb; ðeahti(g)an*, 'consult,' + *embe*). While to us of to-day a few of these infinitives (as with *beotigan, giernan, understandan*, and *warenian*) at first appear as direct objectives, we soon see that this is unnecessary with the two former; and the other infinitives appear to us as genitival, dativel, or instrumental in sense, as with the corresponding phrases made up of a preposition and a noun.

(*c*) With certain verbs having the object in the genitive (*elcian*, 'delay,' also followed by *to* + a dative). The infinitive at first appears as an accusative objective, but later is seen to be an adverbial genitive or dative-instrumental.

(*d*) With certain verbs having the object in the dative (*gedihtan*, 'direct,' and *wiðsacan*, 'refuse'). To the modern Englishman the infinitive appears with the former as a true dative objective; with the latter, as an accusative objective, as would the dative noun therewith.

(*e*) With certain verbs having a double (occasionally a triple) regimen:—

(*aa*) Those governing the accusative or the genitive (*adrædan*, 'fear;' *anbidian*, 'await;' *anðracian*, 'fear;' *behatan*, 'promise;' *bodian*, 'preach;' *geðencan*, 'think;' *giernan*, 'desire;' *habban*, 'have;' *reccan*, 'care for;' *weddian*, 'contract;' and *witan* (*nytan*), 'know' ('know not')), with which the infinitive appears to the modern reader as accusative objects rather than genitive objects, as would also the noun in the genitive.

(*bb*) Those governing the accusative of the person and the genitive of the thing (*gælan*, 'hinder from;' *teon*, 'accuse'), in which the infinitive after *gælan* appears to us moderns as a genitive of separation; that after *teon*, as a genitive of specification.

(*cc*) Those governing the genitive or the dative (*geliefan* (also accusative), 'believe;' *getilian* (also accusative), 'attempt,' 'strive for;' *onfon* (also accusative), 'undertake;' *wandian*, 'delay;' and *wiðcweðan*, 'refuse'). The infinitive with *geliefan* appears to us as a dative or an accusative objective; that with *getilian*, as the dative of the end toward which; that with *onfon* and *wiðcweðan*, as an accusative objective; and that with *wandian*, as the genitive of specification.

(*dd*) Those governing the dative of the person and the genitive of the thing (*forwiernan*, 'prohibit;' *wiernan*, 'desist from;' and *wiðcweðan*, 'refuse'). The infinitive with the two former appears to us of the present day as a genitive of separation; with the latter, as an accusative objective, as would the noun in the dative.

2. Not a few times, however, the inflected infinitive appears to us moderns as a direct object. This is more or less true, as already pointed out, with a few of the verbs treated under 1 above. But the feeling for the direct objective is perhaps somewhat stronger when the inflected infinitive is found as object:—

(*a*) With certain verbs governing an accusative of the direct object. Several of these are compounds whose simplex governs another case than the accusative or another case beside the accusative (*aðencan*, 'think,' 'attempt;' *forgieman*, 'neglect;' *forgiemeleasian*, 'neglect;' *oferhogian*, 'despise;' *un-*

derfon, 'undertake'). With several (*tæcan*, 'teach;' *tihhian*, 'direct;' possibly, also: *murnan*, 'lament;' *sierwan*, 'plot;' *smeagan*, 'consider'), the infinitive may be considered adverbial (consecutive) rather than objective. Several (*anforlætan*, 'abandon;' *forsacan*, 'refuse;' *forseon*, 'despise;' *ieldan*, 'delay;' *lofian*, 'allow;' *onscunian*, 'shun') have the inflected infinitive when we should expect the uninflected; but *ieldan* may follow the analogy of other verbs of delaying, like *elcian;* while *lofian* in the passage in question is dativa1 in sense.

(*b*) With a verb not found with a case (*gedyrstlæcan*, 'presume,' 'dare'), with which the infinitive appears to us as an accusative objective; and *mynnan*, 'direct one's course to,' 'intend,' with which the infinitive wavers in sense between the direct and the indirect object.

In a word, while the inflected infinitive only is found with a few verbs that govern the accusative only, this happens chiefly with compounds whose simplex govern a dative or a genitive; in the main, the inflected infinitive is found with verbs that govern an object in the genitive or in the dative (occasionally in the instrumental), or in both; or with verbs that are followed by a preposition plus an oblique case; and, while occasionally, even after verbs governing the genitive or the dative (or both), to the modern mind the infinitive appears as if it were an accusative objective, the same thing would be true of the noun in the genitive or the dative with these verbs. Taken as a whole, the infinitive in this group of verbs normally is a genitive or a dative (occasionally an instrumental) object to the chief verb, though occasionally the objective idea so pales away that the infinitive may be considered adverbial in the narrower sense, and be regarded as consecutive or final.

In group III, verbs having as object the Uninflected Infinitive and the Inflected Infinitive each, we note: —

1. In the majority of examples,[1] the double construction, with uninflected and inflected infinitive, occurs with verbs having a double (occasionally a triple) regimen, that is, with verbs governing (1) two cases at once [2] or (2) any one of two or three cases (or that govern a case or are followed by a prepositional phrase); and the distinction between the uninflected infinitive and the inflected infinitive is in the large such as we find with the different cases (genitive, dative, instrumental, and accusative) with these verbs, though with not a few exceptions duly pointed out in the several groups. The objective infinitive is both uninflected and inflected: —

(*a*) With a few verbs governing the accusative of the direct and the dative of the indirect object (*aliefan*, 'allow;' *secan*, 'seek;' *sellan*, 'grant,' 'allow'). The double construction with these verbs is due in part, no doubt, to their double regimen, but the inflected infinitive does not appear to us as an indirect object. With *aliefan* we have found the double construction with the subjective infinitive, due partly to its double regimen, partly to the dativa1 sense thereof; and, as a rule, the subjective infinitive is inflected when near *aliefan*, but uninflected when remote therefrom. So here with the objective infinitive: the uninflected infinitive (*Mat.* 8.21^{b}) is the second in a series of two, the first of which is inflected and is near to, but not juxtaposed with, the chief verb.

[1] If we except *onginnan*, an apparent rather than a real exception, as is shown below.
[2] (1) = "double regimen" in the looser sense; (2) = "double regimen" in the narrower sense.

Both the uninflected infinitive and the inflected infinitive in this passage, moreover, translate a Latin accusative and infinitive. In the second example (*Ælf. L. S.* 102.227) the inflected infinitive is separated from *aliefan* by four words. Hence I think that the dativa l force is of more importance than the distance from the verb. — In all probability the original construction with *secan* was the uninflected infinitive, which alone is found in the poetry (twice), and which occurs three times in the prose (*Gosp.*, 2; *Bl. Hom.*, 1). In each of the instances of the inflected infinitive, it is possible that the infinitive is final in sense; that, for instance, in *Pr. Ps.* 34.4 (ðа ðe *secað* mine sawle *to fordonne* = confundantur . . . *quærentes animam meam*), *to fordonne* is an adverbial modifier of *secað* rather than its object, — an interpretation favored by the fact that *secan* at times means 'strive for' as well as 'seek;' and that *secan* is followed by *to* plus a noun in the dative in Anglo-Saxon, though this phrase expresses, not the object sought, but the source whence something is sought. — In the single instance of *sellan* followed by an inflected infinitive, the infinitive is juxtaposed with the verb, while the uninflected is separated therefrom, but the double construction is probably due to the double regimen of *sellan*. Compare "Subjective Infinitive," p. 24. — *Forlætan*, 'abandon,' 'omit,' may be put in this group, as it is followed by an accusative and a prepositional phrase introduced by *to*.

(*b*) With certain verbs governing the accusative of the thing and the dative of the person (*bebeodan*, 'command;' *beodan*, 'command;' *bewerian*, 'prohibit,' 'forbid:' cf. 1 (*c*) and (*d*); *forbeodan*, 'forbid;' *gehatan*, 'command,' 'promise:' cf. 1 (*d*); *geðafian* (occasionally genitive instead of accusative), 'allow;' cf. 1 (*d*)). With this group of verbs the double construction rests primarily upon the double regimen of the verbs; and it is easy to see how in these verbs, particularly those of commanding and forbidding, the dative and the accusative objectives could be interchanged without any essential alteration in sense. *Gehatan* in the sense of 'command,' like the simplex, *hatan*, governs the uninflected infinitive only; in the sense of 'promise,' the inflected infinitive, though in one of these examples (*Bede* 316.22) the inflected infinitive is doubtless due to the Latin future infinitive (*esse donaturum*).

(*c*) With a few verbs followed by (1) an accusative or by a prepositional phrase (*gemedemian* (accusative or with *to*), 'humiliate,' 'condescend;' *gemyntan* (accusative or with *to*), 'intend,' 'determine;' *tilian* (accusative or with *to*), 'attempt,' 'strive for:' cf. 1 (*d*)) or by (2) a prepositional phrase (*bewerian* (*wið* and dative of the thing), 'prohibit,' 'forbid:' cf. 1 (*b*); *fon* (*to* or *on*), 'undertake,' 'begin:' see also 1 (*d*); *geswican* (*from*), 'stop,' 'desist from:' cf. 1 (*d*)). With this group, too, the chief factor in the double construction is the double (or triple) regimen. The difference in sense between the uninflected and inflected infinitive in the group as a whole is no greater and no less than that between 'stop' and 'desist from' or 'attempt' and 'strive for' in present English. Substantially the same situation exists in Greek, as is evident from this statement in Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb*, § 807: "After verbs and other expressions which denote *hindrance* or *freedom from* anything, two forms are allowed, the simple infinitive and the genitive of the infinitive with τοῦ. Thus we can say (*a*) εἴργει σε τοῦτο ποιεῖν (747) and (*b*) εἴργει σε τοῦ τοῦτο ποιεῖν, both with the same meaning, 'he prevents you from doing this.'"

(*d*) With certain verbs having a double (or occasionally a triple) regimen in the narrower sense: —

(*aa*) Those governing the accusative or the genitive (*bewerian*, 'prohibit,' 'forbid:' cf. 1 (*b*) and (*c*); *biddan*, 'request,' 'demand:' cf. 1 (*d*) (*bb*); *gehatan*, 'order,' 'promise:' cf. 1 (*b*); *geðafian*, 'allow:' cf. 1 (*b*); *gieman*, 'care (for);' *ondrædan* (also with reflexive dative), 'fear;' *tilian*, 'attempt,' 'strive for:' cf. 1 (*c*); *ðencan*, 'think,' 'think of;' *wenan* (also with dative of person), 'hope for,' 'expect;' *wil(l)nian*, 'desire'). Again, the double construction is the result, I believe, of the double regimen of these verbs; and the line between the uninflected and the inflected infinitive is in most cases as patent and as thin as that between 'hope for' and 'expect' and 'attempt' and 'strive for.' — For one of these verbs, however, *ðencan*, it has been declared [1] that we have the uninflected infinitive as a rule when the infinitive precedes the verb, *ðencan*, and the inflected infinitive when following it, the author of this theory, Dr. van der Gaaf, declaring that he could find only eight examples of the uninflected infinitive following *ðencan*. But I find a total of 35 (or, omitting two doubtful examples, of 33) uninflected infinitives following *ðencan*, while the total number of inflected infinitives is 34, all following the finite verb. Another objection to the contention of Dr. van der Gaaf is the fact that in several instances we find one and the same verb both preceded and followed, in the same sentence, by an uninflected infinitive, as in *Beow.* 800, 801; *Gen.* 1274, 1275; *And.* 150, 151, 152; *Ps.* 93.20$^{a, b}$, 149.7$^{a, b}$, 8$^{a, b}$; *Fallen Angels* 183, 184, 208–209. Moreover, Dr. van der Gaaf declares that only the uninflected infinitive is found in the poetry with this verb. As my statistics show, however, at least one example of the inflected infinitive occurs in the poems (*Ps.* 118.59: Swa ic wegas ðine wise *ðence to ferenne* fotum minum), and six more occur in the *Charms* (V, C, 4$^{a, b, c, d}$, 5$^{a, b}$), which six occur in the prose prologue to the *Charms*, and doubtless were excluded from Dr. van der Gaaf's poetic count, though given in Wülker's *Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Poesie.* That nearness to or distance from the chief verb is not an important factor in the double regimen with *ðencan* is proved by the fact that we have the inflected infinitive when separated therefrom (*Wærf.* 252.4, 253.7; *Greg.* 11.14; *Oros.* 212.29; *Chron.* 190^{b}, 1065 C^{b}, 229^{b}, 1094 E^{d}, 233^{m}, 1097 E^{a}; *Ælf. Hept.: Gen.* 37.18, 21; *Charms* V, C, 4$^{b, c, d}$, 5$^{a, b}$) as well as when juxtaposed therewith (in the remaining instances), as is true, also, of the uninflected infinitive (three of which, however — *Oros.* 282.9^{b}, 292.29 (with *ðuhte* for *ðohte?*); *Ælf. Hept.: Gen.* 48.17^{b} — are the second in a series of two commencing with an inflected infinitive). As both the uninflected infinitive and the inflected infinitive are found in poetry and in Early West Saxon, it is probable that from the beginning each infinitive was allowable with this verb, though the uninflected was the favorite in poetry in the ratio of 61 to 1.[2] — For the same reason it is likely that either infinitive was allowable also with *tilian* and with *wil(l)nian* from the first, but neither verb was common in the poetry, only two examples occurring therein of each (*tilian*, 2 U.; *wilnian:* 1 U., 1 I.).

(*bb*) Those governing the accusative or the dative (*biddan* (accusative or dative of person), 'request,' 'demand:' cf. 1 (*d*) (*aa*)). With this verb,

[1] See van der Gaaf,[1] *l. c.*, pp. 52–62.

[2] Since writing the above, I have come upon the following statement by Dr. H. Willert, in his "Vom Infinitiv with *To*," p. 103: "So soll, wenn *ðencan* and *wenan* sich mit dem präpositionalen Infinitiv verbinden, die Sache bezeichnet werden, auf welche sich die Gedanken richten."

confusion between inflected and uninflected infinitive rests upon the double regimen of the verb, and confusion is peculiarly easy to arise either with infinitive or with noun. The only instance of the infinitive with this verb in the poetry is uninflected.

(*cc*) Those governing the genitive or the dative (*geswican*, 'stop,' 'desist from:' cf. 1 (*c*)). Of the very slight difference between the two kinds of infinitive here, arising from the double (or triple) regimen of *geswican*, I have already spoken in 1 (*c*) above. This verb is not found with an infinitive in the poetry.

(*dd*) Those governing the genitive or the dative or the accusative (*gewil(l)nian*, 'desire'). The double construction here, also, rests on the triple regimen of the verb; and the difference between the two infinitives is a matter of phraseology rather than reason, as also with the noun in different cases. This verb is not found with an infinitive in the poetry.

(*ee*) Those governing the accusative or the instrumental (*fon*, 'undertake,' 'begin:' cf. 1 (*c*); *gewunian*, 'use,' 'be wont'). Of the double construction with *fon*, due to its regimen, I have already spoken in 1 (*c*). The twofold construction with *gewunian* is likewise due to its double regimen.

2. At times, however, we find the objective infinitive both uninflected and inflected after verbs not having a double regimen, as in the following groups: —

(*a*) With a few verbs governing the accusative of the direct object (*aginnan*, 'begin;' *beginnan*, 'begin,' 'undertake,' 'attempt;' *findan*, 'find,' 'strive;' *forhogian*, 'despise,' 'neglect;' *forhycgan*, 'despise,' 'neglect;' *ge-earnian*, 'deserve,' 'earn;' *leornian*, 'learn;' *myntan*, 'think,' 'intend;' *onginnan*, 'begin,' 'undertake,' 'attempt'). Several of these verbs are compounds whose simplex governs another case besides the accusative (*forhogian*, *forhycgan*, *ge-earnian*), — a fact that may account for the double construction with the compounds.

As to the compounds of *ginnan*[1] (*aginnan*, *beginnan*, and *onginnan*), they constitute apparent rather than real exceptions to the principle stated in 1 above, for, while I have found no instance of these verbs governing any case except the accusative in Anglo-Saxon, Professor Delbrück, in his *Synkretismus*, p. 38, tells us that both the accusative and the genitive are found with *biginnan* in Old Saxon, that in Old High German the genitive is very common with *biginnan*, and that the genitive was probably at the outset the normal case in the West Germanic languages with the *ginnan* compounds. It may be, therefore, that these compounds had a double regimen in Anglo-Saxon, though not so recorded in the dictionaries; and that the use of the two infinitives is due to this double regimen. It should be added that not only the uninflected infinitive in *-an* but also the genitive infinitive in *-annes* are found after *biginnan* in Old High German.[2] In Middle High German, too, *beginnan* is followed by both the uninflected infinitive and the inflected infinitive.[3] That, when inflected, the objective infinitive is in close proximity to, usually in juxtaposition with, *beginnan*, but that, when uninflected, it is usually remote therefrom, is an interesting but puzzling fact. This fact seems to me, however, to tend to prove the contention of Professor Delbrück that, in all probability, the

[1] Cf. Dr. H. Willert,[2] *l. c.*, p. 104: "Nicht erklären kann ich mir, warum *ginnan* [*sic* for *beginnan*?] und *onginnan* neben zahlreichen reinen Infinitiven vereinzelt auch den mit *to* aufweisen und warum *beginnan* den letzteren bevorzugt." [2] See Erdmann,[1] *l. c.*, I, p. 210; Wilmanns, *l. c.*, p. 125.

[3] See Monsterberg-Münckenau, *l. c.*, pp. 106, 114–120.

genitive was originally the normal case with the *ginnan* compounds in the West-Germanic languages, especially with *beginnan:* in proximity to *beginnan,* we have in Anglo-Saxon the inflected infinitive, which, as we have seen, normally represents an "indirect" case. Which infinitive represents the original construction with *beginnan* in Anglo-Saxon, it is difficult to determine: only one example of the infinitive occurs in the poetry (*Creed* 37), that uninflected; none is found in Alfred; only two are found in the *Chronicle,* one uninflected (201^{m}, 1067 D) and one inflected (243^{t}, 1110 E^{b}); and by far the majority of the examples occur in Ælfric (73 out of a total of 85). Since, however, the examples of the uninflected form in the *Chronicle* and in the poetry are each late, and since, out of a total of about 85 examples, 57 are inflected, I am inclined to believe that the inflected infinitive represents the original construction in Anglo-Saxon. This preponderance of the inflected infinitive is quite in keeping with the fact, stated by Professor Delbrück, that, in Old High German, the genitive case was very frequent with *beginnan.* Of course, the fluctuation in the two forms of the infinitive may be due in part merely to the lateness of Ælfric's works, by whose time the distinction between the two forms had begun to break down. However, I believe that the fact that the majority of Ælfric's examples (54 out of 73) are inflected, probably points to what was the original construction.

That with *onginnan,* on the contrary, the uninflected infinitive was the original idiom, seems probable from these facts: 977 examples of the uninflected infinitive occur to only 37 examples of the inflected; only the uninflected form is found in the poems (18 of them in *Beowulf*); in Alfred there are 246 uninflected to 2 inflected infinitives; and the majority of the inflected infinitives (25 out of 37) occur in Ælfric, but even with him the uninflected preponderate in the ratio of 82 to 25. As with *beginnan,* though not to the same extent, so with *onginnan* the infinitive, when inflected, is usually near the finite form of *onginnan.* As stated in the preceding paragraph, the double construction with *onginnan* is probably due to the assumed double regimen of that verb. The twofold construction may be due in part, also, to the lateness in time of Ælfric's works; and in part to the two well-known different meanings of *onginnan,*[1] 'begin,' and 'attempt;' though we find each use in each sense: the former needs no illustration; for the latter cf. *Boeth.* 127.23 (ic sceal ðeah hwæthwugu his *onginnan to tæcanne* = 108.16: aliquid *deliberare conabimur*) with *Bede* 200.12 (Ða *ongunnon* . . . oncras upp *teon* = 158.13: *temtabant* . . . nauem *retinere*). Again, in his *Grammar,* Ælfric tells us that *onginnan* plus the inflected infinitive is the proper translation for the Latin inchoative verbs, giving as paradigms, on p. 212, "ic onginne to wearmigenne = calesco," "ic onginne to anðracigenne = horresco," "ic onginne to blacigenne = pallesco;" but he does not state, nor is it easy for me to conceive, why the inflected infinitive is better in such cases than the uninflected infinitive. Alfred evidently thought the uninflected infinitive proper, for in *Bede* 256.24 (sona swa he *trumian ongon* = 203.30: cum *conualescere coepisset*) we find *trumian ongan* translating *conualescere coepisset.* Be the reason what it may, the inflected infinitive caught the fancy of Ælfric, and to him we owe 25 out of the total of 37 inflected infinitives after *onginnan.* On the other hand, Ælfric uses the uninflected infinitive 82 times, without making any rational differentiation between the two so far as I can

[1] Cf. the quotation below from Dr. Henry Sweet.

discover. It remains only to add that to many grammarians *onginnan* seems to have paled into a mere auxiliary, and its infinitive seems "complementary" in the narrower sense rather than objective. To me, too, *onginnan* often seems auxiliary, though oftener not, and the difficulty of drawing a hard-and-fast line between the two uses has led me to put it here rather than under the complementary use.

With *aginnan*, too, the uninflected infinitive was probably the original construction: it is found 28 times, while the inflected infinitive is found only 5 times; and the latter occurs only in the late manuscript F of the *Chronicle* or, once, in the later years of manuscript E.

With *findan*, the uninflected infinitive (*Elene* 1255) is probably better considered predicative to a subject accusative to be supplied. The inflected infinitive (*Daniel* 544) is probably due to the fact that *findan* here means 'to strive for.'

In the one example of *geleornian* with an inflected infinitive (*Bede* 210.31) the infinitive corresponds to a Latin gerundive; but see the next paragraph, on *leornian*.

Leornian is once followed by the uninflected infinitive, but in all other instances it is followed by an inflected infinitive. In one of the latter instances (*Bede* 246.7), the inflected infinitive is in translation of a Latin gerund. The only explanation that occurs to me of the six other inflected infinitives is this: possibly *leornian* denoted the striving for an end rather than the attainment thereof, and was consequently followed by an inflected infinitive.[1] Once (in *A. S. Hom. & L. S. I.* 253[e], 256) we have a series of two infinitives, each inflected.

The only example of the inflected infinitive with *myntan* occurs in the later *Chronicle* (265[m], 1137 E[f]), but several times the uninflected infinitive occurs both in prose and in poetry. Possibly the double regimen of the compound, *gemyntan* (with accusative (or *to* + dative) of thing and dative of person), has affected the simplex, *myntan*.

(*b*) With a verb governing the genitive only (*ablinnan*, 'cease,' 'desist from'). The single inflected infinitive after *ablinnan* (*Ælf. Hom.* II. 74[t]) immediately follows the verb; the one uninflected (*Ælf. L. S.* XXX. 39) follows with but one word intervening; and the double construction is probably due to the analogy of other verbs of cessation, which, as we saw in the preceding section, have a double regimen with the infinitive as with the noun.

(*c*) With a few verbs not found with a case (*gestihhian*, 'determine,' 'decide;' *geðristlæcan*, 'presume').

To sum up the matter for the verbs taking both the uninflected and the inflected infinitive, the double construction is found, in far the larger number of instances,[2] with verbs having a double or triple regimen, that is, with verbs governing two cases at once or any one of two or three cases, or with verbs followed by a case or by a preposition plus an oblique case; and the distinction between the uninflected and the inflected infinitive is in the large such as we find with the different cases (genitive, dative, instrumental, and accusative)

[1] After writing the above, I came upon the following sentence in Wilmanns, *l. c.*, p. 116: "Nur bei wenigen hat sich der blosse Infinitiv behauptet: bei den Prät.-Präsentia ausser *wissen*, also bei *mögen*, *können*, *dürfen*, *sollen*, *müssen*, und bei *wollen* und *lernen*; doch verbinden wir *lernen* mit dem Inf. mit *zu*, wenn nicht das Objekt, sondern das Ziel des Lernens bezeichnet werden soll."

[2] Exclusive of *onginnan*, an apparent rather than a real exception.

with these verbs, though with not a few exceptions, duly pointed out in the several groups. But with some verbs that govern only the accusative, or that are not found with a case, we also find both infinitives; and the double construction here seems to be due at times to the double regimen of another verb of the same root; at times to the analogical influence of verbs of different roots but of kindred signification; and at times to the fact that some of the infinitives fluctuate in sense between the adverbial and the objective uses. With all groups, occasional disturbing factors are the occurrence of the infinitive in a series, in which case at times, but by no means habitually, the second infinitive, even when following an inflected infinitive, is likely to be uninflected; and the influence of the Latin original, which at times, as with the gerund or the gerundive, tends to cause the inflected infinitive to be used, and at other times, as with the accusative and infinitive construction, tends to cause the uninflected infinitive to be used. Once more, the distinction between the two infinitives, which, as stated, rested originally on slight differences in meaning in the chief verb as indicated in the different cases of its noun objects, early began to fade away, and is very pale in Late West Saxon. Despite occasional exceptions that I have pointed out to this theory, I hope and believe that the main principles here formulated as to the differentiation of the two infinitives will meet with acceptance, the more so that, as will be seen in Chapter XVI, they seem as applicable to the Germanic languages in general as to Anglo-Saxon.

The foregoing has been written concerning the active infinitive with active verbs; but the same general principles apply to the active infinitive with passive verbs. In the group followed by the inflected infinitive only, after *deman* (*Wærf.* 254.14) the inflected infinitive is doubtless due to the gerundial periphrastic of the Latin original. *Forbeodan* and *(ge)manian*, in the active, are followed by either infinitive, each being a verb of double regimen. *(Ge)myngian* governs an accusative or a genitive.

I do not know of any detailed attempt[1] by previous investigators to differentiate the two infinitives as object in Anglo-Saxon. Dr. van Draat's "The Infinitive *with* and *without* Preceding *to*," in his *Rhythm in English Prose* (1910), does not touch upon the Anglo-Saxon period. But several helpful suggestions have been made by others. In his *Anglo-Saxon Grammar*, § 453, for instance, Professor March notes this interesting fact: "The gerund [= inflected infinitive] as genitive object is pretty common: *ondred to faranne*, dreaded to go (Mat. ii, 22); wished to see (xiii, 17). Other objects occur, § 448, 2." The second passage cited by Professor March, *Matthew* xiii. 17 (*gewilnudon* ðа ðing *to geseonne* . . . and *gehyran* ðа ðing) contains both an uninflected infinitive and an inflected infinitive as objects of the same verb, but no explanation is offered of the double construction. Dr. Wülfing, likewise, in his *Die Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Grossen*, II, p. 204, tells us that "Der Infinitiv mit *to* als Objekt an Stelle eines Akkusativs oder eines Genetivs steht bei transitiven Zeitwörtern," but he does not indicate when, in his judgment, we have an accusative use of the inflected infinitive and when a genitive use; nor does he say anything of a dative objective use of the inflected infini-

[1] Dr. H. Willert's "Vom Infinitiv with *To*" is based upon the selections in Zupitza's *Alt- und Mittelenglisches Übungsbuch*. As this article appeared after my study had been put in its final form, what seems noteworthy therein has been incorporated in my footnotes.

tive. Again, Dr. Wülfing duly records that certain verbs govern both an uninflected and an inflected infinitive, but he offers no explanation of that fact. Helpful, too, is this statement by Dr. Henry Sweet, in his *A New English Grammar*, II, p. 118: "The substitution of the supine [= inflected infinitive] for the infinitive [= uninflected infinitive] began in Old English itself. Thus the supine of purpose, as in *hie comon ðæt land to sceawienne*, 'they came to spy out the land,' gradually supplanted the older infinitive with many verbs of desiring, intending, attempting, etc., so that while such a verb as *willan*, 'will,' continued — as it still does in Modern English — to take the infinitive only, other verbs of similar meaning, such as *wilnian*, 'desire,' together with such verbs as *onginnan*, 'undertake,' 'begin,' began to take the supine as well as the infinitive." Nor is Dr. Sweet's view in essential conflict with that given by me above: he mentions here only one factor, while I have discussed in addition other factors.

Finally, the quotation from Dr. Sweet raises the interesting question as to whether, in the objective use, the uninflected infinitive or the inflected was the original idiom in Anglo-Saxon. Dr. Sweet seems to declare for the former, as does Dr. Kenyon, who, in his *The Syntax of the Infinitive in Chaucer*, p. 100, writes: "In O. E. [= A. S.] the simple infinitive seems to have been the original construction, but the prepositional came in early." My own view, as implicitly indicated in the exposition of the objective infinitive with the various groups of verbs, is that, while the uninflected infinitive was by far the commoner form and was with most verbs the original construction, the inflected infinitive was with other verbs not uncommon, and was with these verbs the original construction. Indeed, Dr. Kenyon, *l. c.*, p. 100, considerably modifies his first statement above given, as immediately thereafter he adds: "Aside from the general tendency to substitute the prepositional for the simple infinitive, the prepositional is used in M. E. after many words like *commeven*, *compellen*, *constreynen*, *driven*, *enclynen*, and the like, after which the original force of the preposition *to* is still evident and appropriate, and after which *to* with noun objects is also used, as in Bo. V, p. 3, 166: *constreineth* hem *to a bitydinge* . . . This is true of verbs of causing, such as *maken*, *techen*, etc., but not of verbs of perception, like *sen*, *heren*, etc., which still have the simple infinitive in Chaucer as in O. E.

"The same relation between the prepositional infinitive and the prepositions *to* and *for* with nouns can be seen also in connection with verbs which take the complementary infinitive (see p. 88, above). It is perhaps noteworthy that there, in connection with auxiliary verbs where such an analogy between *to* + inf. and *to* + nouns as R. A. 597, I entende *to nothing* But . . . *for to kembe* and *tresse* me, did not work, and also here in the case of verbs of perception, the simple infinitive never gave place to the prepositional to any extent. This suggests that the great spread of the prepositional infinitive was not wholly due, perhaps only slightly, to a general substitution of the latter for the simple infinitive, but was rather due to an extension of the *original construction* of the prepositional infinitive as more closely related to the construction of preposition + abstract nouns. This possibility is to be considered also in connection with the spread of the prepositional infinitive as subject, which, as we have seen under Adjectives, was probably greatly enhanced by a transference of the dependent infinitive to the subject relation, as in *it is good to do*. See pp. 49 ff."

If the interpretation given by me of the illustrative examples in this chapter is correct, Dr. Kenyon's second statement is much nearer the truth than the first. It remains only to add that my interpretation of the Anglo-Saxon statistics had been written out in full before the appearance of Dr. Kenyon's work; and that it is a pleasure to find a conclusion based upon an independent study of Anglo-Saxon so strongly supported by that of Dr. Kenyon based upon an independent study of Middle English.

B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

1. With Active Finite Verb.

Occasionally (about 24 times) the passive infinitive is found as the object of the following active finite verbs: —

aginnan, *begin.*
geearnian, *earn, merit.*
gewilnian, *desire.*
habban, *have.*
onginnan, *begin.*
wil(l)nian, *desire.*
witan, *know.*

Typical examples are: —

aginnan [-y-], *begin:*

L. 12.45[d]: *agynð* beatan ða cnihtas . . . and etan and drincan and *beon oferdruncen* = *cæperit* percutere servos . . . et edere, et bibere, et *inebriari.*

geearnian, *earn, merit:*

Bede 372.34: *geearnode onfongen beon* = 275.21: *meruisset recipi.* — *Ib.* 406.16: ðæt he . . . *geearnade* . . . *onfongen beon* = 294.10[b]: *recipi mereretur.*

gewilnian, *desire:*

Wærf. 204.4: ðonne hi *gewilniað fullfremede beon* = 249 A[1]: quatenus dum *appetunt perfecti esse.*

Mat. 20.28[b]: Ge *gewilniað* to geðeonne on gehwædum ðinge, and *beon gewanod* on ðam mæstan ðinge = no Latin.

habban, *have:*

L. 12.50: ic *hæbbe* on fulluhte *beon gefullod* = Baptismo autem *habeo baptizari.*

onginnan, *begin:*

Bede 88.3: ðonne *onginneð* ðær seo syn *acenned beon* = 61.14: peccatum *incipit nasci.* — *Ib.* 128.12: *ongon* . . . *swenced beon* = 108.18[a]: *coepit* . . . *affici.* — *Ib.* 358.14: *ongan* . . . *gewanad beon* = 267.11[b]: *coepit* . . . *referri.*

Wærf. 74.3: heo ða *ongan* . . . *beon onstyred* = 201 B[2]: *cæpit* . . . *agitari.* — *Ib.* 206.14: ða *ongan* ðis . . . *beon gedon* = 252 B[1]: *Cæpit* itaque hoc indesinenter *agere.* — *Ib.* 206.24: ða *ongan* . . . se hlisa . . . *beon gemærsad* = 252 B[2]: *cæpit* . . . fama longe lateque *crebescere.*

Mk. 13.4: hwylc tacen bið ðænne ealle ðas ðing *onginnað beon geendud?* = quando hæc omnia *incipient consummari?*

wil(l)nian, *desire:*

Bede 234.1[b]: Woldon heo 7 *willnadan* . . . lifgan . . . oððe forðferde ðær *bebyrged beon* = 176.30: *cupientes* . . . *sepeliri.*

Greg. 302.18: ðonne hie [ma] *wilniað* oðrum monnum *underðiedde beon* ðonne hie ðyrfen = 230.1: cum *student* plus quam necesse est hominibus *subjici.*

witan, *know:*

Bede 402.24: Ondswarode ic . . . ðæt ic . . . wiste . . . *aðwegen beon* = 291.13: respondi, quia salutari fonte in remissionem peccatorum *essem ablutus.*

2. *With Passive Verbs.*

In a few instances we have the passive infinitive as "the retained object" after the passive of these verbs: —

æteawan [-ie-], *show.* **(ge)liefan**, *believe.* **ongietan**, *understand.*
bewerian, *forbid.* **(ge)seon**, *see.*

The examples in full are: —

æteawan [-ie-], *show:*

Bede 80.13: is gesægd, ðætte ðæt from . . . Gode unclæne 7 *besmiten æteawed bið* in weorce *beon*, ðætte of wyrtruman . . . accenned bið = 57.5: indicatum est, quia illud ab . . . Deo *pollutum esse* in opere *ostenditur.*

bewerian, *forbid:*

Bede 78.4: heo *wæron bewered* heora weorum *gemengde beon* = 55.16: uiris suis *misceri prohibentur.*

(ge)liefan [-y-], *believe:*

Wærf. 203.23: ðæt he nane ðinga *næs gelyfed beon gefylled* = 248 C^3: ut illis tot virtutibus nisi sciretur *esse plenus*, nullo modo *crederetur.*

(ge)seon, *see:*

Bede 424.28: saula . . ., ða . . . *gesegene weeran* . . . *worpene beon* = 305.6: quae . . . *uidebantur* . . . *iactari.*

ongietan [-y-], *understand:*

Bede 88.5: ðonne *bið ongyten* ðær syn *gefremed beon* = 61.15: tunc peccatum *cognoscitur perfici.*

For the objective infinitive in the other Germanic languages, see Chapter XVI, section ii.

NOTES.

1. *The Objective Infinitive in a Series.* — In the following passages, quoted on the pages indicated, we have a series of infinitives in which the first is inflected, but the succeeding is not: *Oros.* 282.9[a, b], p. 49; *ib.* 292.28, 29, p. 49; — *Ælf. Hom.* II. 196[b 1, 2], p. 51; *ib.* 488[b 7, 8], p. 53; *ib.* 588[b 1, 2], p. 55; — *Ælf. Hept.: Gen.* 48.17[a, b], p. 49; — *Ælf. L. S.* 154.127[a, b], p. 47; — *Gosp.: Mat.* 8.21[a, b], p. 46; *Mat.* 13.17[a, b], p. 55. In the following passages we have a series of infinitives in which each infinitive is inflected, after an active verb: *Bede* 330.25[a, b]; 334.4, 5; 430.33[a, b]; — *Boeth.* 41.4, 5; 103.15[a, b]; 110.29[b], 30; — *Greg.* 249.20[a, b]; 293.3[a, b]; 423.2, 3; 453.32[a, b]; — *Laws* 414, VII, c. 13, $A^{1, 2}$; 453, c. 3, § 1[a, b]; — *Bened.* 56.18[a, b]; — *Pr. Ps.* 34.14[a, b]; — *Ælf. Hept.: Deut.* 3.25[a, b]; 32.46[a, b]; — *Ælf. Hom.* II. 486[b 1, 2]; — *Ælf. L. S.* XXIII B. 223[a, b]; — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. I.:* 1. 253[b], 256; — *Wulf.* 34.14, 15; 200.3[a, b]; — Poems: *Charms* V, C. 4[a, b, c, d], 5[a, b]. It seems unnecessary to give the series in which each infinitive is uninflected.

2. *Infinitive after a Finite Verb Passive in Form, but Active in Sense.* — In the following passages we have an objective infinitive after the passive of *(ge)medemian;* or, rather, the finite verb, though passive in form, is active in sense, the passive form being due to the translator's mistaking the deponent verb *dignor* for a passive: — *Wærf.* 206.4, 5[a]: bæd ðæt he *wære gemedemod* him *forgyfan 7 sellan* hwylcehugu frofre to eardigenne = 252 $A^{2, 3}$: ab . . . Domino petiit ut ei ad habitandum aliquod solatium *donare dignaretur;* — *Laws* 409, Judicium Dei IV, c. 2[c]: ðæs ilca Godes allmæhtiges mægen ofer hine ðis *gibrehtan sie gimeodumad* = eiusdem Dei omnipotentis uirtus super eum hoc *declarare dignetur; ib.* 409, c. 3: of Mar' hebstald flæsc *onfoa gimeodumad arð* = ex Maria uirgine carnem *assumere dignatus es; ib.* 411, c. 4, § 5[b]: ðis *giidlage sie gimeodumad* = ueritas hoc *euacuare dignetur;* — *Ælf. L. S.* XXIII B. 466: ic *wæs gemedemod gebiddan* ða gerynu ðære . . . rode [MS. G.: *to gebiddanne*]; — *ib.* XXX. 354: ðone eac swylce se hælend sylf *wæs gemedemod* ðurh ðone heort to his mildheortnesse *gecigan;* — inflected: *Mart.* 120.16: drihten God, *beo* ðu *gemedemad* me *to geheranne.* The same thing has happened with *(ge)eaðmedan* in *Bede* 340.1: Drihten hire forðfore . . . mid sweotolre gesyhðe *wæs geeaðmeded to onwreonne* = 257.4: Dominus . . . obitum . . . manifesta uisione *reuelare dignatus est.*

CHAPTER III.

OTHER SUBSTANTIVAL USES OF THE INFINITIVE.

Aside from the Subjective and the Objective uses of the infinitive in Anglo-Saxon, we find occasionally the following additional Substantival Uses: (A) as a Predicate Nominative and (B) as an Appositive. Of (C) the infinitive as the Object of a Preposition, I find no clear example.

A. AS A PREDICATE NOMINATIVE.

The use of the infinitive as a predicate nominative is specifically denied to Anglo-Saxon by some scholars, as by Buchtenkirch, *l. c.*, p. 9; by Ortmann, *l. c.*, p. 53; and by Redepenning, *l. c.*, p. 84. But Mätzner, *l. c.*, III, p. 23, cites what he considers an example of the uninflected infinitive as predicate nominative from Thorpe's *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica*, p. 112: Me *ys geðuht* Godes ðeowdom betweoh ðas cræftas ealdorscipe *healdan*. Possibly *healdan* is a predicate nominative here; but, as has been pointed out by Professor Albert S. Cook,[1] it may be considered as predicative to an accusative subject; or, as the context seems to me to make more probable, it may be used predicatively with the quasi-auxiliary, *ys geðuht:* see p. 82 below. In his *The Gerund in Old English*, p. 35, Dr. T. J. Farrar writes: "The only instance of the Gerund as a pure sentence-predicate is in poems 325.4:[2] to findanne næs to oðfeorrganne and to witanne næs to oðwyrceanne and to lufianne næs to oðlædanne." Dr. Farrar does not quote the first part of this clause, *swa ic ðence ðis feoh*, — a fact that may in part account for his interpretation? At any rate, I take these infinitives to be objects of *ðence*, and *næs* to be an adverb instead of a verb. As indicated, most, if not all, of the examples cited below, admit of a different explanation. I quote all of the less doubtful examples that I have observed, giving first the uninflected infinitive and then the inflected.

(1) Uninflected:

Bl. Hom. 189.30: hit *is* mycel nedðearf ðæt h[ie] man forspille, & mid irenum ðislum & ordum hie man slea in anr[e] stowe for (*sic!*) *niman* mid witum (or subjective?). [Possibly an *and* has dropped out before *for?*]

Ælf. Hom. I. 490[t 1, 2]: Hwæt *is* lange *lybban* buton lange *swincan* (or subjective?)? — *Ib.* I. 584[t 1, 2, 3, 4]: Hwæt *is* god willa buton godnys, ðæt he oðres mannes ungelimp besargige, and on his gesundfulnysse fægnige, his freond na for middengearde ac for gode lufige; his feond mid lufe *forberan*, nanum *gebeodan* ðæt him sylfum ne licige, his nextan neode be his mihte *gehelpan*, and ofer his mihte *wyllan* (the infinitives may be appositive)?

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 643: to ðam mynstre ferde on ðære ylcan tide ðe heora easter-gewuna *wæron* togædere *becuman* [Bosworth-Toller, *sub v. gewuna*, suggests *wæs* for *wæron*]. — *Ib.* XXV. 310[b]: *Nis* nan earfoðnyss ðæm . . .

[1] In his *A First Book in Old English*, p. 131. Thorpe's quotation is from Ælfric's *Colloquy*, a work not included in my "Statistics," and is found on p. 30 of the edition of the *Analecta* cited in my bibliography.

[2] = *Charms* V, C. 4 [a, b, a, 4], 5[a, b]. — M. C., Jr.

gode on feawum mannum oððe on micclum werode to helpenne on gefeohte and *healdan* ða ðe he wile (or subjective?).

(2) Inflected:

With *beon* + a noun or pronoun, arranged in alphabetic order of noun or pronoun:

— **earfoðnes**, *difficulty:*

Ælf. L. S. XXV. 310ᵃ: *Nis* nan *earfoðnyss* ðæm ælmihtigan gode on feawum mannum oððe on micclum werode *to helpenne* on gefeohte and healdan ða ðe he wile (or subjective?).

— **frecednes**, *difficulty:*

Ælf. Hom. II. 160ᵇ: *wæs* ðam gebroðrum micel *frecednys to astigenne* dæghwomlice of ðam cludum to wæterscipe (or subjective?).

— **gemet**, *propriety, right:*

A. S. Hom. & L. S. II. 10.521: He ða Ioseph cwæð mid bifiendre stefne: *Nis* min *gemet* swilcum cilde *to onfonne*, forðan ðe ic hæbbe fela bearna and ða synd ealle yldran ðonne heo.

— **hwæt**, *what?*

Ælf. Hom. II. 76ᵗ: *Hwæt is to cweðenne*, ðæt nan man us to ðam wingearde ne gehyrde, buton ðæt nan man us ne bodade lifes weig? — *Ib.* II. 574ᵗ: *Hwæt is to cweðenne*, " Ne cann ic eow," buton ðæt ic ne worhte eow ðyllice? [Or is the infinitive subjective in each?]

— **hwilc** [-y-], *which, what:*

Ælf. Hom. I. 614ᵗ: Understandað nu *hwilc sy* on weges geswince *to ateorigenne*, and ðeah nelle ðone weg geendigan.

Wulf. 214.22: gif ge nellað gelefan, men ða leofestan, ðæs ærendgewrites, ðonne ne geðencað ge na, hu ðæt deofol ðam ancre sæde, *hwylc* hit in helle *wære to wunianne.*

— **mæð**, *power, ability:*

Ælf. Hom. I. 298ᵗ: *Nis* na eower *mæð to witenne* ðone timan, ðe min Fæder ðurh his mihte gesette.

— **sorh**, *sorrow:*

Beow. 473: *Sorh is* me *to secganne* . . . gumena ængum, hwæt me Grendel hafað . . . gefremed (or subjective, as Dr. K. Köhler, *l. c.*, p. 45, holds?).

— **ðeaw**, *custom:*

Bede 202.29: Ðæt eac swilce his *ðeaw wæs* on oðrum cyninges tune *to donne* = 160.1: quod ipsum et in aliis uillis regiis *facere solebat.*

J. 19.40: Hig namon ðæs Hælendes lichaman, and bewundon hine mid linenum claðe mid wyrtgemangum, swa Iudea *ðeaw ys to bebyrgenne* = sicut mos *est* Judæis *sepelire.*

— **wundor**, *wonder:*

Beow. 1724: *Wundor is to secganne*, hu mihtig god manna cynne ðurh sidne sefan snyttru bryttað, eard and eorlscipe (or subjective? Dr. K. Köhler, *l. c.*, p. 48, strange to say, holds that the infinitive modifies the noun, *wundor*).

gebyrian, *be fitting:*

Wulf. 279.5ᵃ·ᵇ: ne *gebyreð* æt cyrican ænig ðing to donne, butan god *to herianne* and hine *to gebiddanne* (or subjective?).

As to the differentiation of the uninflected infinitive as predicate nominative from the inflected infinitive, it is substantially the same as in the subjective

use: the infinitive is inflected because of the influence of the noun in the verbal phrase made up of *is* etc. + a noun. In the few instances of the uninflected infinitive as predicate nominative, the infinitive is usually considerably removed from the noun of the verbal phrase, and in one instance (*Ælf. L. S.* XXV. 310[b]) is the second of a series of two infinitives, of which the first is inflected.

At times an inflected infinitive is used as an adjectivized predicate nominative, concerning which see Chapter XIII, pp. 180–181.

For the infinitive as predicate nominative in the other Germanic languages, see Chapter XVI, section iii.

B. AS AN APPOSITIVE.

We have a few examples in which the infinitive is used as an appositive to a noun or a pronoun. I give all the examples observed, arranged according to the case involved: —

(*a*) *Nominative:* —

(1) Uninflected:

forhæfednes, *restraint:*

Ælf. Hom. I. 360[b 1. 2]: Deorwyrðe is ðeos *forhæfednys*, and wulderful ðrowung on Godes gesihðe, ða yfelan geðohtas and unlustas mid agenre cynegyrde *gestyran*, and fram derigendlicere spræce and pleolicum weorce hine sylfne *forhabban*.

hwæðer, *which?*

Gosp.: Mk. 2.9[b]: *Hwæðer* is eðre to secgenne to ðam laman, ðe synd ðine synna forgyfene; hwæðer ðe *cweðan*, Aris, etc. = Quid est facilius, dicere paralytico: Dimittuntur tibi peccata, an *dicere*, Surge etc.; so: *L.* 5.23[b].

ðæt, *that:*

Bede 78.22[a. b. c. d. e] = 55.32, quoted on p. 3 above.

Mk. 12.33: ðæt he si gelufod of ealre heortan . . . and *lufigean* his nehstan swa hine sylfne, *ðæt* is mare eallum onsægdnyssum and offrungum = ut diligatur ex toto corde . . . et *diligere* proximum tanquam se ipsum, majus est omnibus etc.

(2) Inflected:

ægðer [egðer], *each:*

Solil. 16.16, 17: forðam me ys *egðer* ðara alyfad, ge ðæt good *to lufianne* ge ðæt *yfel to hatianne* = Licet enim mihi in quovis *amare* rationem, cum illum jure oderim qui male utitur eo quod amo. [Or is the infinitive a genitive appositive to *ðara?* See note to *oðer* on p. 77.]

hwæt, *what:*

Mat. 9.5[a. b]: Hwæt is eaðlicre *to cweðenne*, Ðe beoð forgyfene ðine synna, oððe *to cweðanne*, Aris and ga? = Quid est facilius, *dicere:* Dimittuntur tibi peccata, an *dicere*, Surge et ambula?

hwæðer, *which?*

Gosp.: Mk. 2.9[a] and *L.* 5.23[a], both quoted under " Uninflected " above.

syn, *sin:*

Boeth. 84.32: Ðæt is ðeah micel *syn to geðencanne* be Gode, ðætte ænig god sie buton on him = 74.72: 0.

ylce, *same:*

Pr. Ps. 39, Intr.: swa *ylce* gebyreð ælcum Cristnum men, ðas twegen sealmas *to singanne* = 0.

(*b*) *Genitive:* —

(1) Uninflected:

behæs, *promise:*

Chron. 227^{b}, 1093 E$^{b.\ c.\ d}$: on his broke he Gode fela *behæsa* behet his agen lif on riht to lædene 7 Godes cyrcean *griðian 7 friðian* 7 næfre ma eft wið feo *gesyllan* 7 ealle rihte lage on his ðeode to habbene.

forhæfednes, *restraint:*

Ælf. Hom. I. 360$^{m\ 1.\ 2.\ 3}$: Oðer *forhæfednysse* cynn is deorwurðre and healicre, ðeah seo oðer god sy: *styran* his modes styrunge . . ., and *campian* dæghwamlice wið leahtras, and hine sylfne *ðreagian.*

(2) Inflected:

behæs, *promise:*

Chron. 227^{b}, 1093$^{a.\ c}$: quoted under " Uninflected."

ðæt, *that:*

Greg. 273.3: ðæt hie geornlice tiligen to wietanne ðæt him nis na *ðæs* anes ðearf *to ðenceanne* hwelce hie hie selfe utane eowien mannum = 206.3: ut scire sollicite studeant, non solum quales foris ostendere, sed etiam quales se debeant intus exhibere.

Oros. 50.16: For ðon nis me *ðæs* ðearf, cwæð O., *to secgenne* = 51.11: nec per ordinem nunc *retexere* nostrum est.

(*c*) *Dative:* —

(1) Uninflected:

onginn, *undertaking:*

Pr. Gu. IV. 58: ða wæs his mod ðæs eadigan weres swiðe gedrefed on him be ðam *onginne*, ðe he ongan, ðæt westen swa ana *eardigan* = tunc miles Christi totis sensibus turbatus de eo, quod incoeperat, desperare coepit, et huc illucque turbulentum animum convertus, *quo solo sederet*, nesciebat.

(2) Inflected:

ægðer, *each:*

Solil. 2.16, 17: forgife me ðæt me to *ægðrum* onhagige, ge her nytwyrðe *to beonne*, ge huru ðider *to cumanne* = 0.

(*d*) *Accusative:* —

(1) Uninflected:

ægðer, *each:*

Oros. 178.10, 11: he him geswor on his goda noman ðæt he *ægðer* wolde, ge ðæt ærende *abeodan*, swa swa hi hiene heton, ge eac him ðæt anwyrde eft *gecyðan* = 0.

bu, *both:*

Mart. 60.3$^{a.\ b}$: hu meahte ic *bu* somod ge in heofon *geheran* ge her *sprecan?*

hwæt, *what:*

Laws 455, Gerefa, c. 13$^{1-12}$: A he mæig findan, *hwæt* he mæig on byrig betan — ne ðearf he na unnyt beon, ðonne he ðær binnan —: oððe hus *godian*, *rihtan* 7 *weoxian* 7 grep *hegian*, dicsceard *betan*, hegas *godian*, weod *wyrtwalian*, betweox husan *bricgian*, *beoddian*, *bencian*, horsan *styllan*, flor *feormian* oððe synnes (*sic!*) sum ðing ðe to nyte mæge.

naðer, *neither:*

Pr. Gu. XVI. 14$^{a.\ b}$: swa sarlice he wæs mid ðam sare geswenced, ðæt he

nauðer ðara ne *gesittan* ne *standan* mihte = ut *sedere* aut *stare* vel *jacere* nequivisset (see note to *oðer* below).

oðer, *one:*

Boeth. 53.20[a, b]: ða wilniað *oðer* twega, oððe him selfe *ricsian*, oððe hi to ðæra ricena freondscipe *geðiodan* = 52.20, 21: hi uel *regnare* ipsi *uolunt* uel regnantibus *adhaerere conantur* (the infinitives may be considered appositive to the genitive, *twega*, but are more probably appositive to *oðer:* see examples from *Orosius* below).

Oros. 44.9: secgan het ðæt hie *oðer* sceolden, oððe ðæt land æt him *alesan*, oððe he hie wolde mid gefeohte fordon *7* forhergian = 0. — *Ib.* 120.31[a, b]: ðæt hie siððan *oðer* sceoldon, oððe for metelieste heora lif *alætan* oððe Somnitum an hand *gan* = 0. — *Ib.* 138.32[a, b]: to tacne ðæt hie *oðer* woldon, oððe ealle *libban* oððe ealle *licgean* = 0.

Maldon 208[a, b]: hi woldon ða ealle *oðer* twega, lif *forlætan* oððe leofne *gewrecan* (see note to examples from *Boethius* above).

weorc, *work:*

Beow. 76: ic wide gefrægn *weorc* gebannan manigre mægðe geond ðisne middangeard, folcstede *frætwan*.

Bede 458.24: he ærest ongan ðæt *weorc* Cristes godspell *læran* = 326.18: ipse primus ibi *opus euangelicum* coepit.

(2) Inflected:

ægðer, *each:*

Greg. 355.22[a, b]: forðæm he wisse ðæt hit bið swiðe unieðe *ægðer* to donne, ge wið ðone *to cidanne* ðe yfel deð, ge eac sibbe wið *to habbenne* = 276.1: Difficile quippe erat ut si male acta *corriperent, habere* pacem cum omnibus possent.

weorc, *work:*

Bede 56.24: Agustinus . . . hwearf eft on ðæt *weorc* Godes word *to læranne* *7* com on Breotone = 44.29: A. . . . rediit *in opus uerbi*, peruenitque Britanniam (or does *to læranne* modify *weorc* attributively instead of being appositive thereto?).

A careful inspection of the foregoing examples will show that normally the appositive infinitive is uninflected. If inflected, the infinitive is inflected because of its relative proximity to some word that is usually accompanied by the inflected infinitive (as *aliefan: Solil.* 16.16, 17; *eaðlicre: Mat.* 9.5[a, b]; *eaðre: Mk.* 2.9[a], *L.* 5.23[b]; *gebyrian: Pr. Ps.* 39. Intr.; *onhagian: Solil.* 2.16, 17; *syn: Boeth.* 84.32; *unieðe: Greg.* 355.22[a, b]; *behatan* [(?): or *on riht?*]: *Chron.* 227[b], 1093[a]). I know not how to account for the inflected infinitive in *Chron.* 227[b], 1093[a] (in which an inflected infinitive occurs after three preceding uninflected infinitives) unless it be due to the disturbing influence of *rihte;* in *Bede* 56.24, as there stated, the infinitive may modify the noun (*weorc*) as an attributive genitive instead of as an appositive. — In two instances (*Mk.* 2.9[b], *L.* 5.23[b], p. 75 above) the uninflected infinitive occurs in a series beginning with an inflected infinitive, while in one instance (*Chron.* 227[b], 1093[a]), as already stated, the reverse is the case.

For the appositive infinitive in the other Germanic languages, see Chapter XVI, section iii.

C. AS THE OBJECT OF A PREPOSITION.

Aside from the inflected infinitive made up of the preposition *to*[1] plus a dative of the verbal noun in *-ne*, which we regard as a unit and which, therefore, does not strictly fall under the above heading, I have found no clear case of an infinitive used as the object of a preposition. Dr. T. J. Farrar, *l. c.*, p. 35, cites *Bede* 82.22 (ðes mon is his seolfes dome to forlætenne, oððe *be* cirican ingonge, oððe *to onfonne* ðæm geryne = 58.25: iste profecto siue de ingressu ecclesiae, seu *de sumendo* dominici corporis sanguinisque mysterio, suo est iudicio relinquendus) as an example of the inflected infinitive used with the preposition *be;* and it is possible so to construe *to onfonne*, especially in view of its close correspondence to the Latin *de sumendo*. It is also possible, however, to consider *to onfonne* as an adverbial infinitive of specification without dependence upon the preposition *be:* see Chapter XII, section B. In sentences like *Wulf.* 279.5[a, b] (ne gebyreð æt cyrican ænig ðing to donne, *butan* god *to herianne* and hine *to gebiddanne*), *butan* is probably a conjunctive adverb instead of a preposition, and the infinitives, instead of being objects of *butan*, are nominatives. — In *Wærf.* 71.11 (he wæs geornful *mid teolone* his singalra gebeda = 200 B: continuæ orationis *studio*) one is tempted to consider *teolone* an inflected infinitive that has lost its *to* and that is the object of the preposition *mid*. But more probably *teolone* is a noun, though I do not find it so recorded in the dictionaries.

To turn to the uninflected infinitive, it is probable that in such instances as *Ælf. Hom.* I. 490[1, 2] (Hwæt is lange lybban *buton* lange *swincan*) and *Ælf. L. S.* XXV. 198, 199 (hwæt wille we leng don *buton licgan* ealle æt his arwurðum cneowum and eadmodlice *biddan* ðæt he us geðingie to ðyllicum gode?) *buton* is a conjunctive adverb, not a preposition. — So, too, in *Bede* 78.26 (Ond hwæt elles is to secenne wið ðæm hungre *nemne* ondlifen, wið ðurst drync, wið hæto celnis, wið cyle hrægl, wið werignesse reste, wið untrymnesse lacedom *secan* = 56.3: Et quid est aliud contra famem alimenta, contra sitim potum, contra aestum auras, contra frigus uestem, contra lassitudinem requiem quaerere, *nisi* medicamentum quidem contra egritudines *explorare*) *nemne* is probably a conjunction, as is the Latin *nisi;* and *secan* in reality completes the sense of *is*, as does *to secanne*, but, owing to its remoteness from *is*, is uninflected: see Chapter VII, p. 98. — In *Læce.* 5.37 (gif mon on sinwe beslea *æt blodlætan* and 45.10 (Gif mon *æt blodlætan* on sinwe beslea), we have a compound noun, I think, although I do not find this word so recorded in the dictionaries.

For the idiom in the other Germanic languages, see Chapter XVI, section iii.

[1] Also sporadically of *for to*.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PREDICATIVE INFINITIVE WITH AUXILIARY VERBS.

A. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

Perhaps the most frequent use of the active infinitive in Anglo-Saxon is to complete the sense of these auxiliary verbs:

agan (nagan), *owe (not), ought (not).*	**mot**, *may, must.*
cunnan, *know, can.*	**sculan**, *owe, shall.*
dear(r), *dare.*	**ðurfan**, *need.*
magan, *can, may.*	**willan**,[1] *desire, will.*

No doubt, as is generally believed, the complementary infinitive after these verbs was originally scarcely, if at all, distinguishable from the objective infinitive, treated in Chapter II; for the auxiliary verbs originally were transitive in sense and could govern a noun object, as is still true of *willan* in its primary sense of 'desire.' As, however, the transitive sense more and more paled away in the auxiliaries, the latter came to seem more and more to be mere copulas between the subject and the infinitive; and the infinitive, instead of seeming to be the object of the auxiliary, appears to us as the most significant element in the verb phrase. Hence it is that I have put the use of the infinitive with auxiliary verbs under the general heading of the more verbal (or the predicative) uses of the infinitive.

The predicative infinitive with auxiliaries is habitually uninflected, though occasionally it is inflected. The examples of the uninflected infinitive are so numerous and are so normal that it has not seemed profitable to me either to collect or to publish the complete statistics thereof. Suffice it to say that this infinitive is very frequent in poetry and in prose, in Early West Saxon and in Late West Saxon, and in the more original works as well as in the translations. Nor have I sought with a verb like *willan*, which is sometimes a transitive verb and sometimes an auxiliary, to separate the two uses. In a word, the paucity of my statistics as to the predicative uninflected infinitive is intentional, and is based on the belief that what is peculiar in such verbal phrases rests on the shift in meaning of the auxiliaries, and belongs rather to a history of the auxiliaries than to a history of the infinitive. Moreover, the history of the auxiliaries has already been worked out to a greater or less degree, especially in the case of the two most interesting ones, *sculan* and *willan*.[2] A few examples, therefore, will suffice for the uninflected infinitive as the complement of auxiliary verbs. On the other hand, I have tried to collect all the examples of the rarer construction, the inflected infinitive as complement to the auxiliaries. I do not forget that this use of the inflected infinitive as complement to auxiliary verbs is denied by some careful students of Anglo-Saxon, as by Dr. K. Köhler, *l. c.*, p. 45, Professor Blackburn,[2] *l. c.*, p. 57, and Dr. Riggert, *l. c.*, pp. 9, 68, 70,

[1] For reasons already given, I do not put here, but under the objective use, *beginnan, don, gewunian, habban, onginnan*, and *wunian*. *Beon* (*wesan*) is treated in Chapter VII. Dr. Kenyon, *l. c.*, pp. 88 ff., uses the terms *complement* and *complementary* so as to include a very large number of verbs, transitive and intransitive.

[2] See, in the bibliography, the works by Blackburn, C. B. Bradley, H. Bradley, Graef, K. Köhler, H. Kurrelmeyer, Ljunggren, Lüttgens, and Riggert.

and 75; but I think that the scarcity of examples in the poetry has misled these gentlemen, and that the construction will hardly be questioned by any one after reading the complete statistics thereof given below. It is difficult to discover the view of Dr. Wülfing and of Dr. Farrar: the former, *l. c.*, II, pp. 209–210, gives one example of the inflected infinitive after *willan*[1] and *agan* each, but calls it objective; the latter nowhere differentiates the complementary and the objective uses of the inflected infinitive.

As to the position of the uninflected infinitive with auxiliary verbs, my observation tallies with that of Dr. Riggert, who, *l. c.*, p. 10, declares: "Der Infinitiv pflegt im Hauptsatze dem Hilfsverb zu folgen, im Nebensatze ihm voranzustehen. Zwar ist die Regel nicht streng durchgeführt, jedoch sind die Abweichungen vielleicht des öfteren aus metrischen Rücksichten zu erklären." The inflected infinitive follows the auxiliary except in a very few instances (*Laws* 396 and 400, quoted below under *agan*, p. 81; *Bened.* 135.11, quoted under *durran*, p. 82).

Whether uninflected or inflected, the predicative infinitive that is active in form is active in sense.

The following are typical examples of the uninflected infinitive with auxiliary verbs: —

agan, *owe, ought:*

Wulf. 294.26[b]: ac man *ah* cyrican and haligdom to secanne and ðær hine georne inne to gebiddanne and mid eadmodnysse *hlystan.*

cunnan, *know, can:*

Beow. 2372: he . . . eðelstolas *healdan cuðe.* — *Ib.* 91: se ðe *cuðe* frumsceaft fira feorran *reccan.*

dear(r), *dare:*

Beow. 528: gif ðu Grendles *dearst* nihtlongne fyrst nean *bidan.* — *Ib.* 684[b]: gif he *gesecan dear* wig ofer wæpen.

magan, *can, may:*

Beow. 2954, 2955: ðæt he sæmannum *onsacan mihte*, heaðoliðendum hord *forstandan.*

mot, *may, must:*

Beow. 1939, 1940: ðæt hit sceadenmæl *scyran moste*, cwealmbealu *cyðan.*

sculan, *owe, shall:*

Beow. 1464: ðæt hit ellenweorc *æfnan scolde.* — *Ib.* 3078: Oft *sceall* eorl . . . wræc *adreogan.*

ðurfan, *need:*

Beow. 2874: nealles folccyning fyrdgesteallum *gylpan ðorfte.* — *Ib.* 446[a]: Na ðu minne *ðearft* hafalan *hydan.*

willan, *desire, will:*

Beow. 2148, 2149: maðmas . . . ða ic ðe . . . *bringan wylle*, estum *geywan.*

Below I cite, in alphabetic sequence of the auxiliaries, all the examples of the complementary inflected infinitive that I have observed: —

agan (nagan), *owe (not), ought (not):*

Chron. 206[i], 1070 A[a]: he . . . sæde ðæt he hit *nahte to donne.* — *Ib.* 216[m],

[1] *Bosth.* 110.29, but the text used by me, Sedgefield's, has here *wilnað.*

1085 E[d]: oððe hwilce gerihtæ he *ahte to habbanne* to xii monðum. — *Ib.* 266[m], 1140 E[b]: Þe eorl . . . benam him al ðæt he *ahte to hauen* (*sic!*).

Laws 30, Ælfred, Intr., c. 12[a]: *nage* he hie ut on elðeodig folc *to bebycgganne*. — *Ib.* 48, Ælfred, c. 2: *age* he ðreora nihta fierst him *to gebeorganne* (or final?). — *Ib.* 116, Ine, c. 62: *nah* ðonne self nane wiht *to gesellanne* beforan ceape. — *Ib.* 228, III Æthelred, c. 3: hlafordes gifu, ðe he on riht *age to gifanne*. — *Ib.* 284, I. Cnut, c. 4, § 1: understande se ðe cunne, mycel is 7 mære ðæt sacerd *ah to donne* folce to ðearfe. — *Ib.* 304, I Cnut, c. 22, § 5[a]: Forðam he *nah* æfter forðsiðe Cristenra manna gemanan ne on gehalgedan lictune *to restene*. — *Ib.* 304, I Cnut, c. 22, § 5[b]: ne he *nah* ðæs halgan husles *to onfonne* her on life. — *Ib.* 304, I Cnut, c. 22, § 6: ne he *nah* mid rihte oðres mannes *to onfonne* æt fulluhte. — *Ib.* 328, II Cnut, c. 24, § 3: ðæt nan man hit *nah to geahnianne* raðost ðinga. — *Ib.* 376, Duns., c. 6: *nah* naðer *to farenne* ne Wilisc mon on Æglisc land ne Æglisc etc. — *Ib.* 396, Swerian, c. 3, § 3: swa hit me se sealde, ðe hit *to syllanne agte*. — *Ib.* 400, Becwæð, c. 2: swa hit se sealde, ðe *to syllanne ahte*. — *Ib.* 442, Wifmannes Beweddung, Inscr., MS. B: Hu man mæden weddian sceal: 7 hwylce forewarde ðær *aghon to beonne*. — *Ib.* 477, Episcopus, c. 2[b]: ðæt heora ælc wite, . . . eac hwæt hy woruldmannum *agan to beodanne*.

Wærf. 241.18: ðæt se ðe agymeleasede, ðæt he heolde his lichaman forhæfednesse, *nahte* sona na ma *to sprecenne* ðæs wundorlican mægnes word buton lichamlicre tungan = 296 A[2]: ut qui carnis continentiam servare neglexerat, sine lingua carnea non *haberet verba* virtutis.

A. S. Hom. & L. S. II.: 15.252: Hwanan wearð eow, ðæt ge mihton *ahan* (*sic!*) godes ðeowes *to beswicenne* = 216.281: Quis te genuit, vel quis vobis præcepit in sancta opera *insidiari?*

Wulf. 39.17: he ne . . . *nah* mid rihte æniges mannes æt fulluhte *to onfonne* ne æt bisceopes handa. — *Ib.* 123.2: forðam *nah* ænig man mid rihte *to fullianne* hæðenne man. — *Ib.* 135.31: ðæt se deofol eow *nage* naht on *to bestelenne* on ðam ytemestan dæge. — *Ib.* 238.2: nan man *nah* to . . . cyrican ne to . . . weofode idelhende *to cumene*. — *Ib.* 279.19: witodlice *nah* man on ænigne timan . . . æt godes huse unnyt *to donne*. — *Ib.* 290.18: ðu *ahst to fyllenne* ðine seofen tidsangas. — *Ib.* 292.2: hu ge *agan* her on life rihtlice *to libbanne*. — *Ib.* 294.20, 24: ðæt man *ah to forganne* ealle fulnyssa; . . . ælc gemot ænig mann *to fremmanne*. — *Ib.* 294.25, 26[a]: ac man *ah* cyrican and haligdom *to secanne* and ðær hine georne inne *to gebiddanne* and mid eadmodnysse hlystan (*sic!*). — *Ib.* 294.30[a]: ðæt man *ah* seoce men *to geneosianne* and deade bebyrian (*sic!*), earmingas . . . fedan (*sic!*) and scrydan (*sic!*). — *Ib.* 295.5: man *ah* on ðam dæge hine *to gesibsumianne*. — *Ib.* 302.5: ne he *nah* mid rihte æniges mannes æt fulluhte *to onfonne* ne æt bisceopes handum. — *Ib.* 307.27: ne he *nah* mid rihte oðres mannes *to onfonne* æt fulluhte.

cunnan, *know, can:*

Ex. 437: He að swereð, engla ðeoden, . . . ðæt ðines cynnes and cneowmaga, randwiggendra rim ne *cunnon* yldo ofer eorðan ealle cræfte *to gesecgenne* soðum wordum, nymðe etc. [In his edition of *Exodus and Daniel*, Professor F. A. Blackburn comments as follows on this passage: "The object of *cunnon* is *rim*, 'know not the number . . . to tell it,' i. e. will not be able to count thy descendants. *to gesecgenne* cannot be joined directly to *cunnon*, 'can tell,' since *cunnan* in this sense takes the pure infin., not the phrasal form." Similarly Dr. Riggert, *l. c.*, p. 75, expresses himself: "In loser Beziehung zum

Satze stehend möchte ich den präpos. Inf. Exod. 435 [= my 437] auffassen . . . Da sich in der ae. Poesie Kein Beispiel für die Verbindung von Hilfsverb mit prapos. Inf. findet, ist auch hier wohl nicht *to gesecgenne* als unmittelbar abhängig von *cunnan* zu betrachten." The interpretation of Drs. Blackburn and Riggert is, of course, possible; but it does not seem probable to me in view of the fact that we have a second instance of *to gescegenne* after *cunnan* in Anglo-Saxon poetry (*Rid.* 37.13), and not a few clear examples of the inflected infinitive used predicatively with other auxiliaries in Anglo-Saxon prose.]

Rid. 37.13: Þu wast gif ðu *const to gesecganne*, ðæt we soð witan hu ðære wihte wise gonge. [In his edition of *The Riddles of the Exeter Book*, Professor Frederick Tupper, Jr., does not comment on the inflection of the infinitive here, but cites two analogous passages: *And.* 603 (Miht ðu me gesecgan, ðæt ic soð wite) and *Chr.* 442 (ðæt ðu soð wite). But Dr. Riggert, *l. c.*, p. 70, and Mr. Wyatt, *l. c.*, p. 95, consider *to gesecganne* the object of *wast*, not the complement of *const*, — an interpretation that seems to me quite doubtful.]

dear(r), *dare:*

Bened. 135.11: forði ansetles wununge geceosað, ðæt hi geðwære and eaðmode geðuhte syn and hi nan man *gegremianne* (*sic!*) *dyrre* = 0. [Cf. Farrar, *l. c.*, p. 22, where attention is called to the absence of *to*, but no explanation is suggested for the inflection of the infinitive.]

nagan: see *agan* above.

sculan, *owe, shall:*

Chron. 30[1], 656 E[d]: ða wærð he swiðe glæd, heot seonden . . . æfter alle ða ðe Gode luuedon, ðæt hi *scoldon* to him *cumene* (*sic!*).

Somewhat akin to the predicative use of the infinitive with auxiliary verbs is the use of the infinitive in the following sentences, after *cuman*, 'come,' *gebyrian*, 'be fitting,' and *ðyncan*, 'seem:' *Chron.* 177[m], 1052 E[a]: Ða *com* hit *to witenne* ðam eorlum ut to Sandwic; — *Laws* 483, Wilhelm I, c. 1[a]: Gif Englisc man beclypað ænigne Frencisne mann to orneste . . . for ænigan ðingan, ðe *gebyrige* ornest fore *to beonne;* — *Wærf.* 179.9: Nu ic ðus swiðe behealde ða neahfædras, ðe mid us wæron, maran 7 geðungenran manna dæda ic forlet, swa ðæt me *ðynceð* of gemynde *beon* Paulines wundor Nolane burge biscopes, se manige mæn ðara, ðe ic gemunde, ægðer ge on tida gegange ge eac on wundrum oferðeah = 216 C: Dum vicinis valde Patribus intento, majorum facta reliqueram, ita ut Paulini miraculum, Nolanæ urbis episcopi, qui multos quorum memini virtute et tempore præcessit, memoriæ *defuisse videatur*.

In the following passages we seem to have an active infinitive used as the complement of the passive of *gewunian*, 'habituate one's self:' *Wærf.* 181.13: grene wyrta he *is gewunod* me *to bringanne* = 220 A[2]: herbas mihi ad prandium *deferre consuevit;* — *Ælf. Hom.* II. 358[b]: ðaða se broðor *wæs gewunod to mæssigenne;* — *ib.* II. 570[b]: Ge ðe wæron *gewunode to underfonne* manna herunga for eowerum godum weorcum, farað etc. See, too, p. 73 above.

Differentiation of the Two Infinitives.

How shall we account for the instances in which we have an inflected infinitive as the complement of an auxiliary verb? With all the strict auxiliaries except *agan*, the predicative infinitive is normally uninflected, and the straggling examples of the inflected infinitive are clearly the exceptions that prove the

rule. With *agan*, however, the predicative infinitive is frequently inflected; why? Because of the strong dativa1 sense of the verb, — its signification of propriety or fitness, I think. In Wulfstan we find the infinitive uninflected four times after *agan* (*nagan*), in a series, once (294.26^{b}) in a series of three infinitives and three times (294.30^{b}, 31$^{a, b}$) in a series of four infinitives, with the first infinitive inflected in each of the two series, and also the second infinitive in the former series.

As stated above, Dr. K. Köhler and Dr. Riggert both deny that we have any clear examples of the inflected infinitive as the complement of an auxiliary verb; hence they do not attempt to differentiate the uninflected infinitive from the inflected infinitive in this use. The most specific deliverance that I have observed as to the differentiation of the two infinitives after auxiliaries is the following by Professor Einenkel, in his "Der Infinitiv im Mittelenglischen," p. 88, written primarily with reference to Middle English: "Eine der ältesten Verbindungen ist die des Objectsinfinitivs mit einem Hilfszeitwort. Hier ist der reine Infinitiv die fast ausnahmslose Regel. Häufiger findet sich die Präposition dort, wo das Hilfszeitwort dem prägnanteren Sinne des Begriffsverbs sich nähert. Die Grenze zwischen diesen beiden Verwendungen ist oft schwer zu ziehen."

As to the complementary infinitive with the passive of *gewunian*, the inflected infinitive is what we should expect and what we find.

In the kindred Germanic languages, too, we occasionally find the active infinitive inflected after auxiliary verbs: see Chapter XVI, section iv.

B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

The passive infinitive as the complement of an auxiliary verb is not nearly so frequent as is the active infinitive in the same use, but it is far more frequent than in other uses of the passive infinitive in Anglo-Saxon. It is very rare in the poems, and is found chiefly in the prose translations. The passive infinitive is made up normally of the verb *beon* plus the past participle, but occasionally of *weorðan* or of *wesan* plus a past participle. I do not see any difference in sense between the passive infinitive made with *beon* and that made with *wesan;* but that made with *weorðan* denotes, originally at any rate, an 'imperfect' action, while the other two denote a 'perfect' action, in the technical sense of these terms.

Typical examples are: —

cunnan, *know, can:*

Greg. 113.22: se ðe *conn* wel stræc *beon* & *ahafen* wið ða unryhtwisan = 78.26: qui *scit* per illam super culpas *erigi*.

dear(r) *dare:*

Wærf. 132.17: swa ðeah he ne *dorste beon* beforan him upp *aræred* of ðære eorðan = B. 162 A^{2}: sed ipse ante eum de terra *erigi* non *auderet*. — *Ib.* 232.7: be ðam ne *dorste* us nan wen *beon geðuht* = 284 A: de quibus nil coelestis gloriæ *præsumi posse videbatur*, oborta occasione, contigit ad martyrii coronas pervenisse?

magan, *can, may:*

Bede 20.14: ðære lichama on byrigenne *gewemmed beon* ne *mihte* = 243.2: cuius nec corpus in monumento *corrumpi potuerit*. — *Ib.* 76.2: hwelce rehte *mæg* ðonne *bewered beon* from gife . . . fulwihtes? = 54.17: qua ratione *poterit*

a sacri baptismatis gratia *prohibere?* — *Ib.* 92.6: swa efne ðæs ðe *meahte wiðmeten beon* Saule = 71.13: ita ut Sauli . . . *comparandus uideretur.* — *Ib.* 186.25: hu ðu *gehæled beon meaht* = 151.3: quomodo *cureris.* — *Ib.* 308.12: ðæt heo . . . *meahton* . . . *beholene beon* = 237.25: *occulendos* se . . . credidissent. — *Ib.* 328.34: he . . . ne *meahte geheaðerod beon* = 251.19: uidisset . . . *eum* non *potuisse cohiberi.* — *Ib.* 472.10: be ðam *mæg* ðæt . . . word *cweden beon* = 346.31: de quibus apostolicum illum *licet proferre* sermonem.

Greg. 85.20: we *magon beon getrymede* mid Iohannes cuide = 56.27: Johannis voce *roboramur.*

Chron. 229^{t}, 1094 E^{b}: *gesemede beon* ne *mihtan.*

Wærf. 55.2: hit *mæg beon* ðe *gecyðed* = 188 B^{4}: *valet probari.* — *Ib.* 60.33^{b}: swa ðeh hit *forholen beon* ne *mihte* = 192 B^{4}: *taceri* non *potuit.*

Bened. 5.16: ðæs weges ongin . . . ne *meg* (*sic!*) *beon begunnen* = 10.26: viam . . ., quæ non *est* . . . *incipienda.*

Bl. Hom. 19.22: heo *mihte beon acenned.*

Ælf. Hom. I. 48^{b}: Hwa *mæg beon* rihtlice *gecieged* mannes Bearn? — *Ib.* II. 28^{t}: ðeah hi ne *magon beon* ealle *gegaderode.*

Ælf. L. S. 98.137: hu *magon* hi *beon gegladode?*

Ælf. Hept.: Deut. 3.23^{b}: ðe *mæge* . . . *beon wiðmeten* ðinre strengðe = qui *possit* . . . *comparari* fortitudini tuæ.

Gosp.: Mk. 10.38: *mage* gyt . . . *beon gefullod?* = *potestis* . . . *baptizari?*

With *weorðan* plus a past participle (all examples):

Gen. 261: ne *mihte* him *bedyrned wyrðan.*

Chr. 1431: ðu *meahte* minum *weorðan* mægwlite gelic, mane *bidæled.*

Met. 11.19: Forðæm æfre ne *magon* ða unstillan woruldgesceafta *weorðan gestilde.* — *Ib.* 11.98$^{a, b}$: gif hiora modsefa *meahte weorðan* staðolfæst *gereaht* ðurh ða strongan meaht *7 geendebyrd* swa swa oðra sint woruldgesceafta. — *Ib.* 20.97: ðæt hio siððan *mæg* for ðæm sype *weorðan geleht* lyftum.

Boeth. 92.29: Ðæt fyr . . . ne *mæg* næfre *weorðan todæled* = 80.81: ignis uero omnem *refugit sectionem.*

Greg. 395.34: gebidde hira ægðer for oðer ðæt hie *mægen* ðurh ðæt *weorðan gehælede* = 314.9: exhortantes invicem *salvent.* — *Ib.* 399.18: ðonne *magon* hie ðeah *weorðan gehælede* suiðe ieðelice ðurh forgiefnesse & ðurh gebedu = 318.4: et tamen venia *salvantur.* — *Ib.* 431.24: Ac hit wilnað ðat hit to ðon onwæcne ðæt hit *mæge* eft *weorðan oferdruncen* = 356.18: Quæ quidem, evigilare optat, ut rursum *vina reperiat.*

Oros. 64.34: ðæt hie mid nanum ðinge ne *mehton gesemede weorðan* = 0. — *Ib.* 94.15: ða hie ne *mehton* from . . . fyre *forbærnede weorðan* = 95.12: quod inmissa per hostem *flamma* non *adiit.*

Wulf. 96.14: swa æfre ænig gold *mæg* clænost *amerod weorðan.* — *Ib.* 103.20: forðam ðurh ðæt we *magan* mycle ðe yð raðe *gehælede weorðan.*

With *wesan* plus a past participle (all examples):

A. S. Hom. & L. S. II.: 18.424: ðæt sio geðungennes ne *mæg* næfre *wesan besmitan* (*sic!*).

Læce. 19.14: *mæg wesan* sio wund *gehæled.* — *Ib.* 152.19: *mæg* seo wund *wesan gehæled.*

mot, *may, must:*

Bede 72.11: hwæðer *mot* biscop *halgad beon?* = 52.6: an *debeat* . . . episcopus *ordinari?* — *Ib.* 182.31: ðætte . . . reliquias . . . *gehealdne beon moston* = 148.26: *conderentur.*

Greg. 171.18: næfre ne *moton* him *beon ofatogene* = 126.13: nec umquam *extrahentur* ab eis.

Wærf. 35.19: *moste beon gelæded* to Romebyrig = 172 B^3 : ut ad Romanam urbem *deduci debuisset.*

Ælf. Hom. I. 292^b: ðæt nan man ne *mot beon* tuwa *gefullod.*

Ælf. L. S. 270.142: he ne *mot* na *beon* eft *gefullod.*

Wulf. 32.9, 10: ðonne *mot* he *beon* ærost ðinga *gemynegad* and *gewisod.*

Note. — No example of the infinitive made up with *weorðan* or with *wesan* plus a past participle has been found with *motan.*

sculan, *owe, shall:*

Chr. 213: *sceolde* witedom in him sylfum *beon* soðe *gefylled.*

Bede 18.16: getacnod wæs, hwær *gesette beon sceoldon* ða lichaman = 219.10: *poni deberent.* — *Ib.* 74.1$^{a, b}$: hu ða *gerehte 7 gebette beon scylen* = 53.4: qualiter . . . *corrigantur.* — *Ib.* 96.28, 29: heo *sculon* of Godes yrre *beon abrogdene, 7* to . . . mildheortnesse *gecegde* = 80.18, 19: Deiri; de ira *eruti,* et ad misericordiam Christi *uocati.* — *Ib.* 110.32$^{a, b}$: ðæt he ðurh ða *geclænsed 7 gereht beon sceolde* = 90.34$^{a, b}$: Nec supernae flagella districtionis perfido regi *castigando* et *corrigendo defuere.* — *Ib.* 288.22: *ahefen beon sceolde* = 222.24: *leuanda esset.*

Boeth. 95.15: Ðæt corn *sceal bion aweht* = 81.12: *excitatur.*

Greg. 251.1: cuæð S. ðæt fremde ne *scoldon beon gefyllede* ures mægenes = 190.1: Ne forte *impleantur* extranei viribus tuis.

Oros. 20.33: Ðonne *sceolon beon gesamnode* ealle ða men = 0.

Chron. 145^1, 1014 E^b: ælc ðæra ðinga *forgifan (sic!) beon sceolde.*

Laws 448, Rectitudines, c. 5, § 3: he *sceal beon gehorsad.*

Wærf. 54.18: ðæt hi *sceolon beon* eft mid benum *begytene* = 188 B^1: ut precibus *obtineantur.* — *Ib.* 181.7: hu *sceole geseted beon* Wændlarice = 220 A^2: qualiter *disponi debeat.* — *Ib.* 213.4: he *sceolde beon* eall *toeliten* = 260 B^2: *discerpi potuisset.*

Bened. 43.20: sealmas *sculon beon todælede* = 80.24 *dividendi sunt.*

Bl. Hom. 9.6: Adames gylt ðurh ðe *sceal beon geðingod.*

Ælf. Hom. I. 24^b: cydde hire, ðæt Godes Sunu *sceolde beon acenned* of hire.

Ælf. L. S. 30.82: heo *sceolde* . . . *beon gescyld.*

Ælf. Hept.: Gen. 27.45^b: hwi *sceal* ic *beon bedæled* ægðer (*sic!*) minra sunena on anum dæge? = cur utroque *orbabor* filio in uno die?

Gosp.: Mat. 3.14: Ic *sceal* from ðe *beon gefullod* = Ego a te *debeo baptizari.* — *Mk.* 2.22: Ac niwe win *sceal beon gedon* on niwe bytta = sed vinum novum . . . *mitti debet.*

Ælf. Gr. 255.12: se ðe *sceal beon gehyred* = *audiendus.*

Wulf. 96.5, 6: forðam ðe hy *sculon beon* raðe *geclænsode* and *amerode.*

Lacc. 58.21: bæð . . . *sceal beon geworht.*

With *weorðan* plus a past participle (all examples):

Gen. 1102: min *sceal* swiðor mid grimme gryre *golden wurðan* fyll and feorhcwealm, ðonne ic forð scio.

Chr. 1617: ðæt he, fah, *scyle* from his Scyppende *ascyred weorðan.*

Ju. 416: se ðe on legre *sceal weorðan* in worulde wyrme to hroðor *bifolen* in foldan.

El. 581: ðæt eow *sceal* ðæt leas *awundrad weorðan* to woruldgedale. — *Ib.* 688: ðæt ðu hungre *scealt* for cneowmagum *cwylmed weorðan.*

And. 758: ðæt of his cynne *cenned sceolde weorðan* wuldres god.

Ph. 378: ðæt he swa wrætlice *weorðan sceolde* eft ðæt ilce, ðæt he ær ðon wæs, feðrum *bifongen.* — *Ib.* 564: ðeah min lic *scyle* on moldærne *molsnad weorðan* wyrmum to willan.

Met. 25.72: ðeah he *oferwunnen weorðan sceolde.* — *Ib.* 29.89, 91: æghwylc hiora wraðe *tostencte weorðan sceolden:* æghwilc hiora ealle to nauhte *weorðan sceoldon* wraðe *toslopena.*

Bede 38.30[a, b]: stow . . ., ðe eft *sceolde* mid . . . blode . . . *gewurðad 7 gehalgod weorðan* = 20.34: qui beati martyris cruore *dicaretur.*

Bl. Hom. 77.29, 30: ðæt seo burh *sceolde abrocen weorðan & bereafod.* — *Ib.* 117.18: hie tealdon ðætte Israhela rice *sceolde* . . . *gebletsod weorðan.* — *Ib.* 121.33[a, b]: heora eðel *sceolde* eft *gebuen 7 geseted weorðan* mid halgum sawlum. — *Ib.* 185.6: ðæt he *sceole* to heofenum *ahafen weorðan.*

A. S. Hom. & L. S. I. 9.147: Wite . . . ðæt ðu *wurðan scealt* . . . *ofslagen.*

Wulf. 88.19: sæde . . ., ðæt his *sceolde weorðan* æghwylc stan . . . *toworpen.* — *Ib.* 103.24: men . . ., ðe nyde *sculan* . . . *ascadene* . . . *weorðan.* — *Ib.* 140.21: wa me earmre, ðæt ic æfre *geboren sceolde wurðan.* — *Ib.* 276.1: biterlice *scel* hit him *wyrðan forgolden* on ðam toweardan life. — *Ib.* 277.5: bitere *scel* hit him *wyrðan forgolden.*

Nic. 504.3: ne foresæde ic . . . ðæt deade men arysan *sceoldon 7* mænige byrgena *geopenod weorðan?*

With *wesan* plus a past participle (all examples):

Gen. 1310: Ðær *sceal* fæsl *wesan* cwiclifigendra cynna gehwilces on ðæt wudufæsten wocor *gelæded* eorðan tudres. — *Ib.* 2286: ic . . . secge, ðæt se magorinc *sceal* mid yldum *wesan* Ismahel *haten.* — *Ib.* 2318[a, b, c]: *Sceal* monna gehwilc ðære cneorisse cildisc *wesan* wæpnedcynnes, ðæs ðe on woruld cymð, . . . *geagnod* me oððe of eorðan ðurh feondschipe feor *adæled, adrifen* from duguðum.

Dan. 560: ðæt ðæt treow *sceolde* . . . his wyrtruman foldan *befolen* fyrstmearc *wesan,* stille on staðole, swa seo stefn gecwæð, ymb seofon tida sæde eft onfon.

ðurfan, *need:*

Greg. 83.16: ðæt he . . . ne eac ne *ðyrfe bion* to *upahæfen* for nanum wlencum = 56.3: Non hunc prospera *elevent.* — *Ib.* 413.16: ðonne hi hi gesewene hæbben, gedon ðæt hie ne *ðyrfen bion gesewene* æt ðæm nearwan dome = 334.8: vivendo agant, ut a districto judice *videri* non *debeant.*

Wærf. 222.15: ðæt se feond . . . ne *ðearf beon ondræded* = 272 B[2]: *timeri* non *debeat.* — *Ib.* 269.16[b]: ne *ðearf* ðæt *beon gelyfed* = 329 A[4]: Nam *credi* jam non *potest* quod videri potest. — *Ib.* 336.28: ðæt *ðurfe beon andswared* = 405 A: Non est jam quod *responderi debeat* apertæ rationi. — *Ib.* 345.17[b]: ðæt hi ðonne mihton oððe *ðorfton beon getælede* = 421 A[2]: unde *reprehendi potuissent.*

Bl. Hom. 135.25: Ne *ðurfe* ge *beon* unrote, ne *gedrefed* eower heorte.

Ælf. Hom. II. 48[b 1]: ne *ðearf* he *beon* eft *gefullod.*

Ælf. L. S. 176.130: ðæt ic . . ., ne *ðurfe* . . ., *beon gefyled.*

Note. — I have found no example of the passive infinitive made up of **weorðan** or **wesan** and a past participle after **ðurfan**.

willan [nyllan], *will (not)*:

Bede 112.12: Gif ge *willað onðwegene beon* = 91.16: Si *uultis ablui.* — *Ib.* 308.3: ða ðe *woldon gehælede beon* = 237.16: qui *saluari uellent.* — *Ib.* 366.5: Gif me seo . . . geofu . . . *forgifen beon wile* = 271.13: Si mihi . . . gratia . . . *donauerit.*

Boeth. 36.2: mid hwelce hleahtre ge *woldon bion astered* = 41.17: quanto *moueris* cachinno.

Greg. 135.26: *noldon beon abisgode* nane wuht on eorðlicum ðingum = 96.29: ut rebus exterioribus nullatenus *occupentur.*

Oros. 128.5: Ða Darius geseah ðæt he *oferwunnen beon wolde* = 129.3: Sed Darius cum *vinci suos videret.*

Wærf. 88.34: *nelle* ðu nu *beon* ma *geswenced* = 212 C[3]: *noli fatigari.* — *Ib.* 279.3, 4: ða geceas heo ma, ðæt heo *wolde* . . . *beon* Gode *gegearwod* ðonne heo . . . wolde *beon* to hwylcum woruldmen *geðeoded* = 340 B[1, 2]: *elegit* magis spiritalibus nuptiis *copulari* Deo . . . quam carnalibus nuptiis *subjici.*

Bened. 112.16: Gif he . . . *nelle beon underðeoded* ðam halgan regole = 178.20: ut *subdi* aut obedire Regulæ *nolit.*

Bl. Hom. 33.13: ðæt he *acweald beon wolde.*

Ælf. Hom. I. 34[4]: Crist *wolde* on ytinge *beon acenned.*

Ælf. L. S. XXXII. 88: ic . . . *wille beon ofslagen.*

Ælf. Gr. 143.19: ic *wylle beon gelufod* = *amari uolo.* — *Ib.* 144.6: ic *wylle beon gelufod* = *amatum iri uolo.*

Mat. 2.18: heo *nolde beon gefrefed* = et *noluit consolari.* — *Ib.* 19.21: Gyf ðu *wylt beon fullfremed* = Si *vis perfectus esse.*

Wulf. 194.3: ðæt he *wolde* ðær *beon geboren* soð man.

Note. — I have found no example of the passive infinitive made up of **weorðan** plus a past participle with *willan*, and but one example of the passive infinitive made up of **wesan** plus a past participle: *Gu.* 575: him geornlice gæstgemyndum *wille* wideferh *wesan underðyded.*

With a few verbs not auxiliary, we find the passive infinitive used in a way quite similar to that with the genuine auxiliaries. The verbs in question are *gedafenian*, 'be fitting;' *gewunian*, 'be wont;' *weorðan*, 'become;' and *wunian*, 'be wont.' The infinitive after *gewunian* and *wunian* may be considered objective, as is the active infinitive after these verbs; but the verbal power seems to me diminished in them when followed by the passive infinitive. I cite all the examples that I have observed:—*gedafenian: Ælf. L. S.* XXIII B. 743: geseah . . . ða handa swa heo *gedafenodon alegdon* (*sic!*) *beon* and eastwearde *gewende;* — *gewunian: Bede* 172.28: monig weorc . . . 7 monig tacen . . . wundra . . . *gewuniað* . . . *sægd beon* = 143.3: *solent* opera . . . et signa . . . *narrari;* — *ib.* 270.33: *gewuniað* . . . wundor hælo *geworden beon* = 212.9: *solent* . . . miracula *operari;* — *ib.* 474.14: ðe hie næfre ær *gewunedon* in ðæm stowum *weorðade beon* = 348.4: nunquam . . . *celebrari solebat;* — *Wærf.* 183.17; be . . . Iohanne ðis wundor *gewunode beon sæd* fram urum witum = 224 A: De quo etiam illud mirabile . . . *narrari solet;* — *weorðan: Wulf.* 217.9: ðæt ðeos weoruld mihte eft *beon geedstaðoled weorðan* and eft of awecnigan; — *wunian: Bede* 340.7[a, b]: ðær heo *wunedon* to gebedum *gecegde* 7 *awehte beon* = 257.10[a, b]: quo . . . *excitari* uel *conuocari solebant.*

For the passive infinitive with auxiliary verbs in the other Germanic languages, see section iv of Chapter XVI.

NOTES.

1. *The Predicative Infinitive in a Series with Auxiliary Verbs.* — We have a series of two inflected infinitives after the auxiliary *agan* in *Wulf.* 294.20, 24 and 294.25, 26, quoted on p. 81 above. We have a series of infinitives in which only the first is inflected after *agan*, in *Wulf.* 294.26[a, b] and 294.30[a, b], 31[a, b], quoted on p. 81 above.

2. *The Inflected Infinitive without "To"* occurs in *Bened.* 135.11, quoted on p. 82; *Chron.* 30[f], 656 E[d], quoted on p. 82.

3. *A Passive Infinitive as Complement to an Auxiliary, but with Beon (Wesan) Understood,* is occasionally found, as in *Ælf. Gr.* 227.10, *Chr.* 1260, *Gnomic Sayings* 94[a, b], 122[a, b].

4. *The Predicative Infinitive Is Omitted after Auxiliary Verbs* at times, especially if the omitted infinitive denotes motion, as in *Oros.* 86.3: Ðeh ic ær sæde ðæt we to helle sceolden = 0. Cf. Wülfing, *l. c.*, II, §§ 388–397; Riggert, *l. c.*, pp. 9 ff.

5. *The Auxiliary Verb Is Omitted* occasionally, as in *Ælf. Hom.* II. 560[f]: Se bið wurðe ðæt hine man *arwurðian*, seðe of ðisum life færð to engla gefean and heofenlicum wurðmynte (or predicative with accusative subject?); *Ælf. L. S.* XXIII B. 168: ða geseah he him on ða swiðran healfe ðær he on gebedum stod swa swa he on mennisce gelicnysse on lichaman hine *æteowan*, and ða wæs he ærest swiðe afyrht (or predicative with accusative subject?); *Laws* 166.3: synoð . . . , on ðam wæs se ærcebisceop Wulfhelme mid eallum ðæm æðelum mannum 7 wiotan, ðe Æðelstan cyning *gegaderian* (Liebermann would supply *mihte*); *ib.* 222(2): ælc ceapscip frið hæbbe, ðe binnan muðan *cuman* (*sic!*). In the following passages, the italicised words may be infinitives with auxiliaries to be supplied, or they may possibly be plural subjunctives to the indefinite *man: Laws* 241 (14 D): And sancta Marian freolstida ealle *wurðian* (other MSS.: *wurðie*) man georne; *ib.* 263 (3 D): ðonne bete man ðæt ciricgrið . . . be ðæs cyninges fullan mundbryce 7 ða mynsterclænsunge begite, swa ðarto gebirige, 7 wið God huru *ðingian* (other MSS.: *ðingie*) georne; *ib.* 264 (4 D): *betan* (other MSS.: *bete*) man georne. — Cf. Note 4 to Chapter VIII.

CHAPTER V.

THE PREDICATIVE INFINITIVE WITH VERBS OF MOTION AND OF REST.

By the phrase, "the Predicative Infinitive with Verbs of Motion," I refer to the infinitive in such sentences as the following: *Mart.* 26.10: culfre *com fleogan* of heofonum ond gesæt ofer his heafde; *Gen.* 1479: culufran . . ., seo eft ne *com* to lide *fleogan;* in which the infinitive, instead of denoting purpose, seems equivalent, in modern English, to a predicate present participle: 'The dove came flying from heaven,' etc. Various other names have been proposed for this use of the infinitive: "modal," by Koch,[1] in his *Englische Grammatik,* 1865; "definitive," by Professor March,[2] in his *A Comparative Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Language,* 1869; "pleonastic," by Dr. Steig,[3] in his "Ueber den Gebrauch des Infinitivs im Altniederdeutschen," 1884; and "phraseological," by Dr. Pratje,[4] in his "Syntax des Heliand," 1885. To this list might be added still another name, "co-ordinate," since several writers (as Koch, Mätzner, K. Köhler, Wülfing, and Riggert) declare that at times the predicative infinitive expresses an action co-ordinate with that expressed by the finite verb. The grounds for these various names and for my own choice are given in my chapter on "The Origin of the Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon," section v. It should be added that under "the Predicative Infinitive after Verbs of Motion" I do not include the infinitive of verbs of motion after the adhortative *(w)uton,* a separate chapter being devoted to the latter idiom.

In the predicative use with verbs of motion, the infinitive is invariably uninflected. The construction is far more common in Anglo-Saxon poetry than in prose; but the idiom is far more frequent in prose than has been thought hitherto. Instead of only four examples in the prose, as claimed by Professor Shearin,[5] there are seventeen examples, or twenty, if we include three examples of the predicative infinitive after verbs of rest (*stondan,* 'stand,' and *licgan,* 'lie'). The examples not cited by Dr. Shearin are: *Wærf.* 84.20, 25; — *Pr. Gu.* I. 26, V. 7, X. 5; — *Mart.* 26.10, 90.14, 182.4, 200.12; — *Ælf. L. S.* XXXI. 1039; — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II.* 15.178, 292; — *Apol.* 29.10; — to which we may add *Pr. Gu.* V. 274[a, b], in which the infinitive follows *stondan;* and *Ælf. L. S.* 512.417, in which the infinitive follows *licgan.* Moreover, the scope and the life of this idiom in the prose have been underrated by both Dr. Schrader[6] and Dr. Shearin:[7] instead of being found only in Alfred, in the non-Ælfrician Homilies, and in Wærferth, it occurs also, as the above list shows, in the prose

[1] *L. c.,* II, p. 61. This term is the one most frequently used by writers upon Anglo-Saxon syntax.

[2] *L. c.,* § 448.4: "General motion defined by specific motion: *foon gesæt,*" etc.

[3] *L. c.,* p. 337. [4] *L. c.,* § 142.

[5] Shearin,[1] *l. c.,* p. 13. It is only fair to add, however, that the idiom under discussion by me was only indirectly connected with the main theme of Dr. Shearin's monograph, *The Expression of Purpose in Old English Prose,* and that he devoted thereto only a brief note.

[6] Schrader, *l. c.,* p. 70, declares that this use of the infinitive is not found in Ælfric, but, when he wrote, in 1887, the third volume of Skeat's edition of Ælfric's *Lives of Saints,* in which the example occurs, had not been published.

[7] Shearin,[1] *l. c.,* p. 13.

Guthlac, in *An Old English Martyrology*, in *Apollonius*, and in Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*. In the poetry the predicative infinitive is found over one hundred times, and occurs in most of the poems.

Normally the infinitive follows the finite verb, as in *Beow.* 703 (*Com* on wanre niht *scriðan* sceadugenga), but occasionally it precedes,[1] especially in dependent clauses, as in *Dan.* 698 (ðeah ðe feonda folc *feran cwome*) and *Ps.* 76.15 (ðonne ligette *lixan cwoman*).

The infinitive is active in sense as well as in form.

The following verbs of motion are followed by a predicative infinitive of a verb of motion (occasionally of other verbs, as *blican*, *lixan*, and *scinan*, each meaning 'shine;' and *hlynnan*, 'resound'):

becuman [bi-], *come.*
cuman, *come.*
dælan (?), *distribute.*
fleon, *fly.*
gewitan, *go, depart.*

The verbs most frequently so used are *cuman* and *gewitan*. The various infinitives that follow the verbs named above are given, in alphabetic sequence after each verb, in my statistics, and need not be named here. The number of infinitives is far larger than the number of finite verbs; but, as the usage is substantially the same, regardless of the verb, I quote only a few examples. It remains only to add that at times it is difficult, if not impossible, to decide whether we have the predicative or the final use of the infinitive in some passages, — concerning which see section v of Chapter XIV.

Typical examples are: —

becuman [bi-], *come:*

And. 789: ðæt he on Mambre *becom* beorhte *blican*.

Beow. 2553: stefn in *becom* heaðotorht *hlynnan* under harne stan. [But Dr. Riggert, *l. c.*, p. 41, construes differently.]

Chr. 1114: ðær blod ond wæter butu ætsomne ut *bicwoman* fore eagna gesyhð, *rinnan* fore rincum ða he on rode wæs.

cuman, *come:*

A. S. Hom. & L. S. II. 15.329: And ða ure drihten him self *com* of heofonum to eorðan *astigan*, and hire sona to cwæð = 218.370: loose paraphrase.

Bede 400.28: ða ic hreowsende wæs, ða ic mid ðy heafde 7 mid honda *com* on ðone stan *dryfan;* 7 se ðuma gebrocen wæs, 7 eac swylce seo geðeodnes ðæs heafdes tobrocen wæs 7 tolesed = 290.19: euenit . . . ut hunc [= lapidem] capite ac manu, quam capiti ruens subposueram, *tangerem*, atque infracto pollice capitis quoque iunctura solueretur.

Beow. 2915: syððan Higelac *cwom faran* flotherge on Fresna land.

Gen. 852: Ða *com feran* frea ælmihtig ofer midne dæg.

Pr. Gu. X. 5: ða *comon* ðær semninga in twa swalewan *fleogan* = forte hirundines duae subito domum *intrantes*, velut magna laetitia . . . sese non haesitantes humeris . . . Guthlaci imposuerunt.

A. S. Hom. & L. S. II. 15.292: And ða ðær *com fleogan* drihtnes engel and he ða gehalgode ðæt . . . wæter = 217.326: *veniat* super me sancta tua columba, . . . et benedicat aquam.

[1] See Riggert, *l. c.*, p. 41.

Boeth. 8.16: ðа *com* ðær *gan* in to me heofencund Wisdom = 4.2: *adstitisse* mihi supra uerticem uisa est mulier.

Beow. 1163: Ða *cwom* Wealhðeo forð *gan*. — *Ib.* 1644: Ða *com* in *gan* ealdor ðegna (may be final, as Dr. Shearin,[2] *l. c.*, p. 237, holds).

Pr. Gu. I. 26: ða *com* ðær sum wif *yrnan* of ðam huse, . . . and cleopode = ecce ex aula propriante (*sic!*), . . . mulier . . . *currens* clamabat.

Ælf. L. S. XXXI. 1039: ða *com* ðær færlice *yrnan* an ðearle wod cu. [Cf. *ib.* XXXI. 1043: *com* . . . *yrnende.*]

Rid. 23.2: Ætsomne *cwom* sixtig monna to wægstæðe wicgum *ridan.*

Pr. Gu. V. 7: ða *comon* semninga twegen deoflu to him of ðære lyfte *slidan*, and ða to him cuðlice spræcon and cwædon = subito coram illo, velut ex aere *lapsi*, efferis vultibus duo zabuli humano habitu se *obtulerunt*, ac etc.

dælan, *distribute, diffuse:*

Gen. 2192: tungel, ða nu rume heora wuldorfæstne wlite wide *dælað* ofer brad brymu beorhte *scinan* (or may be final?).

fleon, *flee:*

Doomsday 240: se earma *flyhð* uncræftiga slæp, sleac mid sluman *slincan* on hinder.

gewitan, *go, depart:*

Beow. 124: ðanon eft *gewat* huðe hremig to ham *faran.*

Beow. 27: Him ða Scyld *gewat* to gescæphwile felahror *feran* on frean wære (predicative according to Dr. Riggert, *l. c.*, p. 39, but final according to Dr. Shearin,[2] *l. c.*, p. 237).

And. 786: *Gewat* he ða *feran.*

Gen. 1471: *gewat fleogan* eft mid lacum hire.

Gen. 1050: Him ða Cain *gewat gongan* geomormod gode of gesyhðe.

And. 238: *Gewat* . . . *gangan* on greote.

Beow. 234: *Gewat* him ða to waroðe wicge *ridan* ðegn Hroðgares.

Beow. 2569, 2570: *Gewat* ða byrnende gebogen *scriðan*, to gescipe *scyndan.*

Gen. 2161: *Gewat* him ða se healdend ham *siðian.*

The predicative use of the infinitive after verbs of motion is common in the Low Germanic languages: see Chapter XVI, section v.

Occasionally, too, after verbs of rest we have a similar predicative use of an infinitive, as in the following: — *Ælf. L. S.* 512.417: Ða gelamp hit on ðam dagum ðe ðas forsprecenan ðinge gewurdon, ðæt god ælmihtig gescifte ænne swa geradne mann, ðe ahte geweald ealles ðæs splottes æt celian dune, ðær ðæt scræf wæs tomiddes ðe ða seofon halgan *lagon* inne *slapan;*[1] — *And.* 1712: Hie ða gebrohton æt brimes næsse on wægðele wigan unslawne; *stodon* him ða on ofre æfter *reotan* (but Dr. Riggert, *l. c.* p. 45, considers the infinitive final in sense); — *Pr. Gu.* V. 274[a, b]: ða geseah he ðær *standan* twegen ðara awerigdra gasta *wepan* swyðe and *geomrian* = a sinistra *stantes* duos satellites *lugentes* . . . conspicit (or possibly *wepan* and *geomrian* are co-ordinate with *standan?*). In the former of the two following examples the infinitive may be predicative, but it is more probably final in each: *Ælf. Hept.: Judges* 4.18[b]: He eode ða in earhlice swiðe, and seo wimman mid hire hwitle bewreah hine sona, let hine *licgan* swa *ætlutian* his feondum = Qui ingressus tabernaculum ejus

[1] Cf. Einenkel,[2] *l. c.*, p. 1076.

et opertus ab ea pallio, dixit ad eam; — *Gen.* 842: *sæton* onsundran *bidan* selfes gesceapu heofoncyninges: see Chapter X, pp. 134 and 142.

This predicative use of the infinitive after verbs of rest is common in the High Germanic languages, especially in New High German: see Chapter XVI, section v.

Gradually the predicative infinitive after verbs of motion and of rest began to be supplanted by the predicate nominative of the present participle, *com . . . yrnan* becoming *com . . . yrnende* (as in *Ælf. L. S.* XXXI. 1039, 1043), — an evolution discussed in the chapter on "Some Substitutes for the Anglo-Saxon Infinitive."

CHAPTER VI.

THE PREDICATIVE INFINITIVE WITH "WUTON."[1]

Predicative, too, may be considered the use of the infinitive to complete the sense of the adhortative *(w)uton*, 'let.' When so used in Anglo-Saxon, the infinitive is uninflected. Regularly, too, the infinitive is active, only three examples having been found of the passive infinitive so used. Whether active or passive, the infinitive invariably follows *(w)uton*.

Regularly the infinitive that is active in form is active in sense.

A. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

Of the active infinitive used as the complement of *(w)uton* about 614 examples have been found, 572 in the prose and 42 in the poetry. As in the poetry, so in Early West Saxon, the idiom is relatively infrequent: only 25 examples occur in the whole of Alfred. No example has been found in the *Chronicle* or in Wærferth. On the other hand, the construction is relatively frequent in the *Laws*, in the *Blickling Homilies*, and in the *Gospels*, and is quite frequent in Ælfric (about 168 examples) and in Wulfstan (about 231 examples).

The construction is found with a large number of verbs, and these have such a diversity of meaning as not to admit of helpful classification. The following verbs occur approximately twenty times or more: *beon*, 'be;' *biddan*, 'pray;' *don*, 'do,' 'make;' *gan* [*gangan*, *-o-*], 'go;' *geðencan*, 'think,' 'consider;' *habban*, 'have;' *healdan*, 'hold,' 'preserve;' *lufian*, 'love;' and *wyrcan*, 'work,' 'make.' The following verbs occur in the poems: *acierran* [*-e-*], 'turn;' *agan*, 'own;' *beorgan*, 'protect;' *biddan*, 'pray;' *cuman*, 'come;' *cunnian*, 'attempt;' *cweman*, 'please;' *cyðan*, 'make known;' *earnian*, 'earn,' 'merit;' *efstan*, 'hasten;' *feogan* [*feon*], 'hate;' *feran*, 'travel;' *gan* [*gangan*, *-o-*], 'go;' *gebeodan*, 'offer;' *gedon*, 'cause;' *geðencan*, 'think,' 'consider;' *habban*, 'have;' *healdan*, 'hold;' *helpan*, 'help;' *herian*, 'praise;' *hycgan*, 'think;' *hyhtan*, 'hope;' *lufian*, 'love;' *oferhycgan*, 'despise;' *oliccan*, 'please;' *oðwendan*, 'escape;' *scyndan*, 'hasten;' *secan*, 'seek;' *settan*, 'set up,' 'establish;' *staðelian*, 'establish;' *tilian*, 'strive for,' 'attempt;' *towcorpan*, 'destroy;' *wilnian*, 'desire;' and *wuldrian*, 'honor.' The following are found in Alfred: *acræftan*, 'devise;' *agi(e)fan*, 'give;' *bidan*, 'await;' *biddan*, 'pray;' *biegan* [*-e-*], 'bend;' *bringan*, 'bring;' *brucan*, 'enjoy;' *cuman*, 'come;' *don*, 'do,' 'make;' *endian* [*æ-*], 'end;' *fon*, 'begin;' *forlætan*, 'leave;' *gebetan*, 'amend;' *gebiddan*, 'pray;' *geliefan* [*-y-*], 'believe;' *gereccan*, 'account,' 'consider;' *healdan*, 'hold;' *hebban*, 'lift up;' *iecan* [*e-*], 'increase;' *lætan*, 'allow;' *secgan*, 'say,' 'relate;' *sellan*, 'give;' *spyrian* [*-u-*], 'inquire;' and *tellan*, 'tell,' 'relate.'

As the construction is quite the same regardless of the verb used, it seems necessary to give only a few examples: —

[1] Variant forms are *uton*, (w)*utan*, (w)*utun*, *uten*, *uis*: see notes at the end of this chapter. For the evolution in the meaning of (w)*uton*, see Chapter XIV, section vi.

acierran, *turn, go:*

Fallen Angels 217: *Uton acerran* ðider.

agi(e)fan, *give back:*

Boeth. 103.5: *Wutun agifan* ðæm esne his wif = 87.42: *Donamus* comitem uiro.

beon, *be:*

Laws 300, I Cnut, c. 20^{b}: *utan beon* a urum hlaforde holde.

Bl. Hom. 131.1: *Uton beon* ælmesgeorne.

Ælf. Hom. I. 414^{b}: Ac *uton* we *beon* carfulle, ðæt etc.

Wulf. 119.12^{b}: *utan beon* a urum hlaforde holde. — *Ib.* 145.33^{a}: *uton beon* eadmode.

biddan, *pray:*

Chr. 774: *Utan . . . biddan* Bearn Godes ond ðone bliðan Gæst, ðæt he us gescilde wið sceaðan wæpnum.

Bede 98.27^{a}: *Uton biddan . . .* God = 81.29^{a}: *Obsecremus* Deum.

Bl. Hom. 159.32: *utan* we *biddan* ða fæmnan S. Marian ðæt heo etc.

Ælf. Hom. I. 364^{t}: *Uton* nu *biddan* ðone . . . Hælend, ðæt etc.

Wulf. 142.13: *uton biddan* urne drihten.

brucan, *enjoy:*

Oros. 86.1: *Uton* nu *brucan* ðisses undernmetes swa ða sculon ðe hiora æfengifl on helle gefeccean sculon = 85.33: *Prandete,* tamquam apud inferos coenaturi.

Ælf. Hom. I. 618^{b} [1]: *Uton* forði *brucan* ðæs fyrstes ðe us God forgeaf.

don, *do, make:*

Boeth. 75.16^{a}: *Uton* nu, gif ðe swa ðince, ecan ðone anwald 7 ðæt geniht, *don* ðær weorðscipe to, 7 gereccan ðonne ða ðreo to anum = 68.22: *Addamus* igitur sufficientiae potentiaeque reuerentiam, ut haec tria unum esse iudicemus.

Laws 268, VIII Æthelred, c. 43^{a}: Ac *uton don,* swa us ðea[r]f is.

Bened. 21.9: *Utan don* swa swa se witega myngað = 42.7: *Faciamus* quod ait propheta.

Bl. Hom. 205.28: *uton* wit . . . *don* . . . fæsten.

Ælf. Hom. II. 100^{b} [2]: *uton don* ðearfum and wannspedigum sume hiððe ure goda.

Ælf. L. S. XXX. 368: *Uton don* criste ðancung.

Ælf. Hept.: Gen. 37.20^{b}: *Uton* hine ofslean and *don* hine on ðone . . . pytt and secgan = Venite, occidamus eum et *mittamus* in cisternam veterem! dicamusque.

Wulf. 20.1^{a}: *utan* we *don,* swa us mycel ðearf is (a very common locution in Wulfstan). — *Ib.* 166.1: *utan don,* swa us neod is.

efstan, *hasten:*

Beow. 3101: *Uton* nu *efstan* oðre siðe seon and secean searogeðræc, wundur under wealle.

Bl. Hom. 109.9: *Uton* we nu *efstan* etc.

Ælf. Hom. II. 526^{b}: *Uton* forði *efstan* to urum eðele.

Wulf. 75.21: *uton* nu *efstan* and ealle ure lifwegas geornlice rihtan.

forlætan, *leave, abandon:*

Solil. 49.12: *uton* ne *forlætan* gyet ðas boc = Non *sinam* omnino *concludi* hunc libellum.

Ælf. Hom. II. 380^{m} [3]: *Uton* we herian . . . Drihten . . . and yfel *forlætan.*

Wulf. 141.28[a]: *Uton* nu, leofan men, gebeorgan us wiŏ swilce eardungstowe and wendon (*sic!*) anrædlice to urum drihtne and *forlætan* ælc unriht and don to gode, locahwæt we magon.

gan [gangan, -o-], *go:*

Beow. 2648: *wutun gangan* to, helpan hildefruman.

Gen. 839: *Uton gan* on ŏysne weald innan.

And. 1356: *Utan gangan* eft.

Bl. Hom. 247.1: *utan gangan* . . . and hine ut forlætan.

Ælf. Hept.: Gen. 4.8: *Uton gan* ut = *Egrediamur* foras. — *Deut.* 13.6[a]: *Uton gan* and ŏeowian fremdum godum = *Eamus* et serviamus diis alienis.

Gosp.: Mk. 6.37[b]: *Uton gan*, and mid twam hundred penegon hlafas biegan = *Euntes* emamus ducentis denariis panes. — *Mk.* 14.42: Arisaŏ, *uton gan* = Surgite, *eamus.*

geŏencan, *think, consider:*

Har. 278: *Uton*, la, *geŏencan* geond ŏas worulde ŏæt we hælende heran onginnen.

Laws 146, I Æthelstan, c. 2[a]: *Uton geŏencan*, hu Jacob cwæŏ.

Bl. Hom. 91.13: *Uton* we forŏon *geŏencean* etc.

Wulf. 112.6: *utan geŏencan*, ŏæt we habbaŏ ænne . . . fæder.

lufian, *love:*

Hymn 3: *Wuton* wuldrian weorada dryhten halgan hlioŏorcwidum, hiofonrices weard *lufian* liofwendum, lifes agend.

Laws 268, VIII Æthelred, c. 43, § 1: *utan* God *lufian.*

Ælf. Hom. I. 52[b 2]: *Uton lufian* ure gebroŏra. — *Ib.* II. 316[b 2]: *Uton lufian* God.

Wulf. 94.13: *utan lufian* god ofer ealle oŏre ŏing.

wuldrian, *glorify:*

See *Hymn* under *lufian.*

wyrcan [wircean], *work, make:*

Ælf. Hom. I. 160[b 2]: *uton* . . . god weorc *wyrcean.*

Ælf. Hept.: Gen. 1.26: *Uton wircean* man = *Faciamus* hominem.

Mat. 17.4[b]: *uton wyrcean* her ŏreo eardungstowa = *faciamus* hic tria tabernacula.

Wulf. 41.1: *utan* ŏurh æghwæt godes willan *wyrcan.*

B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

The passive infinitive as the complement of *(w)uton* is found only three times, as follows: *Ælf. L. S.* 242.68: *uton beon gehyrte;* — *Ælf. Hom.* I. 602[t 2]: *Uton* awurpan ŏeostra weorc, and *beon ymbscrydde* mid leohtes wæpnum; repeated in the same, I. 604[t 2].

The predicative infinitive with *(w)uton* is occasionally found in the other Germanic languages: see Chapter XVI, section vi.

NOTES.

1. *The Adhortative "Veni" (or "Venite").* — Several times in the Latin original we have the adhortative *veni* or *venite* in addition to the subjunctive of exhortation, in the *Heptateuch: Gen.* 11.7[a]: Soðlice *uton cuman* and *todælan* ðær heora spræce = *Venite* igitur, *descendamus* et *confundamus* ibi linguam; — *ib.* 19.32[a. b]: *Uton fordrencan* urne fæder mid wine, and *uton licgan* mid him = *Veni, inebriemus* eum vino *dormiamus*que cum eo; — *ib.* 37.20[a. b. c]: *Uton* hine *ofslean* and *don* hine on ðone . . . pytt and *secgan* = *Venite, occidamus* eum et *mittamus* . . . *dicamus*que; — *ib.* 31.44: *Ga* hider near and *uton syllan* wedd = *Veni*, ergo et *inemus* foedus. The same idiom is found, also, in the *Gospels: Mat.* 21.38[a. b. c]: *uton gan* and *ofslean* hyne, and *habban* us hys æhta = *Venite, occidamus* eum, et *habebimus* (*sic!*) hæreditatem ejus. With the foregoing, compare *L.* 20.14: Her ys se yrfeweard: *cumað*, *uton* hine *ofslean*, ðæt seo æht ure sy = Hic est hæres, *occidamus* illum, ut nostra fiat hæreditas; and notice, also, the use of *ga* in *Gen.* 31.44, quoted in the preceding part of this note.

2. *"(W)uton" to Be Supplied.* — In *Laws* 280, I Cnut, c. 2 (And Godes cyrican *griðian* 7 *friðian* 7 gelomlice *secean* saulum to hæle 7 us sylfum to ðearfe), (*w*)*uton* is to be supplied, as Dr. Liebermann indicates.

3. *"Uten" for "(W)uton."* — Occasionally we have *uten* instead of (*w*)*uton*, as in *A. S. Hom. & L. S. I.* 7.322 (*uten wurcæn* (*sic!*) mihte on ðone . . . god); *Bened.* 3.13 (*uten ahsien* urne drihten); etc.; etc.

4. *"Ute" for "(W)uton."* — Occasionally we have *ute* instead of (*w*) *uton: Boeth.* 17.8: *Ute* nu *tellan* beforan swilcum deman swilce ðu wille = 27.6: quouis iudice de opum dignitatumque mecum possessione *contende;* — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II.* 14.51: Ac *ute* we *beon* gemyndie ure sawle ðearfe; — *ib.* 14.53: *Ute gemunan* ðæne . . . dæg; — *ib.* 14.77: *ute gehyran* hu etc.; — *Wulf.* 173.7: *ute don* eac swa, ealswa hi dydon.

5. *Infinitive in "-e-."* — Occasionally, as in *Laws* 269, I Æthelred, Expl.[a] (*uton* ænne God . . . and ænne Cristendom ealle *healde* and ælcne hæðendom mid ealle aweorpan), we have an infinitive in *-e*.

6. *The Infinitive Is to Be Supplied with "(W)uton"* in *Boeth.* 75.18: *Uton* ðæs, forðæm hit is soð = 68.22: a loose paraphrase with a subjunctive; *Solil.* 55.5: Uton ðæs = 0; and possibly in *Laws* 269, IX Æthelred, Expl.,[b] but the text is here defective.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PREDICATIVE INFINITIVE WITH "BEON" ("WESAN").

The Predicative Infinitive with *beon* or *wesan* normally denotes (A) Necessity or Obligation, but occasionally denotes (B) Futurity or (C) Purpose. As will be seen, save in a few sporadic cases of (A) the infinitive is inflected. No example of the compound passive infinitive has been found.

A. THE INFINITIVE DENOTES NECESSITY OR OBLIGATION.

As to the voice of the infinitive with *beon* (*wesan*) denoting necessity or obligation, most students of the construction believe that, while the infinitive is normally passive in sense, occasionally it is active in sense. Among those that have expressed themselves to this effect may be mentioned Dr. Farrar, *l. c.*, pp. 34–35, 37; Dr. Kenyon, *l. c.*, p. 136; Mätzner, *l. c.*, III, p. 37; Dr. Tanger, *l. c.*, p. 312; and Dr. Wülfing, *l. c.*, II, p. 47. Indeed, I know of but one [1] noteworthy divergent opinion; and this divergence, I must believe, is apparent rather than real. Dr. Henry Sweet seems to hold that the infinitive is always passive in sense. In his *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, 7th ed. (1894), p. lxxxiv, he says of the inflected infinitive: "With the verb *be* it expresses necessity or duty in a passive sense: *monige scylda beoð to forberanne*, 'many sins are to be tolerated' (3.24). So also 3, 100," which reads: "*Eac is to wietanne ðæt æresð bið se wah ðurhðyrelod.*" Again, in his *New English Grammar*, II. (1898), p. 119, we read: "In Old English the supine is used in a passive sense to express what must be or ought to be done: *ða ðing ðe to donne sind*, 'the things which are to be done.' We still keep up this passival use in the phrase *a house to let;* but, as we cannot do this with other verbs, we have to use the passive form in such constructions as *this house is to be let or sold*, whence there is a tendency to say *a house to be let.* Originally these passival uses were probably simply ambiguous: *to donne* meant indifferently 'for some one to do' or 'to be done by some one.'" But, in the last sentence quoted by me, Dr. Sweet may intend to modify the earlier unqualified statements so as to allow that occasionally in Anglo-Saxon we have with *beon* (*wesan*) an infinitive that is active in sense. The foregoing opinions are with reference to the inflected infinitive only. This general view seems to me substantiated by the investigation of Dr. Farrar and by the present study. As already indicated, I find a few sporadic instances of the uninflected infinitive denoting necessity, some active in sense and some passive in sense.

Normally the infinitive follows the principal verb, as in *Bened.* 39.5: eal ðenung *is to donne* on ðæt ylce gemet = 72.12: ita *agatur;* but at times it precedes, as in *Wulf.* 57.15[a]: geredað æfre, hwæt him *to donne sy* and hwæt to forlætenne; and at times the same principal verb is both preceded and followed by the infinitive, as in the passage just quoted from Wulfstan. The foregoing

[1] I am not sure as to the position of Dr. Riggert. On p. 68 of his dissertation we read: "Der Infinitiv hat stets aktive Form; jedoch wird durch den aktiven Infinitiv ein passiver Sinn zum Ausdruck gebracht (cf. ahd. *niat in thaz si wissanne*)."

applies primarily to the infinitive that is passive in sense, for, when active in sense, the infinitive usually precedes the finite verb, as may be seen by an inspection of the examples given later in this chapter.

1. The Infinitive Passive in Sense.

I. THE INFINITIVE UNINFLECTED.

In the two following examples, one from Alfred and one from Ælfric, we have an uninflected infinitive denoting necessity or obligation and passive in sense: —

Bede 78.26: Ond hwæt elles *is* to secenne wiþ ðæm hungre niemne ondlifen, wiþ ðurst drync, wiþ hæto celnis, wiþ cyle hrægl, wiþ werignesse reste, wiþ untrymnesse lacedom *secan*? = 56.3: Et quid est aliud contra famem alimenta, contra sitim potum, contra aestum auras, contra frigus uestem, contra lassitudinem requiem quaerere, nisi medicamentum quidem contra egritudines *explorare*? [*Secan* may be considered active here. See p. 78 above.]

Ælf. L. S. 336.223: ðas feower ana *syndon* to underfonne on geleaffulre gelaðunge and *forlætan* (*sic!*) ða oðre ðe lease gesetnysse gesetton.

II. THE INFINITIVE INFLECTED.

Of the inflected infinitive denoting necessity or obligation and passive in sense, about 894 examples have been found; of which only ten examples occur in the poetry. As is evident from the instances quoted below, sometimes (about 654 times) the subject of the principal verb is personal, sometimes (about 240 times) the subject is impersonal.

The ten examples in the poems are as follows: —

S. & S. 54: Ac hulic *is* se organ ingemyndum *to begonganne* ðam ðe his gast wile meltan wiþ morðre, mergan of sorge, asceadan of scyldum?

Seizure and Death of Alfred 13: Nu *is to gelyfenne* to ðan leofan gode, ðæt hi blission bliðe mid Criste.

Rid. 42.8: Þæt *is to geðencanne* ðeoda gehwylcum, wisfæstum werum, hwæt seo wiht sy!

Rid. 29.12: Micel *is to hycganne* wisfæstum menn hwæt seo wiht sy.

Rid. 32.23: Micel *is to hycgenne* wisum woðboran hwæt [sio] wiht sie.

Met. 21.42: ðonne wile he secgan, ðæt ðære sunnan *sie* beorhtnes ðiostro beorna gehwylcum *to metanne* wiþ ðæt micle leoht godes ælmihtiges (or absolute?).

Gu. 502: micel *is to secgan* (*sic!*) eall æfter orde, ðæt he on elne adreag.

Gu. 510: *is* ðæs gen fela *to secgenne*, ðæs ðe he sylfa adreag.

And. 1481: Mycel *is to secganne*, langsum leornung, ðæt he in life adreag, eall æfter orde!

Ps. 77.10: *nis to wenanne*, ðætte wolde god hiora gasta mid him gyman awiht = 77.8: non *est creditus* cum Deo spiritus ejus.

As to the prose, the construction is very common in Early West Saxon: Alfred has about 473 examples, though, as we shall see later (in Chapter XIV), only when suggested by the Latin directly (usually) or indirectly. It is rare in the *Chronicle*, in the *Laws*, in the *Gospels*, and in Wulfstan; and, as compared with Alfred, is rare in Ælfric, who has about 115 examples to Alfred's 474.

The idiom occurs with so many different verbs in prose that it seems impossible to make helpful groups thereof. The verbs most frequently occurring in this construction are *cyðan*, 'make known;' *don*, 'do,' 'make,' 'cause;' *forlætan*, 'leave,' 'forsake;' *geliefan*, 'believe;' *geðencan*, 'think,' 'consider;' *healdan*, 'hold,' 'consider;' *manian*, 'admonish' (which occurs about 243 times, in Alfred); *secgan*, 'say,' 'tell;' *smeagan*, 'consider;' *understandan*, 'understand;' *witan*, 'know;' and *wundrian*, 'wonder.'

Typical examples are: —

cyðan, *make known:*

Greg. 263.9: Ðæt *is to cyðanne* ðe him swingellan ondrædað, ðæt hie etc. = 198.12: *Dicendum* namque *est* flagella timentibus. — *Ib.* 287.3: Ongean ðæt *is to cyðanne* ðæm ðe beoð to hrade, . . . ðæt etc. = 216.19: 0. — *Ib.* 189.1: Suaðeah *is* ðæm *to cyðanne*, ðæt etc. = 140.20: Quibus profecto *intimandum est* etc. — *Ib.* 201.15: Ðam hlafordum *is* eac *to cyðanne* ðætte hie etc. = 150.15: Domini *admonendi sunt* quia etc. — *Ib.* 301.14: Ðæm eaðmodum *is to cyðanne* ðætte etc. = 228.6: *Dicatur* ergo humilibus, quia etc.

don, *do, make, cause:*

Bede 50.10[a]: ræddon hwæt him *to donne wære*, hwær him wære fultum to secanne = 30.16: est consilium, quid *agendum*, ubi quaerendum *esset* praesidium. — *Ib.* 128.13: hwæt him selest *to donne wære* = 108.18[b]: quid *ageret* (or with adjective?). — *Ib.* 68.7: ðonne *is* hit of lufan *to donne* = 50.7: *agendum est.*

Chron. 215[t], 1083 E[a]: nyston hwet heom *to donne wære.*

Laws 368, II Cnut, c. 84[a]: smeage swyðe georne, hwæt him *sig to donne* 7 hwæt to forganne.

Bl. Hom. 199.30: beahsodan, hwæt him ðæs *to donne wære.*

Ælf. Hom. I. 314[b 2]: hwæt *is* us *to donne?*

Wulf. 173.4: ah hi dydon, swa heom *to donne wæs.*

Læce. 62.21: ðas ðing *sint to donne.*

forlætan, *leave, forsake:*

Bede 70.12: seo æftere cneoris . . . alle gemete *is* to forbeorenne 7 *to forlætenne* = 51.3: secunda . . . a se omni modo *debet abstinere.* — *Ib.* 292.14: wundor . . ., ðe us *nis to forlætenne* = 224.20: Sane nullatenus *praetereundum* arbitror miraculum.

Wærf. 23.18: ne wene ic no, ðæt me *sy* an ðæra spella *to forlætanne* = 164 B[2]: Sed unum dicam, quod ab eo narratum *prætereundum* nullo modo æstimo. — *Ib.* 109.18: ðæt *nis* na mid swigunge *to forlætanne* = B. 140 A[1]: quod silentio *prætereundum* non *est.*

Pr. Gu. XIX. 1: Swylce *nys* eac mid idelnysse *to forlætanne* ðæt wundor = Non me . . . praesagium *narrarre piget.*

Wulf. 51.20: hwæt him to donne *sy* and hwæt *to forlætanne.*

Læce. 5.28: Læcedomas on hwilce tid blod *sie* to forganne, on hwilce *to forlætenne.*

geliefan [-y-], *believe:*

Bede 224.22: ðæs seðel *wære* ece *to gelyfenne* in heofonum = 172.6: cujus sedes aeterna . . . in caelis *esset credenda.* — *Ib.* 372.27: *Is* ðæt *to gelyfenne*, ðætte etc. = 275.16: ut *credibile est.* — *Ib.* 228.23: *to gelyfanne is* ðæt etc. = 174.9: *credendum est* quia etc.

Chron. 158[b], 1036 C: Nu *is to gelyfenne* to ðan leofan Gode.

Wærf. 328.6: ðæt clænsiende fyr *is to gelyfanne* = 396 A[1]: purgatorius ignis *credendus est.* — *Ib.* 146.2: hwæðer hit *to gelyfenne sy* = B. 174 A: nunquid non *credendum est.*

Bl. Hom. 29.15: Us *is to gelyfenne* ðæt etc.

Ælf. Hom. I. 442[b]: Micele swiðor *is to gelyfenne* ðæt he etc.

Ælf. L. S. 100.176: Se god *is to gelyfanne.* — *Ib.* XXIII B. 108: *is to gelyfanne* ðæt etc.

geðencan, *think, consider:*

Bede 84.3[b]: Mid . . . mode *is* to smeageanne 7 *to geðencenne* ðæt etc. = 59.5: *pensandum est.*

Boeth. 52.2: Eac *is* ðeos bisen *to geðencenne* = 0.

Greg. 385.24: Ðonne *is* us [ðæt] swiðe wocorlice *to geðenceanne* ðætte ure Hælend etc. = 302.1: Vigilanti itaque consideratione *pensandum est,* quod cum Jesus etc. — *Ib.* 59.21[a]: Ymb ðyllic *is to geðencenne* & to smeaganne, forðam etc. = 34.27: Cui *considerandum* quoque *est* etc.

Wærf. 239.27[a]: in ðære wisan us *is* to sceawianne 7 *to geðencanne,* ðæt etc. = 292 C[2]: Qua in re *considerandum est.* — *Ib.* 328.26: us *is* geornlice *to geðencanne* . . . ðæt etc. = 395 C[1]: *pensandum* sollicite *est.*

Bl. Hom. 19.31: Eac *is to geðencenne* hwæt Drihten spræc.

healdan, *hold:*

Bede 68.15[b]: seo lufu *is* . . . *to haldanne* = 50.14: caritas . . . *tenenda est.*

Greg. 119.2[a]: on ðære heortan *is* a sio eaðmodnes *to healdanne* = 82.16: *Servanda* . . . *est* et in corde humilitas.

Bened. 6.16: *Hu* on sumera seo nihtlice tid *to healdenne sy* = 64.10: Qualiter aetatis tempore *agatur* nocturna laus. — *Ib.* 7.4: Hwylc gemet on ðære bote *to healdenne sy* = 90.13: Qualis *debeat esse* modus excommunicationis. — *Ib.* 49.3: Ðis *is* mid gesceade *to healdenne* ðam ðe ascyrede syn fram . . . gereorde = 92.1: Privati autem a mensæ consortio, ista *erit ratio.* — *Ib.* 60.11: Untrumra manna gymen *is to healdenne* toforan eallum ðingum = 112.14: cura . . . super omnia *adhibenda est.* — *Ib.* 110.5: *Nis* na ðis be munecum anum *to healdene* = 176.11: Non solum autem Monachum . . . *stabilire potest.*

Ælf. Æthelw. 6: ðeawa . . ., ðe *synd to healdenne* = *agenda sunt.*

Wulf. 270.16: ðas feower sinoðas *syndon to healdenne.*

Læce. 63.18: hwæt him *sie to healdanne.*

manian [-o-], *admonish:*

Bede 70.26: heo *seondon to monienne* = 51.19: *admonendi sunt.*

Greg. 13.20: Ðætte on oðre wisan *sint to manianne* weras, on oðre wiif = 130.6: Aliter namque *admonendi sunt* viri, atque aliter feminæ. So about 241 times in Gregory.

secgan, *say:*

Bede 208.32: bi ðon her æfter in heora tiid *is to secgenne* = 163.17: *dicendum est.* — *Ib.* 334.30: *is* nu *to secgenne* = 254.31: *dicamus.*

Boeth. 41.3: Ðæt is nu hraðost *to secganne,* ðæt ic wilnode weorðfullice to libbanne etc. = 0.

Greg. 215.6: Ðæm ungeðyldegum *is to secganne* ðæt etc. = 162.4: *Dicendum est* impatientibus. — *Ib.* 261.3: Him *is to secgeanne* ðæt hie etc. = 196.16: no Latin here, but is preceded by *admonendi sunt.*

Bl. Hom. 63.16: *Nis* ðæt no be eallum demum gelice *to secggenne.*

Wærf. 139.32: gif hwylce *syn* nu gyt *to secganne* = B. 168 A: In objectione

mese quæstiunculæ patuit causa rationis. Sed quæso te, si qua *sunt* adhuc de hujus viri virtutibus, subjunge.

Wulf. 204.2: ðider scylan wiccan and wigleras, and raðest *is to sæcgenne,* ealle ða manfullan, ðe ær yfel worhton.

smeagan, *consider:*

Bede 84.3[a]: Mid . . . mode *is to smeageanne* 7 to geðencenne ðæt etc. = 59.5: *pensandum est.*

Greg. 153.13: manegu diglu ðing *sindon* nearolice *to smeageanne* = 110.20: *sunt perscrutanda.* — *Ib.* 59.21[b]: Ymb ðyllic *is . . . to smeaganne,* forðam etc. = 34.27: Cui *considerandum* quoque *est* etc.

Bened. 16.9: Gif . . . hwylc læsse ðing *sie to smeagenne* = 28.20: Si qua vero minora *agenda sunt.* — *Ib.* 15.6: secge eallum embe hwæt neoda *to smeagenne sy* = 26.16: dicat ipse unde *agitur.*

Bl. Hom. 33.17: Ac us *is to smeagenne* ðæt etc.

Ælf. Hom. I. 254[t]: Us *is to smeagenne* ðæt word. — *Ib.* I. 308[m]: Us *is to smeagenne* hu seo clænnys wæs ðeonde.

Wulf. 185.6[a]: ðæt *is* ofer eal gemet *to smeagenne* and to sorgianne and on mycelre care to cweðanne.

understandan, *understand:*

Bened. 23.7: *Nis* butan tweon *to understandenne* se upstige = 46.9: Non aliud sine dubio . . . ascensus a nobis *intelligitur.*

Ælf. Hom. II. 270[b 1, 2]: *nis* forði nan ðing ðæron *to understandenne* lichamlice, ac *is* eall gastlice *to understandenne.* — *Ib.* I. 132[b]: Be ðisum *is to understandenne* hu etc.

Wulf. 192.21: ðæt *is* ðonne swa *to understandenne,* ðæt etc. — *Ib.* 113.8: ðonne *is* ðærtoeacan gyt *to understandenne,* ðæt we etc.

witan, *know:*

Bede 334.26: *is* hrædlice *to witanne* ðæt etc. = 254.27: *intimandum.*

Greg. 157.14: Eac *is to wietanne* ðæt etc. = 114.9: *Notandum* itaque *est.* — *Ib.* 269.19: Eac *is to witanne* ðætte etc. = 204.1: *Sciendum* vero *est,* quod etc.

Laws 442, Wifmannes Beweddung, Insc., c. 2: Æfter ðam *is witanne* (MS. B: *to witanne*), hwam ðæt fosterlean gebyrige.

Wærf. 329.4: us *is* ðæt *to witanne . . .,* ðæt etc. = 396 C[2]: Hoc tamen *sciendum est.* — *Ib.* 281.3: Eac us *is to witane* betweoh oðrum wisum, ðæt etc. = 341 B[1]: Sed inter hæc *sciendum est.*

Bl. Hom. 129.26: ðæt *is* ðonne geare *to witenne.* — *Ib.* 63.35: us *is to witenne* ðæt etc.

Ælf. Hom. I. 110[t]: Us *is* eac *to witenne,* ðæt etc.

Ælf. Gr. 154.1: *is to witenne,* ðæt etc. = *Sciendum est.*

Wulf. 201.23: eow *is* eac *to witanne,* ðæt etc.

wundrian, *wonder, admire:*

Bede 178.11: Ne ðæt swiðe *to wundrienne is* = 145.23: Nec *mirandum.*

Boeth. 104.4: ðæt *is to wundrianne* = 88.12: quod solum quanta *dignum sit ammiratione.*

Solil. 12.24: hu ðin godnes *is to wundrienne* = *admiranda* et singularis bonitas tua!

Wærf. 67.31: ða weorc us *syndon* swyðor *to wundrianne* = 197 A: illa magis *miranda sint.*

Bl. Hom. 33.12: *Nis* ðæt *to wundrigenne.*

2. *The Infinitive Active in Sense.*

I. THE INFINITIVE UNINFLECTED.

Twice we have an uninflected active infinitive denoting obligation or necessity, with an objective case: *Ælf. Hom.* I. 400^{b}: Is nu forði munuchades mannum mid micelre gecnyrdnysse to forbugenne ðas yfelan gebysnunga, and *geefenlæcan* (*sic!*) ðam apostolum, ðæt hi, mid him and mid Gode, ðæt ece lif habban moton; *Ælf. L. S.* 376.183: Us is to secenne . . . ða bote æt gode, na æt ðam gramlicum wiccum, and mid ealra heortan urne hælend *gladian* (*sic!*). As with the infinitive passive in sense, so here, when active in sense, the uninflected infinitive is second in a series.

II. THE INFINITIVE INFLECTED.

In my judgment we have only a few examples of the inflected infinitive with *beon* (*wesan*) in which the sense is active, not passive, and in which the infinitive governs as an accusative [1] of the direct object what, in the passival use, would be the subject nominative. A few instances of the active use are found in Alfred and in Wærferth, but the majority are found in Ælfric. Dr. Farrar,[2] let me add, considers as active in sense a large number of inflected infinitives that to me seem passive in sense, as in the following: *Bede* 50.10$^{a, b}$: ræddon hwæt him *to donne wære*, hwær him *wære* fultum *to secanne* = 30.16, 17: est consilium, quid *agendum*, ubi *quaerendum esset* praesidium; — *ib.* 66.4$^{a, b}$: be heora ondlifne *is to ðencenne* 7 *to foreseonne* ðæt heo godum ðeawum lifgen = 49.8$^{a, b}$: *cogitandum* atque *prouidendum est.*

I give a complete list of what seem to me the clearer cases, arranged alphabetically: —

biddan, *pray:*

Ælf. Hom. II. 494^{b} [3]: Us *is to biddenne* Drihtnes mildheortnysse, ðæt he ðisum mannum miltsige.

brucan, *enjoy:*

Mart. 72.25: Ða dagas *sindon* rihtlice to fæstenne, ond ðara metta *to brucenne* ðe men brucað on ðæt . . . fæsten.

clænsi(g)an, *cleanse:*

Pr. Gu. V. 58: ac on seofon nihta fyrstes fæste ne *bið to clænsienne* ðone man (Vercelli MS.: ac on seofon nihta fyrstes fæsten *bið to clænsigeanne* se man) = sed septenarum dierum valida castigatio jejunium est.

cyðan, *make known:*

Greg. 187.15: Ðæm oferbliðum *is to cyðanne* ða unrotnessa ðe ðærafter cumað, 7 ðam unbliðum sint to cyðanne ða gefean ðe him gehatene sindon = 140.10: Lætis . . . *inferenda sunt tristitia* . . .; tristibus vero inferenda sunt læta. [The second *to cyðanne* is probably passive in sense.]

ehtan, *punish, persecute:*

Bede 72.9: Forðon, swa swa bi ðam monnum is hwæthwugu to aræfnenne, ða ðurh unwisnesse synne fremmað, swa ðonne *is* stronglice *to ehtenne*, ða ðe him ne ondrædað weotende syngian = 52.1: culpa . . . toleranda est, ita in his fortiter *insequenda*, qui non metuunt sciendo peccare.

[1] Occasionally a genitive or a dative.

[2] *L. c.*, p. 15.

forbugan, *avoid:*

Ælf. Hom. I. 400ᵇ: *Is* nu forði munuchades mannum mid micelre gecnyrdnysse *to forbugenne* ðas yfelan gebysnunga, and geefenlæcan (*sic!*) ðæm apostolum.

forswelgan, *swallow:*

Læce. 68.30: swelc swa *bið* ðreo beana ælce dæge *to forswelganne* 7 ðisum gelice drencas.

gearcian, *prepare:*

Ælf. L. S. XXIV. 21: ðysum *is to gearcigenne* ða reðestan wita.

gewitan, *know:*

Ælf. Hom. I. 294ᵇ: *Nis* na eow *to gewitanne* ða tid oððe ða handhwile ðe min Fæder gesette ðurh his mihte (or subjective?).

manian, *mix* (?):

Greg. 125.13: Sua eac ðam lareowe *is to monianne* (Cot. MS.: *to mengenne*) ða lieðnesse wið ða reðnesse, & of ðam gemonnge wyrce gemetgunge, ðæt etc. = 88.4: *Miscenda* ergo *est* lenitas cum severitate.

metan, *measure:*

Boeth. 44.20: Forðæm hit *nis* no *to metanne* ðæt geendodlice wið ðæt ungeendodlice = 46.57: infiniti uero atque finiti nulla umquam *poterit esse collatio.* [The infinitive may be passive, but is probably active in sense. Concerning the use of *hit* in this sentence, compare Dr. Kenyon, *l. c.*, p. 136: "As in the construction of the infinitive after nouns and adjectives the dependent infinitive interchanges with the subject infinitive (pp. 49 ff.), so with the predicative infinitive denoting purpose, obligation, etc., a construction occurs in M. E. in which the subject of the sentence comes to be used as the object of the infinitive. *A thing is to do* appears, often with the assistance of the expletive *it*, in the form *it is to do a thing*, meaning *it is necessary to do a thing*, in the same way that the Greek ἔξεστι is used to denote necessity. The examples of this construction are not numerous in Chaucer. He appears to have retained the other form in most cases."]

ongietan, *understand:*

Bede 224.19: Ac God ma *wære to ongeotanne* in ðrymme unbesændlicne (*sic!*), menniscum eagum ungesenelicne, almeahtigne, ecne = 172.1: Deum potius *intellegendum* maiestate inconprehensibilem, humanis oculis inuisibilem, omnipotentem, aeternum etc., before which is to be understood, from 171.20, solebat eum hortari.

secan, *seek:*

Ælf. L. S. 376.181: Us *is to secenne* . . . ða bote æt gode, na æt ðam gramlican wiccum, and mid ealra heortan urne hælend gladian (*sic!*) (or subjective?). [Cf. Kenyon, *l. c.*, p. 137.]

secgan, *say:*

Ælf. Hept.: De N. T. 21.14: *Nys* us na *to secgenne* ðone . . . morð (or subjective?). [Cf. Kenyon, *l. c.*, p. 137.]

sellan, *give:*

Læce. 63.37: him *is to sellanne* lactucas 7 suðerne popig inneweard. — *Ib.* 76.33: merce on wætre gesoden 7 swilca wyrta 7 migole drincan 7 ðynne win him *is to sellanne* wel scir.

underfon, *receive, accept:*

Ælf. Hom. II. 344ᵇ ²: ac swaðeah *nis to underfonne* nanes synfulles mannes æhta on his geendunge, ne his lic ne sy on haligre stowe bebyriged.

understandan, *understand:*

Ælf. L. S. 354.258: Us *is to understandenne* ðas endebyrdnyssa (or subjective?).

warni(g)an, *warn:*

Wærf. 340.29: forðan him *is to warnianne* ðone rihtan dom ðam, ðe ær ne beoð his synna forlætene = 413 A²: Qua ex re aperte datur intelligi quia hi quibus peccata dimissa non fuerint, ad evitandum judicium sacris locis post mortem non valeant adjuvari.

Ælf. Gr. 3.10: *is* nu for ði godes ðeowum and mynstermannum georne *to warnigenne*, ðæt seo halige lar on urum dagum ne acolige oððe ateorige.

weorðian, *honor:*

Ælf. Hom. I. 354⁴: Ac us *is to wurðigenne* mid micelre gecnyrdnysse Cristes gebyrdtide.

wundrian, *admire:*

Pr. Gu. III. 63: And nu, hwæt, *ys* swiðe *to wundrianne* ða diglan mihte ures drihtnes and his mildheortnysse domas = O quam *admiranda est* divinae miserationis indulgentia, et quantum glorificanda paternae dilectionis providentia!

Differentiation of the Two Infinitives.

Regularly the infinitive of necessity is inflected, whether active or passive in sense. Sporadically, however, we find the infinitive uninflected, as in the examples given on pp. 98 and 102. In each of these examples the uninflected infinitive is the second in a series of two infinitives, the first in each series being inflected; and one may hold that the influence of the *to* of the first is carried over to the second infinitive, or, to state it differently, that *to* is omitted with the second infinitive because of its presence with the first infinitive; or, as I prefer to think, that the second infinitive is uninflected primarily because of its remoteness from the principal verb. Or, finally, the lack of inflection, occurring so seldom, may be due to mere chance.

B. THE INFINITIVE DENOTES FUTURITY.

At times the inflected infinitive with *beon* (*wesan*) denotes Futurity, is active in sense, and corresponds to the Latin periphrastic conjugation made up of the verb *sum* and the future participle, of which, indeed, it is usually a translation.

I give all of the clearer examples observed by me: —

aliesan, *redeem:*

L. 24.21: We hopedon ðæt he *to alysenne wære* Israhel = Nos autem sperabamus quia ipse *esset redempturus* Israel.

cuman, *come:*

Gosp.: Mat. 11.3: Eart ðu ðe *to cumenne eart* = Tu es qui *venturus es?* Similarly: *Mat.* 11.14, 16.27; — *L.* 7.19, 20; 10.1; — *J.* 1.15.

A. S. Hom. & L. S. II: 11.106: Hwi nis se wyrðe ðæt he onfo ðinra metelafe, ðe mid ðe *is to cumenne* to engla gebeorscipe?

cweðan, *say, speak:*

A. S. Hom. & L. S. II: 12.86: And ure drihten *is to cweðenne* ðonne he to ðam dome cymð: *Hospes eram et suscepistis me.*

don, *do:*

L. 22.23ᵇ: hi agunnon betwux him smeagan hwylc of him ðæt *to donne wære* = cœperunt quærere inter se, quis esset ex eis qui hoc *facturus esset.*

gefyllan, *complete:*

L. 9.31: sædon his gewitendnesse ðe he *to gefyllenne wæs* on hierusalem = dicebant excessum ejus, quem *completurus erat* in Jerusalem.

onfon, *receive:*

Bede 224.26: ðæt heo ðonne *wæren* from him ece mede *to onfonne* = 172.9: aeterna ab illo praemia *essent percepturi.*

A. S. Hom. & L. S. II. 11.103: For hwi ne mot se ðearfa onfon ðines metes ðe mid ðe *is to onfonne* heofona rice? Similarly: *ib.* 11.105.

sendan, *send:*

Ælf. Hept.: Ex. 4.13: sende ðone ðe ðu *to sendenne eart* = mitte quem *missurus es.*

ðrowi(g)an, *suffer:*

Mat. 17.12: *ys* mannes Sunu eac fram him *to ðrowigenne* = Sic et Filius hominis *passurus est* ab eis.

Note. — "*Beon*" ("*Wesan*") *Plus* "*Toweard*" *to Denote Futurity.* — Occasionally *beon* (*wesan*) plus *toweard* represents the future indicative, as in *Bede* 270.2: (hwonne he . . . *toweard sy* in . . . wolcnum . . . to demanne cwice and deade = 211.7: *uenturus est* . . . ad iudicandos uiuos et mortuos) and in *Chad* 188 (ðonne he *bið toweard* to demenne cwice 7 deade). See Chapter XI, where all such examples are recorded.

C. THE INFINITIVE DENOTES PURPOSE.

At other times the inflected infinitive with *beon* (*wesan*) denotes Purpose, is active in sense, and corresponds to and occasionally translates a Latin phrase made up of *ad* plus a gerund or a gerundive in the accusative.

All the clearer examples observed are given: —

adiligian, *destroy:*

Hept.: Gen. 9.15: heonon forð ne *bið* flod *to adiligenne* eall flæsc = non *erunt* ultra aquæ diluvii *ad delendam* omnem carnem. [The infinitive may modify *flod* instead of *bið*.]

etan, *eat:*

Napier's Ad. to Th. 101.315ᵐ: Hæbbe ge her æni ðing, ðe *to etenne sy?* [Cf. *L.* 24.41: Hæbbe ge her ænig ðing *to etenne?* = Habetis hic aliquid quod manducetur?]

faran, *go, run:*

Wærf. 221.1: hit wæs wæter to fultume 7 to helpe ðam mannum, ðe in ðære cyrican wæron, 7 swylce hit wæter *nære* in ða stowe *to farane* = 269 B: ut aqua erat ad adjutorium et quasi aqua non erat *ad invadendum* locum.

forlæran, *lead astray:*

Gen. 703: *wæs* hire on helpe handweorc godes *to forlæranne* [*lacuna*].

gehælan, *heal:*

L. 5.17: and Drihtnes mægen *wæs* hig *to gehælenne* = et virtus Domini *erat ad sanandum* eos.

getacni(g)an, *signify:*

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 241: he *is to getacnigenne* of ðære sawla dædum.

gremian, *irritate:*

Chron. 239ᵇ, 1104 Eᵇ: Eall ðis *wæs* God mid *to gremienne*, 7 ðas arme leode mid to tregienne.

healdan, *hold, preserve:*

Oros. 46.17[a]: oðer æt ham *beon* heora lond *to healdanne* = 47.17: reginae . . . quae . . . vicissim curam belli et *domus custodiam* sortiebantur.

onfon, *receive:*

A. S. Hom. & L. S. II: 13.266: Uton . . . tilian ðæt we *syn* clæne and unwæmme ðam *to onfonne* (or the infinitive may modify the adjectives instead of *syn?*).

sceawian, *see, examine:*

Greg. 131.21: Ða recceras sceolon *bion* beforan ðæm folce sua sua monnes eage beforan his lichoman, his weg & his stæpas *to sceawianne* = 92.28: ut recta pedes valeant itinera carpere, hæc procul dubio caput debet ex alto providere.

tregian, *grieve:*

Chron. 239[b], 1104 E[c]: quoted under *gremian* above.

ðegnian, *serve:*

Wærf. 281.20: ac ðysum *wæs* æt his moder 7 his broðer *to ðegnienne* = 341 C: Huic *ad serviendum* mater cum fratre *aderat.*

For the predicative infinitive with the verb *to be* in the other Germanic languages, see Chapter XVI, section vii.

NOTES.

1. *The Predicative Infinitive with "Beon" ("Wesan") in a Series.* — In the following passages we have a series of two infinitives with *beon* (*wesan*) in which the first is inflected but the second is not: *Ælf. Hom.* I. 400[b 1, 2] quoted on p. 103; *Ælf. L. S.* 336.222, 223, quoted on p. 98; *ib.* 376.181, 183, quoted on p. 102; *Bede* 78.24, 26, quoted on p. 98. In the following passages we have a series of inflected infinitives: *Ælf. Hom.* I. 498[t 1, 2]; — *Bede* 66.4[a, b]; 430.32[a, b]; — *Bened.* 5.8[a, b]; — *Boeth.* 72.27[a, b, c]; — *Greg.* 183.3[a, b]; — *Lacc.* 25.30[a, b]; — *Laws* 14[a, b, c]; 46[a, b]; 474[a, b]; — *Wærf.* 108.32[a, b]; 239.26, 27; 348.9[a, b]; 349.27[a, b].

2. *Predicative Infinitives Becoming Absolute.* — In *Bede* 88.23 (Ono se mon bið, ðæs ðe swa *to cweðenne sy*, æghwæðer ge gehæfted ge freo = 62.1: Ecce itaque homo est, ut ita *dixerim*, captiuus et liber etc.), in *Boeth.* 39.10 (Swa hit *is* nu *hraðost to secganne* be eallum ðam woruldgesælðum = 42.63: *concludere . . . licet*), and in *Wulf.* 158.16 (and *hrædest is to cweðenne*) and 204.2 (and *raðest is to sæcgenne*), we have inflected predicative infinitives of necessity on the way to becoming absolute in use. Cf., too, *Boeth.* 41.3 (Ðæt *is* nu *hradost to secganne*, ðæt ic wilnode weorðfullice to libbanne etc. = 0).

3. *Predicative Inflected Infinitive without "To."* — In *Laws* 442 (2), quoted on p. 101 above, we have, in one manuscript, an inflected infinitive of necessity without *to*.

4. *The Inflected Infinitive with "Habban."* — As stated in Chapter II, p. 43, occasionally the inflected infinitive with *habban* denotes obligation or futurity. See the examples there given, and compare the statement of Wilmanns, who, *l. c.*, p. 128, after speaking of the infinitive of obligation after the verb *to be*, adds: "Ähnliche Bedeutung nimmt *haben* mit dem Inf. mit *zu* an: Tat. c. 138.8: *ih haben thir sihwaz zi quedanne*, habeo tibi aliquid dicere."

5. *A Mixed Construction* occurs in *Greg.* 23.1 (Ðætte hwilum ða leohtan scylda *beoð* beteran *to forlætan* (*sic!* but Cotton MS.: *to forlætonne*) = 388.21: Quod aliquando leviora vitia *relinquenda sunt*): the inflected infinitive may be considered as predicative with *beoð* or as modifying the adjective *beteran;* but, although I have put it under the former head, it really belongs under each.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PREDICATIVE INFINITIVE WITH ACCUSATIVE SUBJECT.

The uninflected infinitive active as the quasi-predicate of an accusative subject, in object clauses, is found about 1512 times in Anglo-Saxon. It is common in Anglo-Saxon prose, early and late, and in Anglo-Saxon poetry, after certain verbs (1) of Commanding, (2) of Causing and Permitting, (3) of Sense Perception; is less frequent after (4) verbs of Mental Perception; and is almost unknown after (5) verbs of Declaring.[1] The passive infinitive in this construction is far less common, being restricted almost exclusively to the translations. In subject clauses, the predicative infinitive with accusative subject, whether active or passive, is very rare, and with one exception is found only in the translations.

In object clauses, the infinitive phrase usually follows the principal verb, as in *Bede* 156.21: Ða *gehyrde* he *sumne* ðara broðra *sprecan* ðæt etc. = 130.19: *audiret unum . . . disposuisse;* but occasionally it precedes, as in *Beow.* 1346: Ic ðæt londbuend *leode* mine selerædende *secgan hyrde*, ðæt etc.; and occasionally it partly precedes and partly follows, as in *Bede* 190.1: ðæt he *hine . . . herde secgan* = 152.15: *eum* audierit . . . *narrare.* In subject clauses, the situation is practically the same: see examples toward the end of this chapter.

Whether in objective or subjective clauses, the infinitive that is active in form seems to me active in sense. Some hold, however, that, after verbs of commanding, of causing, and of sense perception, we sometimes have a predicative infinitive that, though active in form, is passive in sense. The grounds for the active interpretation have been given in Chapter II, pp. 29 ff.; where I have stated that to me the infinitive in examples of the sort there cited seems, not predicative, but objective, and the accompanying accusative, not subjective, but objective.

I consider first the idiom in object clauses.

AS OBJECT.

A. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

I. UNINFLECTED.

The active uninflected infinitive occurs as the quasi-predicate of an accusative subject with the following groups of verbs: —

1. Oftenest with Verbs of Commanding[2] and the like, of which group the chief representative is *hatan*, 'command,' 'order.' The complete list of verbs belonging to this group is as follows: —

bebeodan [bi-], *command, order.*
biddan, *request, command.*
forbeodan,[3] *forbid.*
hatan, *command.*

[1] As is evident from this statement, I include Grimm's 'non-genuine' as well as his 'genuine' accusative with infinitive, — concerning which see Chapter XIV, section viii.

[2] Cf. Gorrell, *l. c.*, pp. 371 ff.; Zeitlin,[1] *l. c.*, pp. 55 ff.

[3] Cf. Gorrell, *l. c.*, p. 373.

2. Next most frequently with Verbs of Causing and of Permitting,[1] of which the chief representative is *lætan*, 'allow,' 'cause.' The full list follows: —

alætan, *allow.*
biegan [**began**], *urge, force.*
don, *make, cause.*
forlætan, *allow.*
gedon, *make, cause.*
geðafian, *allow.*
geðolian [**gi-**], *allow.*
geunnan, *grant.*
lætan, *allow, permit, cause.*
niedan [**-e-**, **-y-**], *compel, force.*

3. Only slightly less frequently than with the preceding, with Verbs of Sense Perception,[2] of which the chief representative is *geseon*, 'see.' This group is composed of the following: —

behealdan [**bi-**], *behold, see.*
gefelan, *feel, perceive.*
gehawian, *see.*
gehieran [**-e-**, **-y-**], *hear.*
geseon, *see.*
hieran [**-e-**, **-y-**], *hear.*
ofseon, *see.*
sceawian, *see.*
seon, *see.*

4. Far less frequently with Verbs of Mental Perception,[3] the chief representatives of which are *findan*, 'find,' *gefrignan*, 'learn by asking,' *gemetan*, 'find,' *ongietan*, 'understand,' and *witan*, 'know.' The full list follows: —

æteawan, *show.*
afindan, *find.*
eowan, *show.*
findan, *find.*
geacsian [**-ah-**], *learn by asking.*
gecyðan, *make known.*
gefrignan, *learn by inquiry.*
gehatan, *promise.*
gehyhtan [**-i-**], *hope.*
geliefan [**-e-**, **-y-**], *believe.*
gemetan, *meet, find.*
gemittan, *meet, find.*
gemunan, *remember, recall.*
getriewan [**-eo-**], *trust, hope.*
gewitan, *perceive, observe.*
læran, *teach.*
onfindan, *find.*
ongietan, *understand, perceive.*
tali(g)an, *consider, account.*
tellan, *tell, consider.*
wenan, *hope.*
witan, *know.*

5. Very rarely with Verbs of Declaring,[4] of which this is a complete list: —

cweðan, *say.*
foresecgan, *foretell, predict.*
ondettan, *confess, declare.*
secgan, *say, relate.*

6. Very rarely with Other Verbs: once only with the verb **habban**, *have*, and the verb **todælan**, *divide*, which do not easily fall under any of the preceding groups.

Typical examples are: —

1. **Verbs of Commanding**, etc.: —

bebeodan, *command:*

Ex. 217[a. b], 218[a. b], 219[a. b]: oð Moyses *bebead eorlas* . . . folc *somnigean*, *frecan arisan*, *habban* heora hlencan, *hycgan* on ellen, *beran* beorht searo, beacnum *cigean* sweot sande near.

Pr. Ps. 41.9[a]: On dæg *bebead* God his *mildheortnesse cuman* to me = In die *mandabit* Dominus *misericordiam* suam. — *Ib.* 43.6: ðu ðe *bebude hælo cuman* to Iacobes cynne? = 43.5: qui *mandas* salutes Jacob?

biddan, *request, command:*

Gen. 2031: *bæd* him ðræcrofe, ða *rincas* ðæs ræd *ahicgan*.

Dan. 359: *bædon bletsian* bearn Israela, eall landgesceaft ecne *drihten*.

[1] Cf. Zeitlin,[1] *l. c.*, pp. 43 ff.
[2] Cf. Gorrell, *l. c.*, pp. 384 ff.; Zeitlin,[1] *l. c.*, pp. 78 ff.
[3] Cf. Gorrell, *l. c.*, pp. 395 ff.; Zeitlin,[1] *l. c.*, pp. 66 ff.
[4] Cf. Gorrell, *l. c.*, pp. 414 ff.; Zeitlin,[1] *l. c.*, 99 ff.

El. 1101: Cyriacus . . . *bæd* him engla *weard geopenigean* uncuðe wyrd niwan on nearwe.

Gu. 1133: *bæd hine* ðurh mihta scyppend . . . spræce *ahebban.*

And. 1614: *bæd haligne* helpe *gefremman* gumena geogoðe.

Bede 6.13: *bæd hine* cristenne *beon* = 16.3: *Christianum se fieri petierit.*

Chron. 173[t], 1048 E[a]: se cyng . . . *bæd hine faran* in to cent.

Ælf. L. S. 76.439, 440: *bæd hi* ealle *wacian* ðær on niht mid him and *ðingian* ðam . . . men. — *Ib.* 266.70: Ða sume dæg *bæd* he ðone *bisceop* ælfeh *blætsian* his ful.

forbeodan, *forbid:*

Mat. 19.14: Nelle ge *hig forbeodan cuman* to me = nolite *eos prohibere* ad me *venire.*

hatan,[1] *command, order:*

Beow. 1869[a, b]: *het hine* mid ðæm lacum leode swæse *secean* on gesyntum, snude eft *cuman.*

Gen. 122: Metod . . . *heht leoht* . . . forð *cuman.*

Ex. 254: *heht* ða *folctogan* fyrde *gestillan.*

Dan. 431: *Het* ða se cyning to him *cnihtas gangan.*

Az. 183: *Het* ða of ðam lige lifgende *bearn* Nabocodonossor near *ætgongan.*

Chr. 1024, 1026: *hateð arisan reordberende* of foldgrafum, *folc* anra gehwylc *cuman* to gemote.

El. 999: *Hie* se casere *heht gearwian* sylfe to siðe.

Ju. 523: ða he *mec feran het* ðeoden of ðystrum.

And. 365, 366, 367: ælmihtig *heht* his *engel gan,* . . . mete *syllan, frefran* feasceaftne.

Rid. 7.5: ðonne *mec* min frea *feohtan hateð.*

Jud. 54: nymðe se modga *hwæne* niðe rofra him ðe near *hete* rinca to rune *gegangan.*

Ps. 80.12: Ac *hi lifian het* lustum heortena.

Bede: 34.25[a, b]: Ða *het* he . . . his ðegnas hine *secan* 7 *acsian* = 18.25: *iussit milites* eum . . . *inquirere.* — *Ib.* 58.28: Ða *het* se cyning *hie sittan* = 46.5: Cumque ad iussionem regis *residentes* . . . uerbum praedicarent. — *Ib.* 118.8, 9: *heht* his ðegnas hine . . . *beran* . . . 7 *asettan* = 94.22: *iussit se* . . . *efferi.* — *Ib.* 138.11[a, b]: *heht* his *geferan toweorpan* . . . ðone herig . . . 7 *forbærnan* = 113.19[a, b]: *iussit* sociis *destruere* ac *succendere* fanum. — *Ib.* 232.8: cwom ærendwraca, se ðe *hine* to cyninge *feran het* = 176.1: uenit qui *clamaret* eum ad regem.

Greg. 279.19: Se gemetgað irre, se ðe ðone *disigan hætt geswugian* = 210.26: Qui imponit *stulto silentium.*

Oros. 202.8: ðone *here* he *het* mid ðæm scipum ðonan *wendan* = 203.1: *deflexo cursu.* — *Ib.* 280.12: *hiene het iernan* on his . . . purpurum = 281.13: ut per aliquot millia passuum purpuratus ante vehiculum ejus *concurrisse referatur.*

Chron. 12[t], 449 A[a]: Se cing *het hi feohtan* agien Pihtas.

Wærf. 10.4: Hu man *het Æquitium cuman* to Rome = 0. — *Ib.* 58.13: *het ealle* ðanon *utgan* = 189 C[1]: *omnesque* exinde *egredi præcepit.* — *Ib.* 297.9[a, b]: *hine het* forð *gan* 7 him *gearwian* his hrægl = 360 A[1, 2]: vocavit puerum suum,

[1] *Hatan* is followed, also, by a substantive clause introduced by ðæt, as in *Ælf. L. S.* 142.404; 154.99; 162.245; 224.68; 396.218; 400.261; 406.360; 442.37; 464.373; etc.; etc. Cf. Gorrell, *l. c.*, p. 375.

pararique sibi vestimenta *ad procedendum jussit.* — *Ib.* 337.37: drihten *ðe het faran* = 408 A: Paratus esto, et quia Dominus *jussit, migra.*

Bened. 70.18: oð . . . *hine geswican hate* = 134.7: usque dum ei *jubeat* iterum Abbas, ut *quiescat* ab hac satisfactione.

Bl. Hom. 21.30: *hateð* ða *eorðan* eft *agifan* ðæt heo ær onfeng.

Ælf. Hom. I. 28[t]: *het hi faran* geond ealne middangeard, bodigende fulluht and soðne geleafan.

Ælf. L. S. 98.142: Martianus *het* his . . . *cwelleras* ðone halgan *beatan.*

Ælf. Hept.: Gen. 22.6: Abraham ða *het Issac beran* ðone wudu = Ligna holocausti *imposuit* super Isaac. — *Ex.* 32.5[a, b]: *het bydelas beodan* and ðus *cweðan* = præconis voce *clamavit dicens.* — *Num.* 31.17: *het hig* ða *acwellan* ealle ða wif = Ergo mulieres . . . *jugulate.* — *Judges* 16.25: *heton hine standan* betwux . . . swerum = *feceruntque eum stare* inter . . . columnas.

Gosp.: Mat. 14.19: And ða he *het* ða *menegu* ofer ðæt gærs hi *sittan* = Et quum *jussisset turbam discumbere* super fœnum. — *Mk.* 8.6: Ða *het* he *sittan* ða *menegu* ofer ða eorðan = Et *præcepit turbæ discumbere* super terram.

Wulf. 235.16: ða deoflu hy potedon . . . and *heton hy* ut *faran* raðe.

Læce. 55.25[a, b]: *hine* mon sceal swiðe hlude *hatan grædan* oððe *singan.*

2. Verbs of Causing and of Permitting:—

alætan, *allow:*

Beow. 2666: ðæt ðu ne *alæte* þe ðe lifigendum *dom gedreosan.*

Dan. 591: Oft metod *alæt* monige *ðeode* [lacuna] *wyrcan.*

biegan [began], *urge, force:*

Ps. 143.14: Ðara *bearn* swylce *begað* æðelum settum beamum samed anlice *standan* on staðule stiðe wið geoguðe = 143.12: Quorum *filii* sicut novellæ *plantationes constabilitæ* in juventute sua.

don, *make, cause:*

Ps. 103.30: He on ðas eorðan ealle locað, *deð* hi for his egsan ealle *beofian* = qui respicit super terram, et *facit eam tremere.*

Bede 98.27[b]: se ðe *eardigan deð* ða *anmodan* in his fæder huse = 81.29[b]: qui *habitare facit unanimes* in domu Patris.

Laws 410, Judicium Dei IV, c. 4, § 1: ðu onsiist ofer earðe 7 ðu *doest ða fyrhta* (*sic!*) = qui respicis super terram et *facis ea*[*m*] *tremere.*

Ælf. Hom. I. 468[m 1, 2, 3, 4]: Swa swa ðu *dydest* minne *broðor* his god *forlætan,* and on ðinne god *gelyfan,* swa *do* ic eac *ðe forlætan* ðinne god, and on minne *gelyfan.*

Wulf. 196.1, 2: *treowa* he *deð* færlice *blowan* and eft raðe *asearian.*

forlætan, *allow:*

Beow. 3167: *forleton* eorla gestreon *eorðan healdan.*

Gen. 1406: ða *hine* halig god . . . *forlet* edmonne streamum *stigan.*

El. 598: Hio on sybbe *forlet secan gehwylcne* agenne eard.

Gu. 1148: næfre ic *lufan* sibbe, ðeoden, æt ðearfe ðine *forlæte asanian.*

And. 836: dryhten *forlet dægcandelle* scire *scinan.*

Bede 318.4: Bæd heo . . . ðone cyning ðæt . . . *heo forlete* . . . Criste *ðeowian* = 243.28: postulans . . . Christo *seruire permitteretur.*

Greg. 467.11: Forðæm oft se . . . God *fo*[*r*]*let* ðæt *mod* his gecorenra *gesyngian* on sumum lytlum ðingum = 404.1: *imperfectas* tamen ex parva aliqua parte *derelinquit.*

Solil. 21.22: ðonne *forlæt* he ðæt *scyp standan* = *eos dimisi.*

Chron. 5[t], Introd. E: ða he *forlet* his *here abidan* mid Scottum.

Wærf. 294.5: ðæt se . . . God swa *forlæteð swelian* his *gecorenan* = 356 A[1]: Quid est hoc, quæso te, quod . . . Deus sic *permittit mori, quos* tamen post mortem cujus sanctitatis fuerint, non patitur celari?

Bl. Hom. 87.14: ne *forlæt* ðu *us* nu on witum *wunian.*

Ælf. Hom. II. 192[t 2]: beod him ðæt he min *folc forlæte* of his leode *faran.*

Ælf. L. S. 144.429: *forleton hine* swa *licgan* for deadne.

Ælf. Hept.: Judges 3.21: *He forlet* ða ðæt *swurd stician* on him = Nec eduxit *gladium,* sed *reliquit* in corpore.

Wulf. 232.17: ðæt ge *forlætan* ða unnyttan *spræca gewurðan* and ða unnyttan *geðancas* of eowrum heortum.

gedon, *make, cause:*

Bl. Hom. 239.16: *Matheum* he *gedyde gangan* to ðam eastdæle.

Ælf. L. S. XXXIII. 316: gebide to drihtne for us ðæt he *gedo us* werlice *becuman* to hælo hyðe.

geðafian, *allow:*

Bl. Hom. 45.19: gif he ne *geðafað* ðæt godes *folc* heora lif on woh *lybban.*

Ælf. Hom. II. 92[t]: ne *geðafiað* godne *willan infaran* to his heortan.

Ælf. L. S. 108.323, 324: *Geðafa* ðæt min *modor* me *gesprecan* and sume ðreo niht on minum ræde *beon.*

geðolian [gi-], *allow:*

Laws 412, Judicium Dei V, c. 2, § 4[b]: *unscyldigo* hwoeðre 7 *ðingleaso* from ðissum synne unascendedo *wosa giðolaðes* = *innocentes* uero et *inmunes* ab hoc crimine inlesos *esse patiaris.*

geunnan, *grant:*

Ælf. Æthelw. 53: ic bidde . . . ðæt ðu *geunna me ðurhwunian* ðone towearðan dæg on ðinum halgum ðeowdome = deprecor . . . ut *concedas mihi* diem uenturum sic in tuo sancto seruitio *peragere* (or objective?).

lætan, *allow, permit, cause:*

Beow. 1490: *læt* . . . widcuðne *man* heardecg *habban.*

Gen. 438[a]: *Sittan læte* ic *hine* wið me sylfne. — *Ib.* 1349: Ic . . . *sigan læte wællregn* ufan widre eorðan.

Dan. 683: *let* Babilone *blæd swiðrian.*

Chr. 159: ne *læt awyrgde* ofer us onwald *agan.*

El. 237: *Leton* ða ofer fifelwæg *famige scriðan,* brontne brimðisan.

Ju. 200: *Læt* ða *sace restan.*

Gu. 924: Ða se ælmihtiga *let* his *hond cuman.*

And. 832, 833: *Leton* ðone *halgan* . . . *swefan* . . ., *bliðne bidan.*

Bede 256.29: ða onlesde he *hine* 7 *let feran* æfter ðam biscope = 204.4: absoluit *eum,* et . . . *ire permisit.*

Boeth. 6.10: forhwy se . . . God *læte* ænig *yfel beon* = 0. — *Ib.* 8.23: *Lætað hine* eft *hweorfan* to minum larum = 5.39: meisque *eum* musis *curandum sanandumque relinquite.*

Greg. 139.8: hi ðonne *lætað acolian* ða innecundan *lufan* = 100.4: ab intimo amore *frigescunt.* — *Ib.* 171.1: *læt hi stician* ðæron = 124.24: qui semper *erunt* in circulis. — *Ib.* 193.25: Ðæt is ðonne ðæt mon his *eage læte slapian* = 144.29: *Somnum* quippe oculis *dare* est etc. — *Ib.* 457.13: Forðæm sceal se gesceadwisa læce *lætan* ær *weaxan* ðone *læssan* = 390.3: ut . . . *unum patiatur crescere.*

Oros. 126.15: he . . . ðæt *folc* sum ðær *sittan let* = 0.

Solil. 14.2: ne *læt* me *nanwiht oferwinnan* on ðis wege = *nihil*que mihi *repugnare facias* tendenti ad te. — *Ib.* 48.19: *læt beon* ðone *wop* and ða *unrotnesse* = *cohibe* te *a lacrymis*, et stringe animum.

Pr. Ps. 15.10$^{a.\ b}$: ne ðinne *gehalgodan* ne *lætst forrotian* ne *forweorðan* = neque *dabis sanctum* tuum *videre corruptionem.*

Chron. 161^{b}, 1038 D: ðæt he *hine* ne lete *lybban.* — *Ib.* 164^{b}, 1046 C^{b}: *let hi* syððan *faran* ham.

Laws 160, II Æthelstan, c. 20, § 6: Gif he nylle hit geðafian, *leton hine licgan.* — *Ib.* 454, Gerefa, c. 7: Ne *læte* he næfre his *hyrmen* hyne *oferwealdan.*

Wærf. 234.3: *sacerdas* . . . seo arfæstnes ne *læteð ehtan* 7 *oferswiðan* ðone geleafan = 285 B: ut . . . *sacerdotes* . . . fidem *persequi* minime *permittat.* — *Ib.* 276.3: ne *let* he næfre *hi* him neh *gan* = 336 C^{1}: *presbyteram* . . . ad se proprius *accedere* nunquam *sinebat.*

Bened. 120.8: ðæt he *leahtras* fyrðrige and *wehsan læte* = 186.13: ut *permittat nutriri vitia.*

Bl. Hom. 69.17: *lætað ðis* ðus *wesan* to cyðnesse minre bebyrgednesse.

Pr. Gu. V. 153^{a}: ða *leton* hi *hine* ane hwile *abidan* and *gestandan* = *sistere illum* paullisper *fecerunt.*

Ælf. Hom. I. 12$^{t\ 1}$: *hi* ealle adræfde of heofenan rices myrhð, and *let befeallan* on ðæt ece fyr. — *Ib.* I. 522^{b}: Fæder, seðe *læt* his *sunnan scinan* ofer gode and yfele.

Ælf. L. S. 18.147: gif heo *læt rixian* on hire ða *gewilnunge.*

Ælf. Hept.: Ex. 9.24: drihten *let rinan hagol* wið fyr gemenged = *pluit*que dominus *grandinem.* — *Lev.* 1.15: *læte yrnan* ðæt blod nyðer = *decurrere faciet sanguinem.* — *Num.* 11.24: folce, ða he *let standan* . . . ymbutan ða eardungstowe = *quos stare fecit* circa tabernaculum.

Gosp.: Mat. 8.22: *læt deade bebyrigean* hyra deadan = dimitte *mortuos sepelire* mortuos suos. — *Mk.* 5.37: he ne *let* him *ænigne fyligean* = non *admisit quemquam* se *sequi.* — *Mk.* 10.14: *Lætað* ða *lytlingas* to me *cuman* = *Sinite parvulos venire* ad me. — *L.* 9.60: *Læt* ða *deadan byrigan* hyra deadan = *Sine* ut *mortui sepeliant* mortuos suos. — *L.* 9.61: *læt me* æryst hit *cyðan* ðam ðe æt ham synt = *permitte* mihi primum *renuntiare* his, quæ domi sunt (or objective?). — *J.* 18.8: *lætað ðas faran* = *sinite hos abire.*

Wulf. 10.7, 8: hy ðurh heora synna god to ðam swyðe gegremedon, ðæt he *let* æt nehstan *flod gan* ofer ealne middaneard and *adrencan* eal. — *Ib.* 14.3$^{a.\ b}$: ðæt folc ða wearð swa wið god forworht, ðæt he *let faran* hæðenne *here* and *forhergian* eall ðæt land.

Læce. 12.2: *læt gedreopan* on ða eagan ænne *dropan.* — *Ib.* 97.22: *læt gerestan* ðone *man.*

niedan [-e-, -y-], *compel, force:*

Mk. 6.45: Ða sona he *nydde* his *leorningcnihtas* on scyp *stigan* = Et statim *coegit discipulos* suos *adscendere* navim. Cf. p. 166 below.

3. Verbs of Sense Perception: —

behealdan [bi-], *behold, see:*

Ælf. Hom. II. 32^{m}: Ðæt folc *beheold* ðone *broðer standan* buton . . . cwacunge.

gefelan, *feel, perceive:*

Bede 156.32: ne wiste he *hwæt* he *gefelde* cealdes æt his sidan *licgan* = 130.30: *sensit* nescio *quid* frigidi suo lateri *adiacere.*

Wærf. 236.1: ða semninga *gefeldon* hi an *swyn yrnan* hider 7 ðider = 288 B: *porcum . . . discurrere senserunt.*

gehawian, *see:*

Wærf. 250.26: ða ða hi *naht* ne *gehawedon flowan* ðæs eles = 305 C: Cumque illi ex olivis *oleum defluere* non *cernerent.*

gehieran [-e-, -y-], *hear:*

Beow. 786, 787: anra gehwylcum ðara ðe of wealle wop *gehyrdon* gryreleoð *galan* godes *andsacan*, sigeleasne sang, sar *wanigean hellehæfton.*

Gen. 508$^{a, b}$: ic *gehyrde hine* ðine dæd and word *lofian* on his leohte and ymb ðin lif *sprecan.*

Chr. 797, 798: *gehyreð Cyning mæðlan*, rodera Ryhtend, *sprecan* reðe word.

El. 443$^{a, b}$: Gif . . . ðu *gehyre* ymb ðæt . . . treo *frode frignan* 7 geflitu *ræran.*

Ju. 629: *gehyrde* heo hearm *galan* helle *deofol.*

Bede 400.18: ða *geherde* ic ðone *biscop* . . . *cweoðan* = 290.8: *audiui illum . . . dicentem.*

Wærf. 117.22: *gehyrde* ðone *hlisan weaxan* = B. 148 A^{3}: Cumque . . . *conspiceret* . . . conversationis illius *opinionem crescere.*

Bl. Hom. 15.15: Sum blind ðearfa . . . *gehyrde* myccle *menigo* him beforan *feran.*

Pr. Gu. XX. 75: ic ðe *gehyrde sprecan* on æfenne and on ærenmergen = *te loquentem* vespere et mane *audiebam.*

Ælf. Hom. II. 518$^{t 3}$: Hwæt ða *gehyrdon* gehwilce on life halige *englas singan* on his forðsiðe.

Ælf. L. S. XXXI. 80: *gehyrde* . . . martinus ðone *hælend clypian* to his . . . englum.

Mk. 14.58: Soðes we *gehyrdon hine secgan* = Quoniam nos *audivimus eum dicentem.*

geseon, *see:*

Beow. 1517: fyrleoht *geseah*, blacne *leoman* beorhte *scinan.*

Gen. 548: ðær he ðæt *wif geseah*, on eorðrice Euan *stondan.*

Ex. 104: forð gesawon lifes *latðeow* liftweg *metan.*

Dan. 553: wundor . . ., ðæt ðu *gesawe* ðurh swefen *cuman.*

Chr. 498: *Gesegon* hi on heahðu *Hlaford stigan.*

El. 1111: leode *gesawon* hire *willgifan* wundor *cyðan.*

Gu. 28$^{a, b}$: *gesihð* he ða *domas* dogra gehwylce *wonian* and *wendan.*

Rid. 69.1: Ic ða wiht *geseah* on weg *feran.*

Bede 102.32: ða *geseah* he . . . *sacerdas* . . . sundor *stondan* = 84.7: Cumque . . . *uideret sacerdotes* . . . *consistere.* — *Ib.* 112.8$^{a, b}$: Mid ðy heo . . . *gesegon* ðone *biscop* mæssan onsymbelnesse *mærsian* . . . 7 . . . husl *sellan* = 91.10, 11: Cumque *uiderent pontificem, celebratis* . . . missarum *sollemniis*, eucharistam *dare.* — *Ib.* 128.16: ða *geseah* he . . . sumne *mon* wið his *gongan* = 108.22: *uidit* . . . *adpropinquantem* sibi *hominem.* — *Ib.* 430.31: seo denu . . ., ðe ðu gesawe egeslice *beon* = 308.11 Uallis illa, quam *aspexisti* . . . *horrenda* . . ., ipse est locus.

Boeth. 97.18: ic ðæt lytle *leoht geseah twinclian* = 0. — *Ib.* 111.13: *Ða* we *gesioð sittan* on ðam . . . heahsetlum = 95.1: *Quos uides sedere.*

Greg. 255.24, 25: Đæt wæs forđæmđe se assa *geseah* đone *engel* ongean hine *standan*, & him đæs færeltes *forwiernan* = 194.5: Prohibitione quippe *immorata* asina Angelum *videt*.

Oros. 162.6, 7: mon *geseah weallan blod* of eorđan 7 *rinan meolc* of heofonum = 163.5: *sanguis* e terra, *lac* visum est *manare* de coelo.

Pr. Ps. 48.8: đonne he *gesyhđ* đa *welegan* and đa *weoruldwisan sweltan* = 48.11: cum *viderit sapientes morientes*.

Wærf. 95.15: ac đa đa he *geseah* manige *men gan* = B. 126 A: Sed cum in eis *multos ire* per abrupta vitiorum *cerneret*. — *Ib.* 116.15: đa *ylcan* ic *geseah* me upp *gelædan* of đam wætere = B. 146 C: *ipsum* me ex aquis *educere considerabam*.

Bened. 25.20: đylæs đe God . . . *us geseo* bugende to yfele and to nahte *gehweorfan* = 50.18: ne *nos* declinantes in malo, et inutiles *factos* . . . *aspiciat*.

Bl. Hom. 187.34: nu git *geseođ hine* geond heofenas *feran*.

Pr. Gu. IX. 8: đa *geseah* he đone *hrefen* đa cartan *beran* = volantem *alitem* chartulam in ore suo *portantem prospicit*.

Mart. 16.25: Antonius *geseah* đæs Paules *sawle* . . . *stigan* to heofonum.

Ælf. Hom. I. 42^{b}: Đa *geseah* heo đæt *cild licgan* on binne. — *Ib.* I. 48^{b} ^{2}: Se eadiga Stephanus *geseah Crist standan*.

Ælf. L. S. 64.242: Đa *geseah* se biscop . . . *Marian cuman*. — *Ib.* XXVII. 92: gesawon . . . *rode* . . . đær *scinan*.

Ælf. Hept.: *Gen.* 28.12^{a}: Đa *geseah* he on swefne *standan* ane *hlædre* = *Viditque* in somnis *scalam stantem* super terram. — *Gen.* 37.25: hig *gesawon* twegen . . . *men cuman* of Galaad = *viderunt* . . . *viatores venire* de G. — *Gen.* 41.2: him đuhte đæt he *gesawe gan* upp . . . seofon fægre *oxan* = *ascendebant* septem boves.

Gosp.: *Mat.* 20.3: he *geseah* ođre on stræte idele *standan* = *vidit alios stantes* in foro otiosos. — *L.* 21.1: he *geseh* đa *welegan* hyra lac *sendan* on đone sceoppan = *vidit* eos qui *mittebant* munera sua in gazophylacium, divites.

Wulf. 187.11$^{a, b}$: we dæghwamlice *geseođ* beforan urum eagum ure đa *nehstan feallan* and *sweltan*.

hieran [-e-, -y-], *hear:*

Beow. 1346: Ic đæt londbuend *leode* mine selerædende *secgan hyrde*, đæt etc.

El. 241: Ne *hyrde* ic siđ ne ær on egstreame *idese lædan* . . . mægen fægrre.

Ju. 1: we đæt *hyrdon hæleđ eahtian* . . . đætte etc.

Bede 190.1: he *hine* . . . *herde secgan* = 152.15: *eum audierit* . . . *narrare*.

Chron. 258^{m}, 1127 E^{b}: đa muneces *herdon* đa *horn blawen* (*sic!*).

ofseon, *see:*

Ælf. Hom. II. 508^{m}: đa *ofseah* he feorran đa *hæđenan ferian* an lic to eorđan.

sceawian, *see:*

Wærf. 206.27$^{a, b}$: đonne đe he *sceawađ* đa *godan fremian* 7 *weaxan* to Godes wuldre = 252 C^{1}: *bonos cernit enitescere* ad gloriam.

seon, *see:*

Rid. 32.3: Ic *seah* sellic *đing singan* on ræcede.

Mart. 2.18, 19: manig *seah meoloc rinnan* of heofonum ond *lamb spæcan* on mennisc gecynde. — *Ib.* 144.4: ac đurh đa wundor đe he *seah Sebastianum don* he onfeng fulwihte.

4. Verbs of Mental Perception: —

æteawan, *show:*

Bede 84.2: ða *æteawde* he ðær *synne weosan* = 59.4: *culpam esse demonstrauit.*

afindan, *find:*

A. S. Hom. & L. S. I. 9.364: se *afunde* his *hlaford licgan* heafodleasne.

eowan, *show:*

Wærf. 200.14: he *eowde hine* sylfne . . . on gebede *standan* = 244 C^4: qui *se* tribus diebus et noctibus *orare* ante oculos hominum *demonstraret.*

findan, *find:*

Beow. 119: *Fand* ða ðær inne æðelinga *gedriht swefan* æfter symble.

Jul. 364: ðær ic *hine finde* ferð *staðelian* to Godes willan, ic beo gearo sona etc.

Jud. 278: *funde* ða on bedde blacne *licgan* his *goldgifan.*

Oros. 128.14: *funde hiene* ænne be wege *licgan*, mid sperum tosticad, healfcucne = 129.12: *invenit* in itinere solum *relictum* confossum vulneribus.

Ælf. Hom. I. 452^{4}: *funde* his spere *standan* mid blode begleddod.

L. 19.32: *fundon* . . . ðone *folan standan* = *invenerunt* . . . *stantem pullum.*

geacsian [-ah-], *learn by asking:*

Bl. Hom. $109.2^{a, b}$: manig *yfel* we *geaxiað* her on life *gelomlician* & *wæstmian.*

Wulf. 2.2, 5: we ða *geacsodon* be ðam heofonlican eðle, and we *geacsodon* his *geceasterwaran beon* godes englas, and we *geacsodon* ðæra engla *geferan beon* ða gastas soðfæstra . . . manna.

gecyðan, *make known:*

Wærf. 137.7: to ðan ðæt he *gecyðde hine sylfne cunnan*, hwylce wæren Godes gestihtunge = B. 166 A: ut *se ostenderet nosse* quæ Dei sunt.

gefrignan, *learn by inquiry:*

Beow. 2695: Ða ic æt ðearfe *gefrægn* ðeodcyninges andlongne *eorl* ellen *cyðan.*

Gen. 2060: Ða ic *neðan gefrægn* under nihtscuwan *hæleð* to hilde.

Ex. 99: Ða ic on morgen *gefrægn* modes *rofan hebban* herebyman hludan stefnum.

Dan. 1, 2, 3: *Gefrægn* ic *Hebreos* eadge *lifgean* in H., goldhord *dælan*, cyningdom *habban.*

Chr. 79: Ne we soðlice *swylcne gefrugnan* in ærdagum æfre *gelimpan.*

And. 1706: Ða ic *lædan gefrægn leoda* weorode leofne lareow to lides stefnan.

Jud. 8, 9: *Gefrægen* ic ða *Holofernus* winhatan *wyrcean* georne, and eallum wundrum ðrymlic *girwan* up swæsendo.

Har. 161: Ða ic *gongan gefregn gingran* ætsomne ealle to Galileam.

gehatan, *promise:*

Bede 122.34: *geheht hine* sylfne deofolgildum *wiðsacan* = 99.25: *promisit* se, *abrenuntiatis idolis*, Christo seruiturum. — *Ib.* 316.29: se ðe *hine gehatende wæs* mid us eac *wunian* = 243.22: qui *se* nobiscum . . . *manere pollicetur.* — *Ib.* 394.27: ic . . . *mec gehet* wedlum ælmessan *sellan* = 287.15: *promittens* . . . *me* elimosynas . . . *dare.*

gehyhtan [-i-], *hope:*

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 557: ic to soðan *gehihte me ætstandan.*

geliefan [-e-, -y-], *believe:*

Wærf. 207.25: *gelyfað* we gewislice *ðæt beon* hefige synne 7 myccle = 253 B: Nun*quidnam* valde grave *esse credimus* etc.?

gemetan, *meet, find:*

And. 145: Hie . . . *gemetton* . . . haligne *hæle bidan* beadurofne. — *Ib.* 1062: oððæt he *gemette* be mearcpaðe *standan* stræte neah *stapul* ærenne.

Bede 386.3: *gemaetton* we . . . nænig *hyht* hælo in us to lafe *stondan* = 282.5: *inuenimus* . . . nullamque *spem* nobis in nobis *restare* salutis. — *Ib.* 398.19: Ðæs biscopes lif . . . ic *gemette* biscobwyrðe *beon* = 289.12: *Uitam* . . . illius . . . episcopo *dignam conperi.*

Boeth. 61.18: he *hine gemette sittan* on . . . scridwæne = 58.7: Catullus licet in curuli *Nonium sedentem* struman tamen appellat.

Greg. 415.23: Sihhem . . . geniedde . . . Dinan, ða he *hie gemette* swa *wandrian.* Swa deð se dioful ðæt mod ðæt he gemet on unnyttum sorgum: he hit awiert (*sic!*) = 336.22: Quam Sichem . . . opprimit: quia videlicet *inventam* in curis exterioribus diabolus corrumpit.

Chron. 124ᵇ, 982 C: ða *gemette* he . . . mycele *fyrde cuman* up of sæ.

Wærf. 99.23: ða *gemette* he *hine lutian* in anum scræfe = B. 130 B: *eum*que *latere* in specu *reperit.*

Bl. Hom. 237.18: hie ðær *gemetton* seofon *hyrdas standan.*

Pr. Gu. XX. 49: ða *gemette* he *hine hl onian* on ðam hale his cyrcan = *invenitque eum* recumbentem in angulo oratorii sui.

Mart. 112.5: ða *gemette* heo sume dæge ðær ute *standan* twegen godes *ðeowas.*

Ælf. Hom. I. 502ᵐ: æt nextan *hine gemette standan* uppon ðam cnolle.

Ælf. L. S. XXXIII. 185: *gemette hine* . . . on eorðan *licgan.*

gemittan, *meet, find:*

Gen. 2426: Hie ða æt burhgeate *beorn gemitton* sylfne *sittan.*

Spirit of Men 46: Nu ðu cunnan meaht, gif ðu ðyslicne *ðegn gemittest wunian* in wicum.

gemunan, *remember, recall:*

Bede 322.19: ic *gemon mec* . . . *beran* . . . ða . . . byrðenne = 246.9: *me memini* . . . pondera *portare.*

Wærf. 281.9: be ðon eac ic *geman me sylfne secgan* = 341 B²: Unde in Homiliis quoque Evangelii jam *narrasse me memini.* — *Ib.* 283.1: ic *gemune* . . . *me sylfne secgan* = 344 B: In eisdem quoque Homiliis rem *narrasse me recolo.*

Ælf. Hom. I. 48ᵐ: forði *gemunde* swiðe gedafenlice ðæt godcunde gewrit, mannes *Sunu standan* æt Godes swiðran.

getriewan [-eo-], *trust, hope:*

Bede 190.30: ne *getreowe me onfoende beon* = 153.14: *me accepturum esse confidam.*

gewitan, *perceive, observe:*

And. 802ᵃ: *geweotan* ða ða witigan ðry *modige* mearcland *tredan.*

læran, *teach:*

Bede 460.3: bodedon 7 *lærdon* ænne *willan* 7 ane *wyrcnesse beon* on Drihtne = 326.27: qui unam in Domino . . . *uoluntatem* atque *operationem dogmatizabant.*

A. S. Hom. & L. S. II. 14.108ᵃ·ᵇ: God *us læreð fæstan* and ælmessan *syllan* earmum mannum.

L. 11.1: *lær us* us *gebiddan* = *doce nos orare.*

onfindan, *find:*

Beow. 2842: gif he wæccende *weard onfunde buon* on beorge.

ongietan, *understand, perceive:*

Beow. 1432: bearhtm *ongeaton, guðhorn galan.*

Bede 178.32: ða *ongeat* he *hwæthwugu* . . . in ðære stowe *beon* = 146.12: *intellexit aliquid* . . . *inesse.* — *Ib.* 266.27: Gif . . . ðu . . . *werod ongete* ofer us . . . *cuman* = 209.30: Si . . . *superuenire coetus cognouisti.*

Wærf. 74.20: swa myccle ma he *ongæt* him ongæn *standan* in anum lichaman ðæt *weorod* = 201 B[5]: contra se *assistere* legionis *aciem inuenit.* — *Ib.* 130.6: swa mycclum swa he *hine sylfne* ma *ongæt* æfweardne *agyltan* beforan . . . eagum Benedictes = B. 160 A[3]: quanto *se cognovit* etiam absentem in Benedicti Patris oculis *deliquisse.* — *Ib.* 139.14: ða ðe ic ðe *ongæt secgan* = B. 139 C: quæ *te dixisse cognovi.*

taligan, *consider, account:*

Alex. 39[a, b]: Nu ic hwæðre gehyhte and gelyfe ðæt ðu ðas ðing ongete swa ðu *me* ne *talige* owiht *gelpan* and *secgan* be ðære micelnisse ures gewinnes and compes.

tellan, *tell, consider:*

Bede 82.4: ne *tellað* we synne *weosan gesinscipe* = 57.29: Nec haec dicentes culpam *deputamus esse coniugium.*

wenan,[1] *hope:*

Bede 430.24: Mid ðy ic *unc wende inngongende beon* = 308.4: in cuius amoenitatem loci cum *nos intraturos sperarem.*

Wærf. 181.25: ne *wene* ic ne ðysne *wer* swa mycelre geearnunge swa swiðe *beon* ðissere worulde man = 220 B[3]: nam hunc tanti meriti *virum* . . . *esse* non *suspicor.*

Ælf. Hom. I. 590[b]: ðæt ðu *wenst me* for tintregum ðe *geopenian* ða godcundan gerynu.

witan, *know:*

Ju. 92: ðær he glædmod *geonge wiste* wic *weardian.*

Gu. 1312: se ðe his *mondryhten* life bilidenne last *weardian wiste* wine leofne.

And. 183: Ðær ic *seomian wat* ðinne *sigebroðor.*

Rid. 50.1: Ic *wat* eardfæstne anne *standan* deafne *dumban.*

Wids. 102: hwær ic under swegle selast *wisse* goldhrodene *cwen* giefe *bryttian.*

Bede 36.17: ðonne *wite* ðu *me* cristene *beon* = 19.19: *Christianum* iam *me esse* . . . *cognosce.* — *Ib.* 408.21: Ðara cynna *monig* he *wiste* in Germanie *wesan* = 296.13: quarum in Germania plurimas *nouerat esse nationes.*

Læce. 105.32: ðær ðu *wite elenan standan.*

5. Verbs of Declaring: —

I quote all the examples observed by me: —

cweðan, *say, declare:*

Wærf. 203.25: hwæt *cweðe* wit *ðis beon?* = 248 D: Quidnam, quæso te, *hoc esse dicimus?*

foresecgan, *foretell, predict:*

Bede 406.21: Ðone . . . riim wintra *hiene hæbbende beon*, he . . . *foresægde* = 294.23: quem *se* numerum annorum *fuisse habiturum* . . . *praedicere* solebat.

ondettan, *confess, declare:*

Bede 84.17: ær ðon Dauit *ondete heo* fram wiifum clæne *beon* = 59.16: nisi prius *mundos eos* Dauid a mulieribus *fateretur.*

[1] Gorrell, *l. c.*, p. 386, holds that in *Beow.* 933 we have an accusative with an infinitive after *wenan*, but, with most translators of the poem, I take *me* to be dative.

secgan, *say, relate:*

Bede 340.20, 22: hire sægde . . . *Hilde* . . . of worulde *geleoran* 7 . . . to . . . leohte . . . *astigan* = 257.24, 27: *nuntiauit* matrem . . . *Hild* . . . *migrasse* . . . et . . . *ascendisse.*

L. 24.23: engla gesihðe, ða *secgað hine lybban* = qui *dicunt eum vivere.*

6. Other Verbs: habban, *have,* and **todælan**, *divide:*

Ælf. Hom. II. 440[m]: Seo swuster *hi* wolde *habban* to hire *bysegan.*

Oros. 46.16, 17, concerning which see Chapter XII, pp. 169 ff.

II. INFLECTED.

Occasionally we seem to have an inflected infinitive as the quasi-predicate of an accusative subject. As indicated below, some of the examples admit of other explanations; but a few of them seem to me to belong here. I discuss the cases under the same general groups as I did the uninflected predicative infinitive. The examples occur in the prose texts only.

Under **Verbs of Causing** we have **don**, *make, cause,* and its compound, **gedon**, *make, cause.* The verbs of compelling (*geniedan, neadian, niedan,* etc.) might be put here, but the infinitive after them seems to me consecutive rather than predicative: see Chapter XII. I give all the examples that I have observed: —

don, *make, cause:*

Bede 334.18[a]: heo . . . leornunge . . . gewreota . . . 7 . . . weorcum hire *underðeodde dyde to bigongenne* = 254.18: Tantum lectioni . . . scripturarum suos uacare *subditos,* tantum operibus iustitiae se *exercere faciebat.*

Greg. 357.5: Swa hwa swa urum wordum & gewritum hieran nylle, *do* hit mon *us to witanne* = 276.10: Si quis non obedit verbo nostro per epistolam, hunc *notate* (or final? see *Oros.* 126.131 under *gedon* below).

Chron. 257[m], 1127 E[a]: se ilce Heanri *dide* ðone *king to understandene* ðæt he hæfde læten his abbotrice. — *Ib.* 259[t], 1128 E: He *dide* ðone *king to understanden* (*sic!*) ðæt he wolde . . . forlæten ðone minstre.

gedon, *make, cause:*

Oros. 126.31: Genoh sweotollice *us gedyde* nu *to witanne* Alexander hwelce ða hæðnan godas sindon to weorðianne, ðæt etc. = 0. [Or is *us* dative, as is claimed by Mätzner, *l. c.,* III, p. 12, who compares the New High German *Ich thue Dir zu wissen?* The examples of the infinitive after *don* given above argue for the accusative and the predicative infinitive, but the following example from *Cato* 10 argues for the dative and the final infinitive: Ðonne ðu eald sie and manegra ealdra cwidas and lara geaxod hæbbe, *gedo* hie ðonne ðam *geongum to witanne.* Likewise, the following passage from Otfrid argues for the dative and the final infinitive: I, 17, 48: *duet* ouh thanne iz mir *zi wizzanne.* See Chapter XVI, section x, and cf. Wülfing,[2] *l. c.,* II, p. 209; De Reul, *l. c.,* p. 131; and Kenyon, *l. c.,* p. 103.]

Verbs of Mental Perception: —

findan, *find.*
gereccan, *direct.*
læran, *teach.*
tæcan, *teach.*

The examples in full follow: —

findan, *find:*

Ælf. L. S. XXXI. 980: Ða comon his geferan and *fundon hine licgenne* (*sic!*) on blodigum limum and tobeatenum lichaman.

gereccan, *direct:*

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 76: god . . . *us gerecce* ða weorc *to begangenne* ðe him licige (or final?).

læran, *teach:*

Bede 100.28: ðæt he Cristes geoc bere *7 eow lære to beorenne* = 83.1: quia iugum Christi et ipse portet, et uobis *portandum offerat* (or final?). — *Ib.* 226.27: he . . . *heo lærde to healdanne* regollices liifes ðeodscipe = 173.11: *disciplinam* uitae regularis . . . *custodiri* docuit. — *Ib.* 472.6: ðara ðinga, ðe he *oðre lærde to donne*, he sylfa wæs se wilsumesta fylgend 7 læstend = 346.27: et eorum, quae *agenda docebat*, erat exsecutor deuotissimus (or final?).

Bl. Hom. 131.32: To eow cymeð Halig frofre Gast, . . . se *eow* ealle ðing *læreð to donne.*

tæcan, *teach:*

Boeth. 149.21: *tæc me* ðinne willan *to wyrcenne* = 0 (or final?).

Hept.: Pref. to Gen. 24.19: Crist . . . and his apostolas *us tæhton* ægðer *to healdenne.* — Cf. Zeitlin,[1] *l. c.*, p. 50.

Of **Verbs of Declaring** only one word is found in this construction, **foresecgan**, *foretell, predict*, in *Wærf.* 10.22: Hu Bonefatius *foresæde to sweltenne* ðone *cimbalglíwere* = 0; which is repeated on p. 61.20 = 192 C: 0.

Once, in *Luke* 1.73, we have an inflected infinitive with accusative subject, and the infinitive phrase is in apposition to a noun: he alysde us of urum feondum . . ., mildheortnesse to wyrcenne mid urum fæderum, and gemunan (*sic!*) his halegan cyðnesse: *hyne* us *to syllenne* ðone að ðe he urum fæder Abrahame swor = Sicut locutus est per os sanctorum . . . prophetarum ejus: salutem ex inimicis nostris . . . ad faciendam misericordiam cum patribus nostris, et memorari testamenti sui sancti: jusjurandum quod juravit ad Abraham patrem nostrum, *daturum se* nobis. The inflected infinitive is evidently caused by the future of the Latin, *daturum*, and is used to denote futurity.

Note. — *Other Supposed Examples of the Inflected Infinitive Used Predicatively* have been suggested. Mätzner, *l. c.*, III, p. 31, apparently would put here *Pr. Ps.* 34.13 (*gebigde* min mod *to fæstenne* = humiliabam *in jejunio* animam meam) and *Ælf. Hom. I.* 114[1] (ðæt se . . . God nænne *mann* ne *neadað to syngigenne*), but I have put both under the consecutive use. Stoffel, *l. c.*, p. 53, thinks that in *Mat.* 17.4 (god ys us her *to beonne* = bonum est *nos* hic *esse*) we have an accusative with a predicative inflected infinitive, but to me it seems more probable that *us* is a dative and that the infinitive is subjective: see Chapter I, p. 12 above; and cf. De Reul, *l. c.*, pp. 136–137; Zeitlin,[1] *l. c.*, p. 115. It may be that in *Mat.* 8.21[a] we have an accusative with a predicative inflected infinitive after *aliefan*, but I believe that the pronoun is dative and that the infinitive is objective: see p. 46 above.

Differentiation of the Two Infinitives.

The foregoing statistics make clear that the predicative infinitive with accusative subject is normally uninflected in Anglo-Saxon. Of the possible examples of the inflected infinitive used predicatively above given, several, as there indicated, may be considered final rather than predicative in sense; several (after *læran*) are in translation of a Latin gerund or gerundive; several occur after a verb (*tæcan*) denoting tendency, with which we should expect the

inflected infinitive; two (after *foresecgan*) are probably due to the desire to denote futurity, as one other (*Luke* 1.73[t], translating a Latin future participle) undoubtedly is, for, as Ælfric, *l. c.*, 246, tells us, the denotation of futurity is one function of the inflected infinitive. The clearest cases occur in the later *Chronicle* and in Ælfric, by which time the distinction between the two infinitives had begun to break down appreciably.

B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

The passive infinitive with accusative subject as object of active verbs is very rare in Anglo-Saxon, only about 52 examples having been found. It is almost unknown in the poems, only two examples having been found (with *lætan:* see below).

Verbs of Commanding: —

bebeodan, *command.* **hatan,** *command.*
biddan, *request.*

The examples in full are: —

bebeodan, *command:*

Bede 14.13: *bebead deofolgyld beon toworpene* = 0. — 172.9: *bebead* ðæt feowertiglice *fæsten healden beon* = 142.8[b]: *ieunium* xl dierum *obseruari . . . praecepit.*

biddan, *request:*

Bede 38.31: *bæd . . .* Albanus fram Gode him *wæter seald beon* to sumre his ðenunge = 21.1: Albanus *dari* sibi a Deo *aquam rogavit.*

hatan, *command:*

Bede 18.2: mid . . . gewritum 7 stæfcraftum *hi* georne *het beon gelærede* = 204.11: *coeperint* studiis *imbui.*

Wærf. 194.18: ða *het* he ðysne biscop *beon gelæded* to ðære stowe = 237 B[1]: *hunc . . . jussit deduci.*

Verbs of Causing and Permitting: —

don, *make, cause.* **lætan,** *allow.*
forlætan, *allow.*

The examples in full are: —

don, *make, cause:*

Wulf. 196.2: *sæ* he *deð* on lytelre hwile *beon* ungemetlice . . . *astyrode.*

forlætan, *allow:*

Bl. Hom. 33.11: se *hine sylfne forlet* from deofles leomum & from yflum mannum *beon* on rode *ahangenne.*

A. S. Hom. & L. S. II. 18.237: ða ne *forlet* ðære lyfte smyltnes [ænig *ðing*] *wesan gederede.*

lætan, *allow:*

Gen. 2194: Ne *læt* ðu ðin *ferhð wesan* sorgum *asæled.*

Gu. 1235: nelle ic *lætan ðe* æfre unrotne æfter ealdorlege meðne modseocne minre *geweorðan soden* sorgwælmum.

Wærf. 294.6: his gecorenan, *ða* ðonne hwæðre he ne *læteð* na *beon forholene* æfter deaðe = 356 A[2]: *quos* non . . . *patitur celari.*

Ælf. L. S. 250.215: *læt me beon geteald* to heora getele. — *Ib.* XXX. 443: *læt hi beon* her atgædere *gelede.*

Mk. 7.27ª: *Læt* ærust ðа *bearn beon gefylled* = *Sine* prius *saturari filios.*

Læce. 101.12: bewreoh ðæt *wif* wel 7 *læt beon* swa *beclæmed* lange tide.

Verbs of Sense Perception: —

gefelan, *feel, perceive.* **geseon,** *see.*
gehieran, *hear.*

Typical examples are: —

gefelan, *feel, perceive:*

Bede 378.24: ðа *gefelde* he his *lichoman . . . geslægene beon* = 278.14: *sensit dimidiam* corporis . . . langore *depressam.*

gehieran [1] [-e-, -y-], *hear:*

Bede 310.4: *gehyrde* Theodor ðone *geleafan . . . gedrefde* (*sic!*) *beon* = 238.28: *audiens* Theodorus *fidem . . .* multum *esse turbatam.*

Chad. 112: ðа *geherde* he . . . ðone ilcan blisse *song* upp astigan 7 ðy wege ðe he com to hefonum *beon gecerredne* mid . . . swetnisse.

geseon, *see:*

Bede 24.4: *geseah* him fram deoflum *tobrohte beon* ðа *boc* = 311.1: *oblatum* sibi a daemonibus *codicem . . . uiderit.* — *Ib.* 34.17: mid ðy ðe he *hine* ðа *geseah* on . . . gebedum 7 wæccum . . . *beon abysgadne* = 18.16: *quem* dum orationibus . . . *studere conspiceret.* — *Ib.* 80.33: se ðe *hine gesiið hefigadne beon* = 57.23: qui *se grauari . . . uidet.* — *Ib.* 340.12: ðа *geseah* heo . . . *sawle* . . . to heofonum up *borenne* (*sic!*) *beon* = 257.16: *uidit animam . . .* ad caelum *ferri.*

Wærf. 171.22: ðа *geseah* he Germanes *sawle . . .* fram ænglum *beon borne* in ðone heofon [MS. H.: ðа *geseah* he *englas ferian* etc.] = B. 198 B³: *vidit* Germani . . . *animam . . .* in cælum *ferri.*

Verbs of Mental Perception: —

geleornian, *learn.* **gemunan,** *remember.*
geliefan, *believe.* **ongietan,** *understand.*
gemetan, *meet, find.* **tweogian,** *doubt.*

The examples in full are: —

geleornian, [2] *learn:*

Bede 90.16: edneowade . . . ðа cirican, ðe he ær geara geo *geleornade* ealde Romanisce weorce *geworhte beon* = 70.13: ecclesiam, *quam . . .* opere = *factam fuisse didicerat.*

geliefan, *believe:*

Bede 208.1: ðа *æriste* he *gelyfde* on anum ðara restedaga *beon gewordene* = 162.10: resurrectionis, *quam* una sabbati *factam . . . credebat.*

gemetan, *find:*

Bede 354.17: *nænigne . . .* ic *gemette . . . abisgodne beon* = 265.10: *neminem . . . occupatum repperi.*

Wærf. 68.24: ðа *gemette* heo hire *hwæte* ealne *beon* nealı *gedæledne* fram hire

[1] Cf. Gorrell, *l. c.*, p. 401.

[2] Cf. Gorrell, *l. c.*, p. 403. In *Bede* 404.21, cited by Dr. Gorrell as having an accusative and active infinitive, I take the infinitive to be objective.

. . . suna ðearfendum mannum = 197 B[1]: pene omne *triticum* . . . *invenit* a filio suo pauperibus *expensum.*

gemunan, *remember:*

Bede 440.24, 25, 26: ðæt we *gemundon* ðætte usse *dæde 7* usse *geðohtas* . . . in idelnesse *toflowenne,* ah . . . *gehaldene beon 7* us . . . *æteowde beon* = 313.11, 12, 13: ut *meminerimus facta* et *cogitationes* nostras non in uentum *diffluere,* sed . . . *seruari;* et . . . nobis *ostendenda.*

ongietan,[1] *understand:*

Bede 330.16: *feola* oðerra gescrepa *7* gesynta . . . he oncneow *7 ongeat* heofonlice him *forgifen weosan* = 252.3: *alia* . . . *fuisse donata intellexit.* — *Ib.* 340.14: Ða *onget* heo . . . *æteawed weosan, ðætte* heo geseah = 257.19: *intellexit* . . . *ostensum* sibi *esse quod* uiderat.

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 485: Ða ic ðas *stemne* gehyrde and for minum ðingum *ongeat beon geclypode,* ic wepende spræc.

tweogian [twygian],[2] *doubt:*

Bede 190.22[a, b]: Ne *twygeo* ic . . . *mec* . . . *gelæd beon 7* . . . *underðeoded* . . . ne *beon* = 153.5, 6: nec *dubito* . . . *me* . . . *rapiendum* ac . . . *subdendum esse.*

Verbs of Inclination and of Will: —

gefeon, *rejoice.* **willan,** *desire.*
geomrian, *lament.*

The examples in full are: —

gefeon, *rejoice:*

Bede 470.24, 25: *7 hi* swa swa niwe discipulhada ðæs eadegestan ealdres ðara apostola Sce. Petres *underðeodde beon 7* mid his mundbyrde *gescylde 7* (*sic!*) eall seo ðeod geriht *gefeah 7* blissade = 346.12[a, b]: et quasi nouo *se* discipulatui . . . Petri *subditam,* eiusque *tutandam* patrocinio gens correcta *gaudebat.*

geomrian, *lament:*

Bede 88.15: *geomrað hine* swa *gebundenne beon* = 61.23: *ligatum se* uehementer *ingemiscat.*

willan, *desire:*

Bede 322.21: ic gelyfo, ðætte me . . . seo . . . arfæstnis *wolde mec gehefigade beon* = 246.10: credo, quod . . . *me* . . . pietas . . . *uoluit grauari.*

Verbs of Declaring: —

cweðan, *say.* **secgan,** *say.*

The examples in full are: —

Bede 64.24: nænig . . . *owiht* his *beon onsundrad cwæð* = 49.1: nullus . . . *aliquid* suum *esse dicebat.*

Bede 398.15: Nis ðæt wundor to forswugianne, ðæt Herebald *sægde* from him ge *ðæt* eac swylce *geworden beon* in him selfum = 289.7: Heribald in se ipso ab eo *factum* solet *narrare* miraculum.

We find, too, what may be considered an elliptical passive infinitive with accusative subject, made up of an accusative noun and of a past participle

[1] Cf. Gorrell, *l. c.*, p. 399.

[2] Cf. Gorrell, *l. c.*, p. 394.

after an active transitive verb; and the infinitive (*beon* or *wesan*) is understood, or, at least, it may be considered as being understood. Since in most, if not all, of the instances the supplying of the infinitive is a matter of taste rather than of necessity, I cite only a few examples, after the different groups of verbs: —

Verbs of Sense Perception: —

gehieran, *hear:*

El. 957: Sefa wæs ðe glædra, ðæs ðe heo *gehyrde* ðone *hellesceaðan oferswiðedne.*

hieran, *hear:*

And. 361: Æfre ic ne *gehyrde* ðon cymlicor *ceol gehladenne* heahgestreonum.

Verbs of Mental Perception: —

findan, *find:*

Rid. 44.7: hy gesunde æt ham *findað witode* him *wiste* and *blisse.*

geaxian, *learn by inquiry:*

Bl. Hom. 107.28: we . . . *geaxiað* . . . *deaðas* geond ðeodland to mannum *cumene.*

gefrignan, *learn by inquiry:*

Gu. 1335: se selesta . . . ðara ðe we on Engle æfre *gefrunen acennedne* ðurh cildes had gumena cynnes.

geliefan, *believe:*

Chr. 120: Nu we hyhtfulle hælo *gelyfað* ðurh ðæt Word Godes weorodum *brungen.*

getacnian, *signify:*

Mart. 104.10: mid ðy he *getacnode Crist cumenne* in ðære clænan fæmnan innoð.

ongietan, *understand:*

Greg. 211.3[a, b]: Ða *fortruwodnesse* & ða *anwilnesse* an Corinctheum Paulus *ongeat* suiðe wiðerweardne wið hine, & betweoh him selfum suiðe *aðundene* & *upahæfene* = 158.6: Unde cum proterve Paulus *Corinthios* adversum se invicem *videret inflatos.* — *Ib.* 211.22: gif we *hwæt ongietað* on him ungesceadwislices *gedoon* = 158.24: Et si qua ab eis inordinate gesta sunt, non jam tamquam *perpetrata* corripimus. — *Ib.* 295.24, 25: ðonne hie *ongietað* hwelcne *monnan gesuencedne* mid irre & mid hatheortnesse *onbærnedne* = 224.6: cum per abrupta furoris *mentem* cujuspiam *ferri conspicit.*

Ps. 61.11[b]: æne ic god spræcan gearuwe gehyrde and ðæt *treowe ongeat* tidum *gemeldad.*

witan, *know:*

Gen. 42[a, b], 43: Ða he *hit* geare *wiste* synnihte *beseald,* susle *geinnod, geondfolen* fyre.

Gu. 1327: *wat* his *sincgiefan* holdne *biheledne.*

And. 942, 943: *Wat* ic *Matheus* ðurh mænra hand *hrinen* heorudolgum, heafodmagan searonettum *beseted.*

Bl. Hom. 81.34: we *witon* eall *ðis* ðus *geworden.* — *Ib.* 85.34: ðæt ðu *wistest Crist* on rode *ahangenne.*

Verbs of Declaring: —

bodian, *announce:*

Wærf. 250.3: se *bodode* me ðone ylcan *wer forðferedne* = 305 B: quia eumdem *virum obisse nuntiavit.*

It should be added that by some it is claimed that this predicative use of the participle (and, also, of the adjective and of the noun) had much to do with the origin of the predicative infinitive with accusative subject, — a claim discussed in Chapter XIV, section viii.

AS SUBJECT.

A. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

That the accusative with an infinitive is used, though very rarely, as the subject of an impersonal verb in Anglo-Saxon, is admitted by Erckmann, *l. c.*, p. 6; by Mätzner, *l. c.*, III, p. 22; by De Reul, *l. c.*, p. 135; and by Stoffel, *l. c.*, p. 52. And what seems to me a clear example of the passive infinitive so used in Anglo-Saxon (*Bede* 338.11[a, b]), is given by Mätzner, and is copied by Dr. Stoffel. But, in his recent *The Accusative with Infinitive*, p. 167, Dr. Zeitlin denies the existence of this construction in Anglo-Saxon: "The use of a substantive with infinitive as the subject of a neuter or impersonal verb . . . is not found at all in Old English [= Anglo-Saxon]." Below I give all the clearer examples that I have observed of this construction, with both active and passive infinitive. Although, as indicated, some of the examples are doubtful, and although the total number of clear examples is not large, it is sufficient, I believe, to establish the existence of the idiom in Anglo-Saxon. As is evident from my examples, the use of this idiom in Anglo-Saxon is due to the influence of the Latin originals.

gebyrian, *be fitting:*

Gosp.: — *Mat.* 17.10: Hwæt secgeað ða boceras ðæt *gebyrige* ærest *cuman Heliam?* = Quid ergo scribæ dicunt quod *Eliam oporteat* primum *venire.* — *Mk.* 8.31[b, c]: Ða ongan he hi læran ðæt mannes *Sunu gebyreð* fela ðinga *ðolian*, and beon aworpen fram ealdormannum . . . and beon ofslegen, and . . . *arisan* = Et cœpit docere eos quoniam *oportet Filium* hominis *pati* multa, et reprobari a senioribus . . . et occidi; et . . . *resurgere.* — *L.* 13.33: Ðeah hwæðere *me gebyreð* to dæg and to morgen and ðy æfteran dæge *gan* = Verumtamen *oportet me holdie* et cras et sequenti die *ambulare* (or is *me* dative and *gan* subjective?). *L.* 24.46[a, b]: ðus *gebyrede Crist ðolian*, and ðy ðriddan dæge of deaðe *arisan* = sic *oportebat Christum pati*, et *resurgere* a mortuis tertia die. [In his 1893 edition of *The Gospel of Saint Luke in Anglo-Saxon*, Professor J. W. Bright has, in 24.46, *Criste*, dative, instead of *Crist*, accusative. Three manuscripts have the accusative, while only one has the dative here.]

gedafenian, *be fitting:*

Mat. 3.15: ðus *unc gedafenað* ealle rihtwisnesse *gefyllan* = sic enim *decet nos implere* omnem justitiam (or is *unc* dative and *gefyllan* subjective?).

Possible, but not probable, examples of the active infinitive with accusative, as subject of a finite verb (impersonal), are found in the following passages, the infinitives in which seem to me rather subjective than predicative, and have accordingly been put in Chapter I, pp. 15, 16, and 17: after *gebyrian*, *Mat.* 18.33, *L.* 11.42[b], 12.12; after *gedafenian*, *Bede* 342.18; *L.* 4.43; after *lician*, *Bede* 276.12. See, too, p. 73 above, the comment on *healdan.*

Once we have the inflected infinitive with accusative subject as subject of a passive verb, in the *Chronicle* 252[b], 1123 E[c]: ðæt wæs forðan ðæt hit *wæs don* ðone *pape to understanden* (*sic!*) ðæt he hæfde etc.

B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

The passive infinitive with accusative subject as subject of an active verb is found a few times (7 in all) with the following verbs: —

gebyrian, *be fitting:*

Gosp.: Mk. 8.31[d, g], already quoted on p. 124 above under *Mk.* 8.31[b, c]. — *Mk.* 13.10: And on ealle ðeoda ærest *gebyrað beon* ðæt *godspel gebodud* = Et in omnes gentes primum *oportet prædicari evangelium.* — *L.* 24.47: ðus *gebyrede* Crist ðolian, and ðy ðriddan dæge of deaðe arisan; and *beon bodud* on his naman *dædbote* and synna *forgyfenesse* on ealle ðeoda = sic *oportebat* Christum pati, et resurgere a mortuis tertia die; et *prædicari* in nomine ejus *pœnitentiam*, et *remissionem* peccatorum in omnes gentes.

gedafenian, *be fitting:*

Bede 294.11: ðætte swelces modes *wer* ma *gedafonade beon* to biscope *gehalgad*, ðonne cyning wære = 225.24: quia talis animi *uirum* episcopum magis quam regem *ordinari deceret.*

lician, *be pleasing:*

Bede 338.11[a, b]: ða *licede* ðæm . . . foreseonde . . . ða . . . *sawle* . . . *ademde* 7 *asodene beon* = 256.14: *placuit* . . . prouisori . . . *animam* . . . *examinari.*

Once we have a passive infinitive with accusative subject as subject of a passive verb, in *Bede* 70.32: ðy læs on him *gesegen sy* ða *ðing onwrecen beon*, in ðæm heo ðurh unwisnesse gesyngodon ær fulwihtes bæðe = 51.24: ne in eis *illa ulcisci uideantur*, in quibus se per ignorantiam ante lauacrum baptismatis adstrinxerunt.

For the predicative infinitive with accusative subject in the other Germanic languages, see Chapter XVI, section viii.

Occasionally in Early West Saxon and frequently in Late West Saxon, the predicative infinitive with accusative subject is supplanted by the predicative present participle with accusative subject, and *I heard her sing* becomes *I heard her singing*, — a topic discussed in Chapter XV.

NOTES.

1. *Ambiguous Infinitives.* — It may be that, in *Mat.* 8.21[b] (Drihten, *alyfe me* ærest to farenne and *bebyrigean* minne fæder = Domine, permitte *me* primum ire, et *sepelire* patrem meum) and in *Luke* 9.59 (*alyf me* æryst *bebyrigean* minne fæder = permitte mihi primum ire, et sepelire patrem meum), we have an accusative and predicative infinitive, but I am inclined to believe that we have rather a dative (*me*) and an objective infinitive, for in the only instance in which we have *aliefan* followed by an infinitive plus a pronoun whose case is certain, in *Ælf. L. S.* 102.227 (*ðam alyfde* se casere heora cristendom *to healdenne*), we have the dative case. — *Me* and an infinitive occur after other verbs, but in most cases it is clear whether the accusative or the dative is intended from the construction of the verb with other pronouns or with nouns.

2. *Future Active Infinitive.* — We have a kind of future infinitive active in the following: *Bede* 406.21: Ðone . . . riim wintra *hiene hæbbende beon*, he . . . *foresægde* = 294.23: *se* numerum annorum *fuisse habiturum* . . . *prædicere* solebat; *ib.* 190.30: ne *getreowe me onfoende beon* = 153.14: me *accepturum esse confidam; ib.* 430.24: Mid ðy ic *unc wende inngongende beon* = 308.4: in cuius amoenitatem loci cum *nos intraturos sperarem.*

3. *Alternation of Participle and Infinitive.* — Occasionally we find the predicative present participle alternating with the predicative infinitive active, as in: *Bened.* 25.20: ðylæs ðe God on ænigne timan *us geseo bugende* to yfele and to nahte *gehweorfan* = 50.17: ne *nos*

declinantes in malo, et inutiles factos aliqua hora *aspiciat* Deus; *Bl. Hom.* 177.15[a, b]: mon *geseah hine* blinde *onlyhtende*, & hreofe *clænsian*.

4. *An Infinitive Phrase Introduced by "Đæt."* — Occasionally in the *Blickling Homilies* we have the infinitive phrase introduced by the conjunction *ðæt:* 217.21: Đa he ða Sanctus Martinus ðæt *geseah*, *ðæt* ða oðre *broðor* ealle swa unrote ymb ðæt lic utan *standan* (*sic!*), ðe (*sic!*) weop he & eode into him; 45.19: gif he ne *geðafað ðæt* Godes *folc* heora lif on woh *lybban* (or subjunctive?); in *Bede:* 440.24, 25: ðæt we *gemundon ðætte* usse *dæde* 7 usse *geðohtas* . . . in idelnesse *toflowenne*, ah . . . *gehaldene beon* = 313.11, 12: ut *meminerimus facta* et *cogitationes* nostras non in uentum *diffluere*, sed . . . *seruari;* and in Ælfrics's *Lives of Saints:* 108.323, 324: *Geðafa ðæt* min *modor* me *gesprecan* and sume ðreo niht on minum ræde *beon*. Cf. Note 5 to Chapter IV.

5. *Inflected Infinitive without "To."* — An inflected infinitive without *to* is found in *Ælf. L. S.* XXXI. 980, quoted on p. 119 above.

6. *The Accusative Subject of the Passive Infinitive Is to Be Supplied* in *Wærf.* 337.20[a, b]: swa ðu sylf gelomlice *gehyrdest* mid me *beon sæd* 7 *reht* be sumum halgum were = 405 C[2]: sicut *narrari* de quodam sancto viro mecum frequenter *audisti;* or one may prefer to consider the infinitive as merely objective.

7. *The Infinitive "Beon" or "Wesan" May Be Supplied* in such sentences as the following, but this is not necessary: *Greg.* 291.21,22: buton ðæt he *ongeat Titum* hwene monðwærran & geðyldigran ðonne he sceolde, & *Timotheus* (*sic!*) he ongeat hatheortran ðonne he sceolde = 220.22: nisi quod mansuetioris spiritus *Titum*, et paulo ferventioris *vidit esse* Timotheum.

8. *Position of the Accusative Subject.* — Normally the accusative subject precedes its predicative infinitive, but occasionally it follows the infinitive, in both objective and subjective phrases, as in the following passages, quoted on the pages indicated: *Gen.* 438[a] and 1439, p. 111; *Ælf. L. S.* 18.147, p. 112; *Beow.* 786 and 787, p. 113; *Oros.* 162.6, 7, p. 114; *Wærf.* 74.20, p. 117; *Mat.* 17.10, p. 124; etc.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PREDICATIVE INFINITIVE WITH DATIVE SUBJECT.

The first to suggest that in the Germanic languages, specifically in Gothic, there occurs after an impersonal verb (*wairþan*) a dative with predicative infinitive substantially identical with the well-known accusative with predicative infinitive, was Jacob Grimm, who, in his *Deutsche Grammatik*, IV, p. 131, cited the following as an example in Gothic: *Mark* 2. 23: jah *warþ þairhgaggan imma* þairh atisk = Καὶ ἐγένετο παραπορεύεσθαι αὐτὸν . . . διὰ τῶν σπορίμων. To me the infinitive here seems subjective, not predicative, and the dative seems governed by the finite verb, not to be the subject of the infinitive; but not so to Grimm: "Auf *warþ* beziehen mag ich den Dat. nicht (etwa in dem Sinn: es geschah, begegnete ihm, dass), dann würde er unmittelbar daneben stehen." Further discussion of this locution in Gothic is deferred to Chapter XVI, section ix; and the example is quoted here merely to define the idiom under discussion and, incidentally, to give a bit of its earliest history.

For the moment accepting Grimm's theory, have we such a dative-with-infinitive construction in Anglo-Saxon? True, Grimm says that not a trace of the idiom occurs in any other Germanic language besides Gothic: "In keinem andern deutschen Dialect die Spur einer solchen Construction, wie sie auch im Goth. nur nach *warþ* vorkommt." [1] But I cannot see that the dative with infinitive in the following examples differs essentially from that in the Gothic sentence above quoted: —

(1) Uninflected:

Gosp.: *Mk.* 9.47: *betere ðe is* mid anum eagan *gan* on Godes rice = 9.46: *bonum est tibi* luscum *introire* in regnum Dei. — *L.* 12.12: Halig Gast eow lærð on ðære tide ða ðing ðe *eow specan gebyrað* = Spiritus enim sanctus docebit vos in ipsa hora quid *oporteat vos dicere.* — *L.* 15.32[a. b]: *ðe gebyrede gewistfullian* and *geblissian* = *Epulari* autem et *gaudere oportebat.*[2] — *L.* 24.26[a. b]: Hu ne *gebyrede Criste* ðas ðing *ðoligean*, and swa on his wuldor *gan?* = Nonne hæc *oportuit pati Christum*, et ita *intrare* in gloriam suam? — *Pr. Gu.* V. 67, 68, 69: swa ðonne *gedafenað ðam men* [Vercelli MS.: ðane man] gelice ðurh six daga fæsten ðone gast *gefrætwian*, and ðonne ðy seofoðan dæg mete *ðicgan* and his lichaman *restan* = ita etiam *hominem decet* sex diebus per jejunii plasma spiritu *reformari*, et septimo die *comedendo* carni requiem *dare.* — *L.* 4.43 Soðlice *me gedafenað* oðrum ceastrum Godes rice *bodian* = Quia et aliis civitatibus *oportet me evangelizare* (may be accusative and infinitive).

(2) Inflected:

Mat. 19.24: *eaðelicre byð* ðam olfende *to ganne* ðurh nædle eage, ðonne se welega on heofona rice ga = *facilius est camelum* per foramen acus *transire*, quam divitem intrare in regnum cœlorum.[3] — *Mk.* 10.25: *Eaðere ys olfende to farenne* ðurh nædle ðyrel = *Facilius est camelum* per foramen acus *transire.* —

[1] Grimm, *l. c.*, IV, p. 131.

[2] Cf. Tatian's translation of the same passage, in Chapter XVI, section ix.

[3] Cf. Tatian's translation of the same passage, in Chapter XVI, section viii.

Mat. 17.4ª: *god ys us* her *to beonne* = Domine, *bonum est nos* hic *esse.*[1] — *Ælf. Hept.: Gen.* 2.18ª: *Nis* na *god* ðisum *men* ana *to wunienne* = Non *est bonum hominem esse* solum. — *Mk.* 14.31: And ðeah *me gebyrige* mid ðe *to sweltenne* = Et si *oportuerit me* simul *commori* tibi. — *L.* 11.42ª: ðas ðing *eow gebyrede to donne,* and ða ðing ne forlætan (*sic!*) = hæc autem *oportuit facere,* et illa non omittere. — *Bede* 196.17: Hwæt woldest ðu, min domne biscop, ðæt cynelice hors ðæm ðearfan syllan, ðe ðe *gedafenade* agan (*sic!*) *to habbanne* = 156.18: Quid uoluisti, domine antistes, equum regium, quem *te conueniebat* proprium *habere,* pauperi dare?

True, in the Anglo-Saxon examples, the dative usually is next to the finite verb, but at times it is not, as in *L.* 12.12; and in the examples from the Old High German, below, Chapter XVI, several times the dative is separated from the principal verb. Moreover, while Professor Streitberg emphasizes the fact that, in the examples which he cites of the Gothic dative with infinitive, " der Dativ steht fast ausnahmslos *hinter dem Infinitiv,* wie im Griech. das Subject des Akk. m. Inf.," [2] at times, as in 2 *Cor.* 7.7, cited by Professor Streitberg himself, the dative precedes the infinitive as in the Greek original the accusative precedes its infinitive; and both pre-position and postposition of the dative seem to me to result from a slavish rather than an independent handling of the original. Moreover, in our Anglo-Saxon examples the dative regularly precedes the infinitive, while in Old High German it sometimes precedes and sometimes follows it. These facts lead me to the conclusion that little, if any, significance is to be attached to the fact that the dative generally follows the infinitive in Gothic. Nor do I think that in the Gothic examples much, if any, weight is to be attached to the separation of the dative from the chief verb, since this separation, too, comes of following the order of words in Greek. Two of the chief arguments offered for setting up a genuine dative-with-infinitive construction after impersonals seem to me, therefore, considerably weakened, if not nullified.

It may be urged, however, that the above examples from Anglo-Saxon differ radically from the Gothic example in that in the latter we have a well nigh colorless word, *warþ,* translating the Greek ἐγένετο, while the chief verbs in Anglo-Saxon (*gebyrian, gedafenian,* and *beon* (*wesan*) + an adjective are more dativa1 in sense. There is a difference, to be sure, but not such as to preclude the Anglo-Saxon examples from being included in the same general category with the Gothic, I think; for the dative-with-infinitive in the Slavic languages — where the construction in question is most frequent — arose, as Miklosich [3] tells us, because of the very large number of dative-governing verbal nouns therein; — a fact of which I was not aware until I had independently come to the conclusion that, in the Anglo-Saxon examples above given, we more usually have the dative and the infinitive because of the dativa1 force of the chief verbs, a force, however, that is occasionally overcome by the translator's following the Latin original and giving us an accusative and infinitive. When we have the dative, though, we have not in Anglo-Saxon, I think, a genuine dative-with-infinitive construction: the dative depends on the chief verb, and the infinitive is subject thereto. This conclusion is rendered the more

[1] *Cf.* Tatian 185.23: *guot ist uns* hir *si weesanne* = *bonum est nobis* hic *esse* (from Denecke, *l. c.,* p. 71).

[2] Streitberg,[1] *l. c.,* p. 213.

[3] See Miklosich,[1] *l. c.,* p. 494, and Jolly, *l. c.,* p. 269; also Vondrak, *l. c.,* II, pp. 366–368, 420–422. Professor C. D. Buck, of the University of Chicago, kindly called my attention to the grammar by Vondrak.

probable, not only for Anglo-Saxon but also for Gothic, I believe, by the similar development in Old High German, especially after *gilimphan*, concerning which see Chapter XVI, section ix.

Moreover, this interpretation of the dative with the infinitive in Anglo-Saxon tallies, so far as I have been able to discover, with that given of the dative with the infinitive in Latin. In Allen and Greenough's *Latin Grammar*, § 272, a. 1, we read: "With certain impersonal verbs and expressions that take the infinitive as an apparent subject (§ 270. b), the personal subject of the action may be expressed (1) by a dative depending on the verb or verbal phrase or (2) by an accusative expressed as the subject of the infinitive. Thus: *rogant ut id sibi facere liceat* (*B. G.* i. 7), 'they ask that it be allowed them to do this;' — *si licet*[1] *vivere eum quem Sex. Naevius non volt* (*Quinct.* 94), 'if it is allowed a man to live against the will of Sextus Nævius (whom S. N. does not wish).'" The phrase, "the dative with an infinitive," occurs in but few of the Latin grammars that I have consulted, and, when it does occur, is employed, as in the Allen and Greenough *Latin Grammar*, to designate a dative that is governed by the finite verb and an infinitive that is the subject thereof. Nowhere have I found a claim, implicit or explicit, that the Latin infinitive in such locutions is genuinely predicative.

It will have been observed that, in some of the Anglo-Saxon examples above given, we have sometimes a dative and an uninflected infinitive, sometimes a dative and an inflected infinitive, and sometimes with the same verb a dative and both an inflected infinitive and an uninflected infinitive. This interchange of uninflected and of inflected infinitives has already been explained in the consideration of the Subjective Infinitive, Chapter I, pp. 20–26 above, under which head, as already implied, I have put all of the above examples. Here it remains only to add that, regardless of our attitude to the so-called dative-with-infinitive construction, our explanation of the interchange between the uninflected and the inflected subjective infinitives is strengthened, if not confirmed, by the Miklosich theory of the dative with infinitive in the Slavic languages.

So far as I have been able to discover, the phrase, "the dative with infinitive," in the sense assigned to it by Grimm, is confined in the grammars to the dative with infinitive after impersonal verbs, as illustrated in the preceding section of this chapter. But, if the phrase is to be used at all, I do not see why it should not be used with reference, also, to the dative after certain personal verbs. Note, for example, how close to the accusative with infinitive after *permitto* in the Latin *Mat.* 8.21 (Domine, *permitte me* primum *ire*, et *sepelire* patrem meum = Drihten, *alyfe me* ærest *to farenne* and *bebyrigean* (*sic!*) minne fæder) is the dative with infinitive after the same verb in *Luke* 9.59 (*permitte mihi* primum *ire*, et *sepelire* patrem meum = *alyf me* æryst *bebyrigean* minne fæder), at least as close, in my judgment, as is the dative with infinitive after the impersonal, *licet*, to the accusative with infinitive after the same, in the passages quoted above. In Anglo-Saxon, too, we have an unin-

[1] According to Zumpt, *l. c.*, § 601, *licet* is more frequently followed by a dative with an infinitive than by an accusative with an infinitive. I have found no clear example in Anglo-Saxon of *alīefan*, 'to be allowable,' 'to allow,' followed by an accusative with an infinitive; but *gebyrian* 'to happen,' 'to be fitting,' and *gedafenian*, 'to be fitting,' are followed by both the accusative with an infinitive and the dative with an infinitive. — M. C., Jr.

flected active infinitive with a dative after (1) certain verbs of Commanding (*beodan*, 'command;' *hatan*, 'command') and (2) certain verbs of Causing and Permitting (*aliefan*, 'allow;' *don*, 'make,' 'cause;' *lætan*, 'let,' 'cause'). I quote only a few examples: —

beodan: — *Chron.* 173[m], 1048 E[c]: se cyng . . . *bead heom cuman* to Gleaweceastre. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II.* 15.280[b], 281: Ða het se gerefa hio genimon (*sic!*) and *bead heom* hire claðes of *niman* and hi up *ahon* bi ðam fotum = 217.312[a, b]: Præfectus dixit: *Exspoliate* eam et in aerem *suspendite*.

hatan: — *Wærf.* 202.13: ða *het* he heora *æghwylcum gesomnian* his byrðene wyrta = 245 C[2]: Quos statim *collectis oleribus onustari* fecit. — *Mart.* 210.6, 7: ða *het* he *hym* gebindan anne ancran on his sweoran and hyne *forsendan* on sæ. — *Ælf. Hom.* I. 416[t]: Ða færlice *het* he his *gesihum* ðone biscop mid his preostum samod *geandwerdian*.

aliefan: see *Mat.* 8.21 and *L.* 9.59, as given above in connection with the comment on the Latin *permitto;* in these examples, of course, *me* may be considered accusative instead of dative, but it is more probably dative.

don: — *Chron.* 266[b], 1140 E[c]: ðe biscop . . . *dide heom cumen* ðider. — *Ib.* 262[b], 1132 E[a, b]: king . . . *dide him gyuen* up ðæt abbotrice of Burch *7 faren* ut of lande. — *Ælf. L. S.* 464.376: gif him ðyrste, ðu *do him drincan* (or is *drincan* a noun?). — *Læce.* 141.5: do sumne dæl pipores *7 do him ete* (*sic!*) ðreo snæda on nihtnyhstig.

lætan: — *Chron.* 56[b], 796 F[a, b]: Ceolwulf Myrcna cing . . . gefeng Eadberht Præn . . . *7 let him pytan* ut his eagan *7 ceorfan* of his handa. — *Ib.* 116[t], 963 E[d]: se arcebiscop . . . com ða to ðe cyng, *leot him locon* (*sic!*) ða gewrite ðe ær wæron gefunden. — *Ib.* 210[b], 1075 D[b]: se scirgerefa . . . *let him findan* mete. — *Ib.* 225[b], 1090 E: he . . . *let heom* swa *weorðan*.

Some of these examples are doubtful. But a few (those with *don* and *lætan*) admit of no other explanation than to consider that we have an infinitive with dative subject, unless we hold that at that stage in the history of the language the dative form, *him*, had already begun to supplant the accusative forms, *hine* and *hie*, — a possibility suggested by the fact that most of the clearer examples (those after *don* and, in a less degree, *lætan*) occur in the later *Chronicle* and, usually, in the later manuscripts of that work. With the verbs other than *don* and *lætan* the infinitive seems to me objective, not predicative; and the examples have been included in Chapter II. Aside from the confusion of the dative and the accusative forms of the pronouns already suggested, the dative instead of the accusative seems to be due to the fact that in some instances we have verbs (*beodan* and *lætan*) which are sometimes followed by a dative as well as by an accusative, and that in other verbs of kindred signification (*hatan*[1]) the same usage arose out of analogy.

Concerning this idiom with personal verbs in the kindred Germanic languages, see Chapter XVI, section ix.

At times, too, we have an inflected active infinitive with a dative after (1) certain verbs of Commanding (*bebeodan*, 'command;' *beodan*, 'command;' and *forbeodan*, 'forbid'); (2) one verb of Sense Perception once (*hieran*, 'hear'); and (3) certain verbs of Causing and Permitting (*aliefan*, 'allow;' *gedon*, 'cause;' *liefan*, 'allow;' and *wyrcan*, 'make,' 'cause').

[1] Cf. Zeitlin,[1] *l. c.*, p. 56.

As before, I quote only a few examples: —

bebeodan: — *Bede* 350.28: Swa hwæt swa ðu *me* onsettest *7 bebeodest to donne* = 263.25: quicquid mihi imposueris *agendum* (or, as the Latin suggests, *to donne* modifies *hwæt?*). — *Wærf.* 9.31: hu he *bebead* ðære *nædran* ða wyrta *to healdenne* = no Latin.

beodan: — *Ælf. Hept.: Deut.* 32.46[a. b]: *beodaþ* ða word eowrum bearnum *to healdenne* and *to donne* = ut *mandetis* ea filiis vestris *custodire* et *facere.*

forbeodan: — *Ælf. L. S.* XXV. 36: mete, ðe moyses *forbead* godes *folce to ðicgenne* (or final?). — *Ib.* XXV. 42: Moyses *forbead* . . . ða nytenu *to etanne* ðam ealdan folce (or final?). — *Ib.* XXXII. 105: ðe *forbead petre* mid wæpnum *to winnenne* wiþ ða . . . iudeiscan.

hieran: — *Wærf.* 221.25: wæs cuð, ðæt se . . . deofol . . . *him hyrde* ða scos of *to donne* = 269 D[2]: Ad cujus vocem mox cœperunt se caligarum corrigiæ in summa velocitate dissolvere, ut aperte constaret quod ei ipse qui nominatus fuerat *ad extrahendas* diabolus caligas obedisset.

aliefan: — *Ælf. Hept.: Deut.* 3.25: *Alife me to farenne* and *to geseonne* ðæt seloste land = *Transibo* igitur et *videbo* terram hanc optimam.

liefan: — *Ælf. Hept.: Num.* 21.22: Ic bidde ðæt ðu *me lyfe* ofer ðin land *to ferenne* = Obsecro ut *transire mihi liceat* per terram tuam.

Some of the foregoing examples, as indicated, are doubtful. In most of them, however, we have a dative and an inflected objective infinitive, and, with the exception of the infinitive after *hieran*, all have been put under the objective use, in Chapter II. A few examples are quoted in this chapter on the Predicative Infinitive with a Dative Subject merely to show the affinity of these inflected infinitives with a dative, like the uninflected infinitives with a dative already treated, to Grimm's dative-with-infinitive construction. But in none of the foregoing examples does the infinitive seem to me predicative with the possible exception of the infinitive after *hieran*. In this example the inflected infinitive is probably due to the gerundive of the Latin original. The inflected infinitive with the other verbs has been explained already in Chapter II.

For the dative with inflected infinitive after personal verbs in the other Germanic languages, see Chapter XVI, section ix.

In a word, I doubt whether we have a genuine dative-with-infinitive construction in Anglo-Saxon, that is, a predicative infinitive with dative subject substantially equivalent to a predicative infinitive with accusative subject, after either impersonal or personal verbs. Normally, after the former class of verbs the infinitive is subjective, and after the latter class the infinitive is objective; and after both the dative depends on the chief verb. In a few sporadic cases, almost exclusively in Late West Saxon, after a few personal verbs like *don* and *lætan*, we do have an uninflected predicative infinitive whose subject is dative in form, but probably by that time the distinction between the accusative forms (*hine* and *hie*) and the dative form (*him*) had broken down to such an extent that *him* was felt as an accusative. And once possibly (after *hieran*) we may have an inflected infinitive used predicatively with a dative; if so, the inflected infinitive is probably due to the gerundive in the Latin original.

This general conclusion is fortified, I believe, by what we learn of the same construction in the other Germanic languages, especially in Old High German: see Chapter XVI, section ix.

CHAPTER X.

THE FINAL INFINITIVE.

A. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

1. With Active Finite Verb.

The active infinitive denoting Purpose after active verbs is quite common, being found about 983 times. Of these infinitives about 442 are uninflected, and 541 are inflected. The total number of final infinitives in prose is about 849, of which 323 are uninflected, and 526 are inflected; the total number in poetry is about 134, of which 119 are uninflected, and 15 are inflected. As a rule, therefore, the final infinitive is inflected in prose, and is uninflected in poetry.

To me the final infinitive, both inflected and uninflected, seems dominantly, if not exclusively, active in sense as well as in form. Dr. Farrar,[1] however, holds that in sentences like the following the inflected infinitive is passive in sense: *Bede* 22.18: Ðæt . . . cyning *to gefullianne com* to Rome = 292.9: *Ut* . . . rex . . . *baptizandus* Romam *uenerit; ib.* 124.3: his dohtor *to gehalgienne* Criste ðam biscope to wedde *gesealde* = 99.30: filiam suam Christo *consecrandam* . . . episcopo *adsignavit; Greg.* 277.17: suelce he . . . sua nacodne hine selfne *eowige to wundigeanne* his feondum = 210.2: Totam vero se insidiantis hostis vulneribus detegit; *Ælf. Hom.* I. 46.35: hine . . . of ðære byrig *gelæddon to stænenne.* Personally I think that in such sentences the infinitive is possibly, but not probably, passive in sense; and it may be that this is what Dr. Farrar intends to assert. The grounds of my own opinion are these: (1) In most, if not all, of such sentences, an active translation is allowable, though a passive translation is more common. (2) We find in the original Latin an interchange between gerund and gerundive, as in *Bede* 76.34: ðas wiif, ða ðe heora bearn . . . oðrum *to fedenne sellaþ* = 55.13: quae filios suos . . . aliis *ad nutriendum tradunt; ib.* 150.8: ða [= these] eft seo modor æfter ðon *onsende* . . . in Gallia rice *to fedanne* Dægbrehte ðæm cyninge = 126.4: quos . . . misit in Galliam *nutriendos* regi Dægberecto. (3) We find the final infinitive not infrequently translating a Latin active infinitive or subjunctive. (4) The Anglo-Saxon had little feeling for a genuine passive infinitive, as I tried to show in the discussion of the voice of the objective infinitive. This conclusion tallies with that of Dr. Shearin,[1] who, *l. c.*, p. 28, writes as follows of the voice of the prepositional infinitive of purpose: " It is doubtful whether this can ever be with certainty called passive, since the infinitive may be felt as a mere verbal noun, as in *John* 17.4: ðæt weorc ðæt ðu me sealdest to donne, where the Latin *quod dedisti ut faciam,* and the concurrent Lind. and Rush. glosses, *ðætte ic gedoe,* show plainly that *to donne* = not ' to be done,' but ' for doing.' "

When uninflected, the infinitive is far less frequently of doubtful voice. While, again, I believe, that the infinitive is prevailingly, perhaps exclusively,

[1] *L. c.*, pp. 16, 19, 25.

active in sense, in the following we have active infinitives that are apparently but not really passive in sense: *Ælf. Hept.: Jos.* 11.6: to mergen ic hig *sylle* on ðisre ylcan tide ealle *gewundigean* on Israela gesihðe = cras enim hac eadem hora ego *tradam* omnes istos *vulnerandos* in conspectu Israel; *Laws*, Ordal, c. 4, § 1: *sylle* heom eallum *cyssan* boc; *Bede* 192.14: Ða gehalgode ic wæter 7 scæfðan dyde in ðæs . . . treoes, 7 *sealde* ðam untruman *drincan* = 153.32: benedixi aquam, et astulam roboris praefati inmittens *obtuli* egro *potandum* (with which compare *Greg.* 329.3ᵇ: Me ðyrste, & ge me ne *sealdon drincan* = 254.4: sitivi, et non *dedistis* mihi *bibere*); *Mk.* 6.37ᶜ: we him *etan syllað* = *dabimus* illis *manducare*. Again I am in substantial agreement with Dr. Shearin,[1] who, *l. c.*, p. 16, declares: "Only the active meaning of the simple infinitive in final function is found in Old English, as may easily be noted in the examples already quoted, in which the Latin original is of like voice." The last clause of his statement, however, is somewhat too sweeping, as in some of the examples given by him and by me the Anglo-Saxon infinitive corresponds to a passive locution in Latin.

Normally the final infinitive, whether uninflected or inflected, follows the verb that it modifies, as in *Beow.* 115 (*Gewat* ða *neosian* . . . hean huses) and in *Mat.* 9.13 (soðlice ne *com* ic rihtwise *to gecigeanne* = Non enim *veni vocare* justos), but occasionally it precedes it, as in *Gen.* 2262 (Heo ða *fleon gewat* ðrea 7 ðeowdom) and in *Bede* 22.18 (*to gefullianne com* to Rome = 292.9: *baptizandus* Romam *uenerit*). In many instances, the pre-positive final infinitive in Anglo-Saxon prose corresponds to a pre-positive word (infinitive, gerund, or gerundive) in the Latin original, as in the example just quoted from *Bede*. In not a few instances, as Dr. Riggert, *passim*, suggests, pre-position seems due to the fact that the infinitive occurs in a dependent clause, as in *Ex.* 472: hwonne waðema stream . . . *neosan come*.

As stated in Chapter V, with verbs of motion and of rest it is at times difficult to decide whether an infinitive is final or predicative in use. This difficulty arises out of the close kinship of the two uses at the outset, — a topic discussed in section v of Chapter XIV. Again, at times it is difficult to determine whether an inflected infinitive is final or adjectival, as in *Bede* 150.8 (ða eft seo modor . . . *onsende* . . . in G. rice *to fedanne* = 126.4: quos . . . *misit* in Galliam *nutriendos*), with which compare *Bede* 76.30ᵇ (ðætte wiif forhycgað heora bearn fedan, ða ðe heo cennað, 7 heo oðrum wiifum *to fedenne sellað* = 55.10: eosque aliis mulieribus *ad nutriendum tradant*).

I. Only the uninflected final infinitive is found with the following verbs: —

1. Certain Verbs of Motion: —

genæegan, *approach.* **gewitan**, *depart.*
gangan, *go.* **hladan**, *load, draw.*

2. Certain Verbs of Rest: —

gesittan, *sit.* **licgan**, *lie.*

3. Certain Verbs of Commanding and Requesting: —

abiddan, *request.* **biddan**, *request.*

4. Certain Other Verbs: —

gewyrcan, *make.* **scieppan**, *create.*

Typical examples are: —

1. Verbs of Motion: —

genǣgan, *approach:*

Ex. 131: wiste *genægdon* modige meteðegnas hyra mægen *beton* (*sic!*). [The construction of *beton* is doubtful. In the original and in the recent editions of Grein's *Sprachschatz der Angelsächsischen Dichter* and in Blackburn's edition of the *Exodus*, *beton* is entered as an infinitive; but in the latter with this query: " or pt. 3 p. for *betton* (?)."]

gengan, *go:*

Beow. 1413: He . . . *gengde* . . . wong *sceawian.*

gewitan, *depart, go:*

Beow. 291: *gewitaþ* forð *beran* wæpen and gewædu. — *Ib.* 1275: ða he hean *gewat*, dreame bedæled deaðwic *geseon.* — *Ib.* 2820: him of hreðre *gewat* sawol *secean* soðfæstra dom.

Gen. 1649: *Gewiton* him ða eastan æhta *lædan.* — *Ib.* 1920: Him ða Loth *gewat* land *sceawigan* be Iordane.

hladan, *load, draw:*

Greg. 469.7: Ac *hladaþ* iow nu *drincan* = 0.

Wærf. 220.22: ðær *hlodon* heom *drincan* = 269 A^2: *ad bibendum hauriebant* aquam.

2. Verbs of Rest: —

gesittan, *sit:*

And. 1162: *Gesæton* searuðancle sundor to rune ermðu *eahtigan.* [Or predicative? Dr. Riggert, *l. c.*, p. 45, considers the infinitive final.]

licgan, *lie:*

Ælf. Hept.: Judges 4.18^b: He eode ða in earhlice swiðe, and seo wimman mid hire hwitle bewreah hine sona, let hine *licgan* swa *ætlutian* his feondum = Qui ingressus tabernaculum ejus et opertus ab ea pallio, dixit ad eam (or predicative? see Chapter V, pp. 91–92).

3. Verbs of Commanding and Requesting: —

abiddan, *request:*

Bede 392.32: Wilt ðu wit unc *abidde* (*sic!*) *ondrincan?* = 286.13: Uis *petamus bibere?*

biddan, *request:*

Ælf. Hept.: Judges 4.19: *bæd* him *drincan*, and heo him bliðelice sealde, beheold hine eft = *Da* mihi, obsecro, paululum aquæ, quia sitio valde! Quæ *dedit* ei *bibere* et operuit illum.

J. 4.9: Humeta *bitst* ðu æt me *drincan* = Quomodo tu Judæus quum sis, *bibere* a me *poscis?*

4. Other Verbs, with each of which the construction is doubtful, as is apparent from the examples (complete): —

gewyrcan, *make:*

Gifts 66: Sum mæg wæpenðræce wige to nytte modcræftig smið monige gefremman, ðonne he *gewyrceð* to wera hilde helm oððe hupseax oððe heaðubyrnan, scirne mece oððe scyldes rond, fæste *gefegan* wið flyge gares (or accusative and infinitive?).

scieppan, *create, make:*

Gnomic Sayings 129: Gold geriseð on guman sweorde, sellic sigesceorp, sinc on cwene; god *scop* gumum, garnið werum, wig towiðre wicfreoða *healdan* (?).

The following is a complete alphabetic list of the verbs followed by the uninflected final infinitive only: —

abiddan, *request.*
biddan, *request.*
genæegan, *approach.*
gengan, *go.*
gesittan, *sit.*
gewitan, *go, depart.*
gewyrcan, *make, build.*
hladan, *lade, draw.*
licgan, *lie.*
scieppan, *make, create.*

II. The final infinitive is found both uninflected and inflected with the following groups of verbs: —

1. Chiefly certain Verbs of Motion: —

arisan, *arise.*
asendan, *send.*
becuman, *come.*
beran, *bear.*
cuman, *come.*
efstan, *hasten.*
faran, *go.*
feran, *go.*
forlætan, *leave.*
fundian, *set out, strive.*
gan [gangan], *go.*
gecierran, *turn, go.*
onsendan, *send.*
sendan, *send.*
wendan, *turn, wend.*

2. Frequently certain Verbs of Offering and of Giving: —

beodan, *offer.*
gesellan, *give.*
giefan, *give.*
sellan, *give.*

Sellan is the verb most frequently used, occurring over 200 times.

3. Occasionally certain Verbs of Rest: —

sittan, *sit.*
standan, *stand.*

4. Occasionally certain Other Verbs:

aliesan, *release.*

The following are typical examples: —

1. Verbs of Motion: —

arisan, *arise:*

(1) Uninflected:

And. 829, 830: cining engla [*lacuna*] ða ða *aras siðigean*, eadige on upweg eðles *neosan*.

(2) Inflected:

Pr. Ps. 26.4: ðeah hi *arisan* ongean me *to feohtanne* = 26.3: Si *insurgat* in me *bellum*.

Wærf. 201.23: he *aras* . . . lof *to secganne* = 245 B[3]: *ad exhibendas* laudes Domino *surrexisset*.

Bened. 40.11: ic *aras* . . . ðe *to andettenne* = 74.19: *surgebam ad confitendum* tibi.

Ælf. L. S. 456.233: hi swa oft *arisan* (*sic!*) . . . *to singenne* ðone lofsang.

asendan, *send:*

(1) Uninflected:

Ælf. Hept.: Judges 15.18: bæd ðone . . . god ðæt he him *asende drincan*,

for ðam ðe on ðære neawiste næs nan wæterscipe = clamavit ad dominum et ait: en *siti* morior.

(2) Inflected:

Ælf. Hom. I. 402ᵇ: Se asende . . . Titum *to oferwinnenne* ða . . . Iudeiscan.

Ælf. L. S. 104.236: hælend hi *asende* . . . ða men *to fullienne.*

Mk. 3.14: he hi *asende* godspell *to bodigenne* = fecit . . . ut *mitteret* eos *prædicare.*

becuman, *come:*

(1) Uninflected:

Ermahnung 53: geðancas, ðe on niht *becumað*, synlustas foroft swiðe *fremman.*

Beow. 2366: lyt eft *becwom* . . . hames *niosan.*

(2) Inflected:

Bede 22.26: *becuman* wolde on Germaniam *to bodianne* godcunde lare = 296.3: *ad praedicandum* in Germaniam *uenire* uoluerit. — *Ib.* 486.8ᵃ·ᵇ: ic . . . bidde ðætte to eallum ðe ðis ylce stær to *becyme* ures cynnes *to rædenne* oððe *to gehyrenne*, ðæt hi . . . ðingien etc. = 8.10ᵃ·ᵇ: Praeterea omnes, ad quos haec eadem historia *peruenire* potuerit nostrae nationis, *legentes* siue *audientes*, suppliciter precor, ut etc.

beran, *bear:*

(1) Uninflected:

Bede 396.8: ðæm biscupe *bær drincan* = 287.26: *obtulit poculum* episcopo.

Ælf. Hom. II. 180ᵗ: Se deofol cwæð ðæt he wolde *beran drincan* his gebroðrum.

(2) Inflected:

Bede 440.2ᵇ: heht me *beran to rædanne* = 312.16ᵃ: iussit . . . mihi *ad legendum deferre.*

Wærf. 128.11: *bær* mid him mettas *to ðicgene* = B. 158 C: qui *sumendos* cibos in itinere *portabat.*

Ælf. Hom. I. 512ᵇ: ðaða him man to *bær* cild *to bletsigenne.*

cuman, *come:*

(1) Uninflected:

Beow. 2010: Ic . . . *cwom* to ðam hringsele Hroðgar *gretan.* — *Ib.* 268: We . . . hlaford ðinne . . . *secean cwomon.*

Ex. 92: ðæt ðær drihten *cwom* . . . wicsteal *metan.*

El. 152: *Com* . . . cyning burga *neosan.*

Ex. 416: Ða him *styran cwom* stefn of heofonum.

Bede 296.10: ðone ðe hy untrumne *neosian cwomon* = 226.24: quem languentem *uisitare uenerant.*

Wærf. 251.9: ðæt se ðe ðider *com* eles *biddan* = 308 A²: quia is qui oleum *petere venerat*, etc.

Ælf. L. S. XXX. 49ᵃ·ᵇ: ic *com* ðæt ic me ðe ætywde ðurh ðysne heort and for hine ðe *gehuntian* and *gefon* mid ðam nettum minre mildheortnysse.

Mat. 10.35: Ic *com* . . . mann *asyndrian* ongen hys Fæder = *Veni* enim *separare* hominem adversus patrem suum.

(2) Inflected:

Ps. 97.8ᵇ: forðon he eadig *com* eorðan *to demanne* = quoniam *venit judicare* terram.

Bede 22.18: *to gefullianne com* to Rome = 292.9: *baptizandus* Romam

uenerit. — *Ib.* 96.8: monige *cwomon to bicgenne* ðа ðing = 79.30: multi *ad emendum confluxissent.* — *Ib.* 158.28: *coman* . . . word *to gehyranne* = 132.19: confluebant *ad audiendum* uerbum. — *Ib.* 220.13: ðane (*sic!*) *cwom* ðider *to halgianne* . . . se biscop = 169.15: quem *ordinaturus* uenit illuc . . . antistes.

Wærf. 46.2: se ceorl, ðe ðider *com* hine *to geseonne* = 180 B[2]: is qui *ad videndum* eum venerat.

Ælf. Hom. I. 142[b 2]: Crist, seðe com *to gehælenne* ure wunda.

Gosp.: Mat. 9.13: soðlice ne *com* ic rihtwise *to gecigeanne* = Non enim *veni vocare* justos. — *J.* 9.39: Ic *com* on ðysne middaneard *to demenne* = *In judicium* ego in hunc mundum *veni.* — *J.* 12.47: ne *com* ic middaneard *to demanne,* ac ðæt ic gehæle middaneard = non enim *veni ut judicem* mundum, sed ut salvificem mundum.

Wulf. 219.26: drehten cwæð, ðæt he *come to demenne* cwicum.

efstan, *hasten:*

(1) Uninflected:

Beow. 3103[a, b]: uton nu *efstan* oðre siðe *seon* and *secean* searogeðræc, wundur under wealle.

(2) Inflected:

Bede 376.6[a, b]: *efestton* ðæm biscope *to cyðenne 7 secgenne* (*sic!*) ða ðing = 276.25: *festinarunt referre* antisti.

Ælf. Hom. II. 130[m 3]: Ongunnon . . . menige *efstan to gehyrenne* ða halgan bodunge.

Ælf. L. S. 312.91: *efst* ðu nu me *to fultumigenne* = 312.90: *ad adiuuandum* me *festina.*

faran, *go:*

(1) Uninflected:

Met. 26.14: *for* wiges heard Creca drihten campstede *secan.*

Ælf. Hom. II. 372[b 2]: Ic bohte fif getymu oxena, and ic wille *faran fandian* ðæra.

Ælf. Gr. 134.12[b]: ic *fare huntian* = *uenatum pergo.*

(2) Inflected:

Oros. 46.17[c]: oðer ut *faran to winnanne* = 47.16: reginae . . . , quae . . . vicissim *curam belli* et domus custodiam sortiebantur.

Wærf. 237.11: ðæt wit *faran* (*sic!*) to Ispanialande . . . *to gecyðanne* ða fordemednessa = 289 B: *pro ostendenda* ejusdem Arianæ hæreseos damnatione, *transeamus* . . . ad Hispanias.

Ælf. Hom. II. 372[b]: Se *færð to sceawienne* his tun.

Ælf. Hept.: Deut. 11.29: land, ðe ge *farað* on *to eardienne* = *ad* quam *pergis habitandam.*

feran, *go:*

(1) Uninflected:

Beow. 840: *ferdon* folctogan . . . wundor *sceawian.*

And. 331: us *feran* het geond ginne grund gasta *streonan.*

L. 6.12: he *ferde* on anne munt hine *gebiddan* = exiit in montem *orare.*

(2) Inflected:

Bede 372.11[a, b]: ðæt wit . . . moton to heofenum *feran* his gife . . . *to geseonne 7 to sceawigenne* = 274.30: *ad* . . . *uidendam* gratiam *transeamus.*

Wærf. 63.29: he gewat *feran* ut sum dæl oðres weorces *to wyrcanne* = 193 B[8]: *ad exercendum* opus aliquod *discessit.*

Ælf. Hom. II. 88[m]: Sum sædere *ferde to sawenne* his sæd.

L. 7.25: Ac hwi ferde ge *to seonne?* = Sed quid *existis videre?*

forlætan, *leave:*

(1) Uninflected:

Beow. 971: Hwæðere he his folme *forlet* to lifwraðe last *weardian,* earm and eaxle.

Ju. 554: Ða hine seo fæmne *forlet* æfter ðræchwile ðystra *neosan.*

(2) Inflected:

Bede 138.28: ðæt . . . geweorc . . . Oswalde *forlet to geendianne* = 114.16: opus . . . Osualdo *perficiendum reliquit.*

fundian, *set out, strive:*

(1) Uninflected:

Beow. 1820: we *fundiað* Higelac *secan.*

Gen. 2270: Hwider *fundast* ðu, feasceaft ides, siðas *dreogan?*

(2) Inflected:

Greg. 93.24: Se ðonne se ðe *fundige* wislice *to sprecanne,* ondræde he etc. = 64.10: Qui igitur *loqui* sapienter *nititur,* magnopere metuat.

Bl. Hom. 93.4[a, b]: blodig regn & fyren *fundiað* ðas eorðan *to forswylgenne & to forbærnenne.*

gan [gangan, -o-], *go:*

(1) Uninflected:

Gen. 2430: *gretan eode* cuman cuðlice.

Beow. 1786: *geong* sona to setles *neosan.* — *Ib.* 493: on beorsele . . . ðær swiðferhðe *sittan eodon.*

Dan. 159: Ða *eode* Daniel . . . swefen *reccan* sinum frean.

Bede 186.30: *eode gesittan* to ðæs . . . weres liice = 151.8: *sedentemque* ad tumbam sancti infirmitas tangere nequaquam, praesumsit. — *Ib.* 198.2: bæd ðæt he *eode* to his seðle *sittan* to his swæsendum 7 unrotnisse of his heortan asette = 157.3: promittens se multum illi esse placatum, dum modo ille *residens* ad epulas tristitiam deponeret.

Greg. 309.14: *eodon* him *plegean* = 238.10: *surrexerunt ludere.* — *Ib.* 415.14: Hit is awriten ðæt Dina wære ut *gangende sceawian* ðæs londes wif = 336.13: *Egressa est* D. *ut videret* mulieres.

Wærf. 115.7: se cniht, ðe *eode* wæter *hladan* [MS. H. *ferde to hladene*] = B. 146 A[2]: puer ille qui *ad hauriendam* aquam *perrexerat.*

Ælf. Gr. 134.14: ic *gange drincan* = *bibitum pergo.*

Ælf. L. S. XXXI. 917[b]: tima wære ðæt he into cyrcan *eode* ðam folce to mæssigenne and godes mærsunge *don.*

Ælf. Hom. II. 242[b 3]: He *eode* eft *sittan* siððan mid his ðegnum.

L. 1.17: he *gæð* toforan him on gaste and Elias mihte, ðæt he fædera heortan to heora bearnum gecyrre, and ungeleaffulle to rihtwisra gleawscype; Drihtne fulfremed folc *gegearwian* = ipse *præcedet* ante illum in spiritu et virtute Eliæ, ut convertat corda patrum in filios, et incredulos ad prudentiam justorum, *parare* Domino plebem perfectam. — *Ib.* 1.76, 79[a]: ðu *gæst* beforan Drihtnes ansyne his wegas *gearwian;* to syllenne his folce hæle gewit on hyra synna forgyfnesse, ðurh innoðas ures Godes mildheortnesse on ðam he us geneosode of eastdæle up springende, *onlihtan* ðam ðe on ðystrum and on deaðes sceade sittað; ure fet to gereccenne on sybbe weg = *præibis* enim ante faciem Domini *parare* vias ejus, Ad dandam scientiam salutis plebi ejus, in remissionem pecca-

torum eorum: Per viscera misericordiæ Dei nostri, in quibus visitavit nos, oriens ex alto: *Illuminare* his qui in tenebris et in umbra mortis sedent, ad dirigendos pedes nostros in viam pacis. [See the section on " the Differentiation of the Two Infinitives " in this chapter.]

Apol. 28.18: *gan* we *secan* ure gesthus, ðæt we magon us gerestan = 45ᵇ: *eamus*, hospitalia *requiramus*.

Læce. 58.5: ðonne he *slapan gan* wille.

(2) Inflected:

Bede 76.12: ðeah ðe heo . . . Gode ðoncunge *to donne* in circan *gonge* = 54.24: si . . . *actura* gratias *intrat* ecclesiam. — *Ib.* 162.7: ut *eode* to his gebede oððe *to leornianne* mid his geferum = 136.17: adcelerauit . . . ad legendum, siue *ad orandum egredi*. — *Ib.* 362.18: gedwolan *to gereccenne* se . . . man *wæs* ut *gongende* = 269.22: *Ad* . . . *corrigendum* errorem *egressus*.

Greg. 165.25: Gif hwa *gonge* . . . treow *to ceorfanne* = 122.1: Si quis *abierit* . . . *ad* ligna *cædenda*.

Ælf. Hom. II. 428ᵐ: He *eode* into . . . temple hine *to gebiddenne*.

Ælf. L. S. XXXI. 917ᵃ: quoted on p. 138.

Ælf. Hept.: *Gen.* 2.10: ðæt flod *eode* . . . *to wætrienne* . . . wang = fluvius *egrediebatur* . . . *ad irrigandum* paradisum. — *Gen.* 22.5: ic and ðæt cild *gað* unc *to gebiddenne* = postquam *adoraverimus*.

Gosp.: *Mat.* 13.3: ut *eode* se sædere hys sæd *to sawenne* = Ecce *exiit* qui seminat, *seminare*. Cf. *Mk.* 4.3: Ut *eode* se sædere his sæd *to sawenne* = Ecce *exiit* seminans *ad seminandum*.

L. 1.77, 79ᵇ, quoted on p. 138.

gecierran, *turn, go:*

(1) Uninflected:

And. 1079: Hie ða unhyðige eft *gecyrdon*, luste belorene, laðspell *beran*.

(2) Inflected:

Bede 12.8: *to bodigenne* hider *gecyrdon* = 92.12: *ad praedicandum reuocauerit*.

onsendan, *send:*

(1) Uninflected:

Bede 398.1: bæd ðæt he him *onsende* wines *ondrincan* = 288.20: rogans sibi *poculum* uini *mittere*.

(2) Inflected:

Dan. 76: *Onsende* ða sinra ðegna worn ðæs werudes west *to feran* (*sic!*).

Bede 150.8: ða eft seo modor . . . *onsende* . . . in G. rice *to fedanne* = 126.4: quos . . . misit in Galliam *nutriendos*.

sendan, *send:*

(1) Uninflected:

Bede 54.31: he *sende* A. . . . *bodian* Godes word = 42.22: *misit* . . . A. . . . *praedicare* uerbum Dei. — *Ib.* 250.21: *sende* he . . . ðone biscop . . . to gereccenne ðone gedwolan, 7 heo to soðfæstnesse geleafan eft *gecegan* = 199.26: *misit* ad corrigendum errorem; *reuocandam*que ad fidem ueritatis prouinciam.

L. 9.2ᵇ: he *sende* hig to bodianne Godes rice, and untrume *gehælan* = *misit* illos prædicare regnum Dei et *sanare* infirmos.

(2) Inflected:

Bede 10.2: Ðæt . . . Gregorius Augustinum *sende* . . . *to bodiganne* Godes word = 42.10: Ut Gregorius Augustinum *ad praedicandum* genti Anglorum *mittens* etc. — *Ib.* 172.17ᵃ·ᵇ: *sendon* heora dohtor ðider *to læranne* 7 *to geðeod-*

enne ðæm . . . brydguman = 142.19, 20: filias suas eisdem *erudiendas*, ac sponso caelesti *copulandas mittebant.* — *Ib.* 250.20: quoted on p. 139.

Greg. 49.17: he forcwæð, & nolde ðæt hine mon *sende to læranne* = 26.22: ne *mitti ad prædicandum* debeat, contradicit. — *Ib.* 405.34: oft *sende* his englas us ham *to spananne* to him = 326.4: qui *ad revocandum* hominem Legem dedit, exhortantes angelos *misit.*

Oros. 138.8: here . . . *sendon* an hergiunge, *7* ðæt folc *to amierrenne* = 139.5: *quibusdam* suis *ad populandos* hostiles agros . . . *praemissis.*

Chron. 32^{b}, 656 E^{a}: preost ðe seo kyning . . . *seonde to bodian* (*sic!*) Cristendome on Wiht.

Laws 42, Alfred, Intr., c. 49, § 1^{b}: hie *sendan* ærendwrecan . . . Cristes æ *to læranne.*

Ælf. Hom. I. 372^{b}: Ðu, . . . ðe us *sendest to bodigenne* ðinne geleafan.

Ælf. Hept.: Num. 13.17: manna . . ., ðe Moises *sende to sceawienne* Chanaan = quos *misit* M. *ad considerandam* terram C.

L. 9.2^{a}: quoted on p. 139.

Wulf. 295.32$^{a, b}$: ic *sende* ofer eow ða ðeode eow *to hergianne* and eower land *to awestenne.*

wendan, *turn, wend:*

(1) Uninflected:

S. & S. 20: Ic . . . *wende* mec on willan on wæteres hricg ofer Coferflod Caldeas *secan.*

(2) Inflected:

Ælf. L. S. XXVII. 13: *wende* ham . . . to hire . . . sunu his geleafan *to getrymmenne.*

2. Verbs of Offering and of Giving:—

beodan, *offer, entrust:*

(1) Uninflected:

Ælf. Hom. II. 254^{m}: and him *budon drincan* gebitrodne windrenc.

(2) Inflected:

Bede 114.19: ðæt . . . eowde . . . , ðætte he him *bead to healdanne* = 92.22: gregem . . . quem sibi ipse *crediderat.*

gesellan, *give:*

(1) Uninflected:

Oros. 136.16: him *gesealdon* ator *drincan* = 137.10: cum . . . ministri insidiis venenum *potasset.*

(2) Inflected:

Bede 124.3: his dohtor *to gehalgienne* Criste ðam biscope to wedde *gesealde* = 99.30: filiam suam Christo *consecrandam* . . . episcopo *adsignauit.*

Oros. 54.11: *gesealde* Ircaniam ða ðeode on anwald *to habbane* = 55.3: eumque Hyrcanorum genti *praeposuit.*

giefan, *give:*

(1) Uninflected:

Ps. 79.5: tyhst us *7* fedest teara hlafe *7* us *drincan* [1] *gifest* deorcum tearum manna gehwylcum on gemet rihtes = 79.6: Cibabis nos pane lacrymarum, et *potabis* nos in lacrymis in mensura?

[1] In *Bede* 486.4 (ic ðe bidde, duguða Hælend, ðæt ðu me milde *forgife* swetlice *drincan* ða word ðines wisdomes = 360.4: Teque deprecor, bone Iesu, ut cui propitius donasti uerba tuae scientiae dulciter haurire, dones etiam etc.), the infinitive seems to me to be objective rather than final, and has been put in Chapter II.

(2) Inflected:

Bede 236.1: ðæt he Gode *geaf* mynster on *to timbrenne* = 177.30: *ad construenda* monasteria *donaret.* — *Ib.* 242.7: bec on *to leornienne* . . . *gefon* = 192.17: libros . . . *ad legendum* . . . *praebere* curabant.

Chron. 117[m], 963 E[e]: ic *gife* tocnawlece . . . Peter min messehacel . . . Criste *to ðeuwian* (*sic!*).

sellan, *give:*

(1) Uninflected:

Rid. 13.5: Hwilum ic deorum *drincan selle* beorne of bosme. — *Ib.* 72.7: swæse broðor, ðara onsundran gehwylc dægtidum me *drincan sealde* ðurh ðyrel ðearle.

Laws 387, Ordal, c. 4, § 1: *sylle* heom eallum *cyssan* boc.

Bede 30.7: ða sceafðan dyde on wæter, *7 sealde drincan* ðam mannum = 13.4: ipsam rasuram aquae inmissam ac *potui datam.* — *Ib.* 156.7: ðæt wæter . . . *drincan syllað* = 129.18: astulas . . . quas cum in aquas miserint, eisque . . . homines aut pecudes *potauerint.* — *Ib.* 192.14: Ða gehalgode ic wæter *7* scæfðan dyde in ðæs . . . treoes, *7 sealde* ðam untruman *drincan* = 153.32: benedixi aquam, et astulam roboris praefati inmittens *obtuli* egro *potandum.*

Greg. 329.3[b]: ge me ne *sealdon drincan* = 254.4: non *dedistis* mihi *bibere.* — *Ib.* 459.18[a]: ðy ic sceal *sellan* eow giet mioloc *drincan* nalles flæsc *etan* = 392.16: Tamquam parvulis in Christo lac vobis *potum dedi*, non *escam.*

Oros. 136.1: Ða nam he ða [= wyrt] on mergen, *7 sealde* hie ðæm gewundedum *drincan* = 135.35: ac post herba per somnium sibi ostensa *in potum* sauciis *data.*

Wærf. 161.5: ic wille faran to ðam broðrum *7* him *syllan* drenc *drincan* = B. 188 A[1]: Ecce ad fratres *vado potionem* eis *dare.*

Bl. Hom. 229.9: hie him *sealdon* attor *drincan.*

Ælf. Hom. I. 582[b]: Swa hwa swa *sylð* ceald wæter *drincan* anum ðyrstigan menn ðæra ðe on me gelyfað, etc.

Ælf. Hept.: Gen. 21.19: sumne wæterpytt . . ., and heo of ðam *sealde* ðam cnapan *drincan* = *dedit* puero *bibere.* — *Ex.* 2.19: hlod wæter mid us and *sealde* ðam sceapum *drincan* = *potumque dedit* ovibus.

Ælf. Gr. 111.6: *syle* us *drincan* = *da* nobis *bibere.*

Gosp.: Mat. 25.35[b]: ge me *sealdun drincan* = *dedistis* mihi *bibere.* — *Mat.* 25.42[b]: ge me *drincan* ne *sealdun* = non *dedistis* mihi *potum.*

Wulf. 288.32: ge me *drincan* ne *sealdon.*

Læce. 8.21: geseoð cerfillan on wætere, *sele drincan.* So 170 times in all in *Læce.*

Greg. 329.3[a]: ge me nawuht ne *sealdun etan* = 254.3: non *dedistis* mihi *manducare.*

Gosp.: Mat. 14.16[b]: *sylle* ge him *etan* = *date* illis vos *manducare.* — So: *Mat.* 25.35[a], 42[a]; *Mk.* 5.43[a], 6.37[a]; *L.* 8.55[b], 9.13; *J.* 6.31.

Læce. 21.39: *sele etan.* So 27 times in all in *Læce.*

Ælf. Hept.: Jos. 11.6: to mergen ic hig *sylle* on ðisre ylcan tide ealle *gewundigean* on Israela gesihðe = cras enim hac eadem hora ego *tradam* omnes istos *vulnerandos* in conspectu Israel.

Læce. 37.19: ðæt seaw *sele* on cuclere *supan.* So 8 times in *Læce.*

Læce. 55.34: *sele ðicgean.* So: 69.21[a, b]; 150.6.

(2) Inflected:

Beow. 1731: *seleð* him on eðle eorðan wynne, *to healdanne* hleoburh wera.

Ps. 54.6: Ic ða on mode cwæð, hwa me *sealde to fleogenne* fiðeru swa culfran

7 ic ðonne ricene reste syððan = Quis *dabit* mihi pennas sicut columbæ? et *volabo* et requiescam.

Wids. 134: se bið leofast londbuendum, se ðe him god *syleð* gumena rice *to gehealdenne.*

Bede 76.30^{b}: heo oðrum wiifum *to fedenne sellað* = 55.10: eosque aliis mulieribus *ad nutriendum tradant.* — *Ib.* 104.29: his gyfe *sealde* . . ., him *to brucanne* = 85.29: *in usum* eorum. — *Ib.* 158.29: *sealde* æhte *7* land mynster *to timbrianne* = 132.21: *donabantur* . . . possessiones . . . *ad instituenda* monasteria. — *Ib.* 232.25: *Sealde* se biscop ðæt mynster *to reccenne* . . . Ceaddan his breðer = 176.18: *Dedit* . . . episcopus *regendum* post se monasterium fratri suo. — *Ib.* 480.29, 30: ealle geornesse ic *sealde to leornienne 7 to smeagenne* halige gewritu = 357.11: omnem *meditandis* scripturis operam *dedi.*

Greg. 369.14: ðonne he us *selð* micle getyngnesse & wlitige spræce ymb soðfæstnesse *to cyðanne* = 286.17: cum nobis luce veritatis plena eloquia subministrat.

Oros. 42.29: ealle . . . bearn . . . *sealdon* ðæm Minotauro *to etanne* = 43.29: qui . . . filios Minotauro . . . *devorandos addicebant.*

Laws 48, Ælfred, c. 1, § 2^{b}: *selle* . . . his wæpn *7* his æhta his freondum *to gehealdanne.*

Wærf. 253.13: he bæd hi, ðæt hi hine *sealdon* him *to healdene* = 309 B^{1}: petiit ut sibi *ad custodiam tradi* debuisset.

Ælf. Hom. II. 244^{t,3}: gelæhte ænne calic, . . . and *sealde* his gingrum, of *to supenne* æfter gereorde.

Ælf. Hept.: Gen. 28.20^{b}: Gif drihten . . . *sylð* me hlaf *to etenne* = si deus . . . *dederit* mihi panem *ad vescendum.* — So: *Ex.* 16.15; *Num.* 11.4.

J. 6.52^{b}: Hu mæg ðes his flæsc us *syllan to etanne?* = 6.53: Quomodo potest hic nobis carnem suam *dare ad manducandum?*

Læce. 65.8: *sele to etanne* liferseocum men. — *Ib.* 17.11: *sele* ðry dagas ðry bollan fulle *to drincanne.* So 9 times in all. — *Ib.* 87.8: *syle* ðonne ðæs wæteres bollan fulne *to gedrincanne.* — *Ib.* 66.11: ðam mannum sceal man *sellan* ægra *to supanne.* — *Ib.* 65.26: *selle* him mon leohtes hwæthwega *to ðicganne.* So 8 times in all.

Ælf. Hept.: Ex. 6.8: ðæt ic *sylle* eow *to agenne* = *daboque* illam vobis *possidendam.*

Mat. 27.26^{b}: ðone Hælynd he let swingan, and *sealde* heom *to ahonne* = Jesum . . . *tradidit* eis ut *crucifigeretur.*

3. Verbs of Rest: —

sittan, *sit:*

(1) Uninflected:

Gen. 842: *sæton* onsundran *bidan* selfes gesceapu heofoncyninges (or predicative? see Chapter V, pp. 91–92).

(2) Inflected:

Ælf. Hom. I. 542^{m}: he him behet . . ., ðæt hi on ðam micclum dome ofer twelf domsetl *sittende beoð, to demenne* eallum mannum.

standan, *stand:*

(1) Uninflected:

Gen. 526: me her *standan* het his bebodu *healdan, 7* me ðas bryd forgeaf (or *healdan* may be objective, co-ordinate with *standan?*).

(2) Inflected:

Ælf. Hom. I. 48[m 1]: gemunde . . . gewrit . . . Sunu *standan* æt Godes swiðran *to gescyndenne* ðæra Iudeiscra ungeleaffulnysse.

Ælf. Hept.: Deut. 27.13: ðas sceolan *standan* on H. dune *to wirgienne* Ruben = *stabant ad maledicendum* . . . Ruben.

Mk. 11.25: ðonne ge *standaþ* eow *to gebiddenne* = Et quum *stabitis ad orandum.*

4. Other Verbs:—

aliesan, *release:*

(1) Uninflected:

L. 1.72[b]: he *alysde* us of urum feondum, . . . mildheortnesse to wyrcenne mid urum fæderum, and *gemunan* his halgan cyðnesse = Sicut locutus est per os sanctorum . . . prophetarum ejus: salutem ex inimicis nostris . . . ad faciendam misericordiam cum patribus nostris, et *memorari* testamenti sui sancti.

(2) Inflected:

L. 1.72[a]: quoted under "Uninflected" above, *L.* 1.72[b].

The following is a complete alphabetic list of the verbs followed by both the uninflected infinitive of purpose and the inflected infinitive of purpose:—

aliesan, *release.*
arisan, *arise.*
asendan, *send, offer.*
becuman, *come.*
beodan, *command, offer.*
beran, *bear, offer.*
cuman, *come.*
efstan, *hasten.*
faran, *go, depart.*
feran, *go, depart.*
forlætan, *leave.*
fundian, *set out, strive.*
gan [gangan, -o-], *go.*
gecierran, *turn, go.*
gesellan [-ie-, -y-], *give.*
giefan, *give, offer.*
onsendan, *send, offer.*
sellan [-ie-, -y-], *give, offer.*
sendan, *send.*
sittan, *sit.*
standan, *stand.*
wendan, *wend, go.*

III. The inflected final infinitive only is found with a very large number of verbs of such varied significations that it seems unwise to attempt to classify them. Accordingly, I give merely an alphabetic list of the verbs followed only by the inflected final infinitive:—

æteowan [-ea-], *show, appear.*
ætwindan, *escape, fly away.*
afaran, *travel, go.*
agiefan [-y-], *give.*
alædan, *lead away.*
aliefan [-e-, -y-], *allow.*
arædan, *reach, hand.*
aræran, *disseminate.*
astigan, *ascend.*
aweccan, *bring to life.*
awendan, *translate.*
beciepan [-y-], *sell.*
befæstan, *entrust, commit.*
belæfan, *leave.*
betæcan, *entrust, commit.*
beðurfan, *need.*
biegan, *bend, turn.*
bindan, *bind.*
brecan [hine], *retch.*
bringan, *bring.*
cyðan, *make known.*
don, *do, make, put.*
eowian, *show, expose.*
findan, *find.*
fleogan, [-e-], *fly.*
forestihtian, *predestinate.*
forgiefan [-y-], *give.*
forsendan, *send.*
gadrian, *gather.*
gearcian, *prepare.*
gearwian, *make ready, prepare.*
gebindan, *bind.*
gebredan, *draw,* hence *feign* (reflexive).
gebugan, *turn, go.*
gebycgan, *buy.*
geceosan, *choose.*
gecuman, *come.*
gedon, *commit, entrust.*

ge-emtigian [-æm-], *keep one's self free.*
gefreogan [-freon], *free.*
gefultumian, *help.*
gegripan, *seize.*
gehwierfan, *turn.*
gelæcan, *seize.*
gelædan, *lead.*
geliefan [-e-, -y-], *believe.*
gelogian, *arrange.*
gemearcian, *mark, plan.*
genealæcan, *approach.*
geniman, *take, accept.*
gesamnian [-o-], *assemble.*
gescieppan, *create, make.*
gesecan, *seek.*
gesettan, *set, establish.*
gestandan, *stand, stand up.*
geteon [-tion], *draw, attract.*
geðafian, *grant, give.*
ge-unnan, *grant, give.*
gewendan, *wend, go.*
habban (**nabban**), *have* (*not*).
healdan, *hold, keep.*
iecan [æcan], *increase.*
iernan, *run.*
ingan [-gangan, -o-], *go in.*
lædan, *lead.*
læfan, *leave, entrust.*
lænan, *lend.*
lætan, *leave.*
lecgean, *lay, place.*
libban, *live.*
liehtan, *light.*
logian, *arrange, frame.*
lufian, *love.*
niman, *take.*
niðerastigan, *descend.*
ondfon, *receive.*
onfindan [?], *find, receive.*
onfon, *receive, undertake.*
onginnan, *begin.*
onlænan, *lend.*
ontynan, *open.*
ræcan, *reach, seize.*
reccan, *care.*
sceawian, *grant.*
scyndan, *hasten.*
secan, *seek.*
settan, *set, place.*
siðian, *travel, go.*
sniðan, *cut open.*
stician, *stick.*
teon, *make, create.*
tocuman, *come, come to.*
tofaran, *separate, disperse.*
toferan, *separate, disperse.*
tosendan, *send.*
ðrowian, *suffer, endure.*
ðurfan, *need.*
utgan [-gangan, -o-], *go out.*
wegan, *carry, manifest.*
weorpan, *throw, cast.*
wil(l)nian, *desire, wish.*
winnan, *struggle, strive.*
wunian, *dwell, remain.*
wyrcan, *make.*

I quote only a few examples: —

befæstan, *entrust, commit:*

Wærf. 111.3^{b}, 4^{a}: ongunnon . . . ða . . . weras . . . him *befæstan* heora suna *to fedanne 7 to læranne* = B. 140 C^{4}: Cœpere . . . ei filios omnipotenti Deo *nutriendos dare.* — *Ib.* 254.1: bædon, ðæt he heom ðone agæfe, ðe hi him ær *befæston to healdenne* = 309 C^{2}: quem *dederant* petierunt (but cf. 309 C^{1}: qui diaconum *ad custodiendum dederant*).

Ælf. L. S. XXXVI. 76: gif ðu wilt me *befæstan* cnapan *to lærenne.*

Apol. 32.4: ic . . . ðas mine dohtor *befæste* ðam . . . mannan *to fedanne* = 49^{t}: hanc vero . . . filiam meam *nutriendam* . . . hominibus *commendavi.*

gedon, *entrust, commit:*

Cato 10: Ðonne ðu eald sie and manegra ealdra cwidas and lara geaxod hæbbe, *gedo* hie ðonne ðam geongum *to witanne.* [Cf. *Greg.* 357.5, *Oros.* 126.31, and the comments given thereon, p. 118, above. Koch, *l. c.*, II, p. 64, quotes, without a reference, the following passage, which I am unable to locate: " Ic *do* eow *to witanne* (*thu euch zu wissen*)."]

secan, *seek:*

Bede 50.11$^{a, b}$: hwær him wære fultum *to secanne to gewearnienne 7 to wiðscufanne* swa reðre hergunge *7* swa gelomlicre ðara norððeoda = 30.17$^{a, b}$: ubi *quaerendum esset* praesidium *ad euitandas* uel *repellenddas* tam feras tamque creberrimas gentium aquilonialium inruptiones.

Mat. 2.13: toweard ys ðæt Herodes *secð* ðæt Cild *to forspillenne* = futurum est enim ut Herodes *quærat* puerum *ad perdendum* eum (may be objective in Anglo-Saxon).

Ælf. L. S. 368.78: ðæt eower nan . . . ne galdras ne *sece to gremigenne* his scyppend.

2. *With Passive Verbs.*

The active infinitive of purpose is found uninflected only with the passive of the following verb: —

(ge)wealdan, *instruct* (?).

I quote all the examples noted: —

Gifts of Men 47: hond bið gelæred wis and *gewealden*, swa bið wyrhtan ryht, sele *asettan*.

Both infinitives are found with the passive of:

asendan, *send.* **(ge)settan**, *appoint.*

Typical examples are: —

asendan:

(1) Uninflected:

L. 1.19[a, b]: ic *eom asend* wið ðe *sprecan* and ðe ðis *bodian* = *missus sum loqui* ad te, et hæc tibi *evangelizare.*

(2) Inflected:

Chron. 11[b], 430 E: Her Patricius *wæs asend* fram Celestine ðam papan *to bodianne* Scottum fulluht.

Ælf. Hom. II. 488[b 5, 6]: We *sind asende to gecigenne* mancynn from deaðe to life, na *to scufenne* fram life to deaðe.

(ge)settan:

(1) Uninflected:

Bl. Hom. 157.35: nu *syndon gesette* ða apostolas inhlet æ hie *bodian* hire.

(2) Inflected:

Bede 396.28[a]: in ðære he *to bebyrgenne geseted beon scolde* = 228.16[a]: in quo *sepeliendus poni* deberet.

But normally the infinitive of purpose is inflected with passive verbs; it is so found with the passive of the following verbs: —

aliefan, *allow.*
befæstan, *commit, entrust.*
beran, *bear, give birth.*
betæcan, *commit, entrust.*
bringan, *bring.*
ceosan, *choose.*
forgiefan, *give.*
(ge)beodan, *offer.*
gebringan, *bring.*
(ge)gadrian, *gather together.*
(ge)gearwian, *prepare.*
gehalsian [gi-], *request.*
(ge)healdan, *preserve.*
(ge)lædan, *lead.*
(ge)laðian, *invite.*
(ge)rædan, *advise.*
(ge)samnian, *assemble.*
(ge)sellan, *give.*
(ge)smyrian, *anoint.*
(ge)tacnian, *signify.*
(ge)wyrcan, *make, build.*
gierwan, *prepare.*
iecan [-y-], *increase.*
nacian, *make naked.*
onfon, *receive.*
onsendan, *send.*
ontendan, *kindle.*
sellan, *give, entrust.*
sendan, *send.*
todrifan, *drive.*
ycan: see **iecan.**
ymbsellan, *surround.*

A few examples will suffice: —

aliefan [-y-], *allow:*

Mat. 12.4: hu he . . . æt ðа offringhlafas ðe *nærun* him *alyfede to etynne* = Quomodo . . . panes . . . comedit, quos non *licebat* ei *edere.*

ceosan, *choose:*

Ælf. L. S. XXXII. 223: ðe *beoð gecorene* gode *to ðegnigenne.*

(ge)laðian, *invite:*

Bede 394.19: *wæs* ðyder *geladod* circan *to halgianne* = 287.6: Contigit . . . *uirum* . . . *ad dedicandam* ecclesiam . . . *uocari.*

(ge)wyrcan, *make, build:*

Bede 354.19[a, b]: ða hus ða ðe in *to gebiddenne 7 to leornienne geworhte wæron* = 265.13[a, b]: quae *ad orandum* uel *legendum factae erant.*

sellan, *give, entrust:*

Bede 480.26, 27: ða *wæs* ic . . . *seald to fedanne 7 to lærenne* ðam . . . abbude Benedicte = 357.9: *datus sum educandus* . . . abbati Benedicto.

sendan, *send:*

Bede 108.23: A. . . . *to læranne* Ongolðeode *sended wæs* = 89.5: *ad praedicandum* genti Anglorum *missus est.*

Differentiation of the Two Infinitives.

We find that in the poetry practically only the uninflected infinitive of purpose is used, that it is very frequent after verbs of motion, and is very rare after other verbs; that in the prose we have the uninflected infinitive of purpose after certain verbs (1) of motion and (2) of giving only,[1] but that more frequently the inflected infinitive is found, in prose, with these two groups of verbs, while with a very large number of verbs only the inflected infinitive is found. Moreover, as will be shown in the section on the origin of the final infinitive, in Chapter XIV, the Latin original has much to do with whether or not the infinitive is inflected in Anglo-Saxon prose: in a number of instances the uninflected infinitive in Anglo-Saxon translates a Latin final infinitive after verbs of motion and of giving; and the inflected infinitive, with verbs of all kinds, the Latin gerund or gerundive. Not a few times, however, the inflected infinitive is found, especially in the *Gospels*, translating a Latin final infinitive after verbs of motion, — a circumstance doubtless due in part to the fact that the inflected infinitive had by that time become a common instrument for the expression of purpose owing to the Early West Saxon's frequent translation of the Latin gerund and gerundive by an inflected infinitive and in part to the superior clarity[2] of the inflected infinitive as a means of expressing purpose. At any rate, purpose was normally expressed by the inflected infinitive in all Anglo-Saxon prose, early and late, except in the *Gospels*, in which the uninflected infinitive slightly predominates owing to the large number of final infinitives in the Latin original, and except in the *Læceboc*, in which the uninflected infinitive decidedly predominates owing to the very frequent use of the uninflected infinitive after *sellan*, 'give' (especially with *drincan*, 'drink,' and *etan*, 'eat'). The probability that the few instances of the inflected infinitive of purpose in Anglo-Saxon poetry are due to Latin influence is discussed in the section on the origin of the final infinitive, in Chapter XIV.

[1] Sporadically, also, with certain verbs (3) of rest and (4) of commanding; in (4) in direct translation of Latin final infinitives.

[2] On the ambiguity of the uninflected infinitive as the complement of the verb of motion see Chapter XIV, section x.

In a series of co-ordinated final infinitives, each infinitive is, as noted by Professor Shearin,[1] *l. c.*, p. 30, usually preceded by *to*, though occasionally *to* appears only before the first infinitive, and the succeeding infinitive is uninflected. A complete list of the final infinitive in a series is given in Note 1 at the end of the present chapter. In the four examples of the uninflected infinitive following the inflected there cited, I believe the absence of inflection is largely due to the remoteness of the infinitive from its chief verb, for, although the examples are too few to demonstrate this, this is in keeping with what we have seen to be the influence of proximity and of separation in the subjective use of the infinitive. Once, however, as shown by Dr. Shearin,[1] *l. c.*, p. 31, we have an alternation of uninflected with inflected infinitive that is probably due to a slavish following of the Latin[1] original, in *Luke* 1.76–79, in which the Anglo-Saxon has twice an uninflected infinitive for the Latin infinitive, and twice the inflected infinitive for the Latin gerundive.

On p. 27 Dr. Shearin[1] declares: "A separable adverbial prefix seems to have the effect of divorcing *sellan* from the following purpose idea enough to cause this to be expressed by the prepositional, not the simple, infinitive; e. g. ÆH. ii. 244.12: eft swa gelice gelæhte sænne calic . . . and sealde his gingrum *of* to suppenne æfter gereorde; L. S. ii. 142.264: sealde ðam adligan *of* to supenne. The same effect is seen after the passive; e. g. Lch. i. 370.15: eft weðe[2] hundes heafod and his lifer gesoden and geseald to etanne . . . gehæleð; as well as when the infinitive precedes *sellan;* e. g. 0. 108.28: and hit on mete oððe on drynce to geðicgenne gesellan." Personally, however, I believe the inflected infinitive is, in each of these cases, to be accounted for by the general principles laid down above rather than on the special grounds suggested by Dr. Shearin; at any rate, my statistics show that we have, also, the uninflected infinitive when the infinitive precedes *sellan* and when it follows it at an appreciable distance.

Substantially the same differentiation between the uninflected infinitive of purpose and the inflected infinitive of purpose is found in the other Germanic languages: see Chapter XVI.

B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

I have not found a clear example of the passive infinitive of purpose in Anglo-Saxon.

For the final infinitive in the other Germanic languages, see Chapter XVI, section x.

NOTES.

1. *The Final Infinitive in a Series.* — Dr. Farrar, *l. c.*, p. 16, cites only one example (*Bede* 250.20, 21) of an inflected final infinitive's being followed by an uninflected in a series, and Professor Shearin,[1] *l. c.*, p. 30, cites only three: *Bede* 250.20, 21, quoted on p. 139 above; *L.* 1.72[a. b], on p. 143; and *L.* 9.2[a. b], on p. 139. To these examples, however, should be added *Bede* 376.6[a. b], quoted on p. 137, and *Ælf. L. S.* XXXI. 917[a. b], quoted on p. 138. On the other hand, twice (in *L.* 1.76, 77, 79[a. b], quoted on p. 138) we have an uninflected infinitive succeeded by an inflected infinitive, owing no doubt to the influence of the Latin original, as suggested by Professor Shearin,[1] *l. c.*, p. 31, though Dr. Kenyon, *l. c.*, p. 2, is inclined to believe that the uninflected infinitive is here used, not because of the Latin infinitive, but because it follows a verb of motion in Anglo-Saxon. In the following passages we have a series of inflected infinitives: *Bede* 2.3[a. b], 4[a. b]; 50.11[a. b]; 66.5[a. b]; 116.32[a. b. c]; 124.30, 31; 172.17[a. b]; 272.25[a. b]; 372.11[a. b]; 438.14, 15; 454.9[a. b]; 480.29, 30; 486.8[a. b]; — *Boeth.* 19.22,

[1] Dr. Kenyon demurs: see Note 1 below.
[2] *Weðe* should read *wede:* see Cockayne, *l. c.*, I, 370.15. — M. C., Jr.

23; — *Greg.* 307.17[a. b]; 373.8, 9; — *Oros.* 188.10, 11; — *Wærf.* 111.3[b], 4[a]; 218.4[a. b]; — *Chron.* 253[t], 1123 E[d. e]; 256[b], 1127 E[c. d]; — *Laws* 38, c. 36[a. b]; 42, c. 49[b. c. d]; 366, c. 79[a. b]; — *Ælf. Hom.* I. 320[t 1. 2]; 582[t 1. 2]; II. 444[t 1. 2]; — *Ælf. Hept.: Gen.* 28.20[a. b]; — *Ælf. L. S.* XXIII B. 418, 419; — *Ælf. Int.* 155[a. b]; — *Mat.* 20.19[a. b. c]; — *Wulf.* 295.32[a. b]; — Poems: *Christ* 1621[a. b], 1622. With this list should be compared that given by Dr. Shearin,[1] *l. c.*, pp. 30–31. The differences are slight, and arise from the fact that he gives statistics for one work, Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*, to which I have not had access; that he includes a few inflected infinitives that modify a noun (*Bede* 62.8[a. b], 9; *Ælf. Hom.* II. 360[b 1. 2. 3. 4]; *Wulf.* 202.1[a. b]), one that seems to me consecutive (*Bede* 330.18[a. b], 19), and one that seems to me objective (*Greg.* 293.3[a. b]). Dr. Farrar does not give a list of this series; nor does Dr. Riggert.

2. *A Clause Alternates with an Infinitive* occasionally, as in *Ælf. L. S.* XXX. 49[a. b], quoted on p. 136; *J.* 12.47, quoted on p. 137; and *L.* 1.17, quoted on p. 138. Dr. Farrar, *l. c.*, pp. 28 and 33, cites only the example from *John*. In the two examples from the *Gospels* we have the same alternation of clause and of infinitive in the Latin original.

3. *An Inflected Infinitive Alternates with a Prepositional Phrase* at times, as in *Bede* 162.7, quoted on p. 139; *Oros.* 138.8, quoted on p. 140; *Ælf. Hom.* II. 340[m]: Ne lufode he woruldlice æhta *for his neode* ana, ac *to dælenne* eallum wædliendum; — *ib.* 430[b]: ðes sunderhalga . . . hæfde opene eagan *to forhæfednysse, to ælmes-dædum, to ðancigenne* Gode.

4. "*For To*" *with the Inflected Infinitive of Purpose* is found in *Chron.* 256[b], 1127 E[c. d]: se kyng hit dide *for to hauene* sibbe of se eorl Angeow, *for* helpe *to hauene* togænes his neue. Cf. the *New English Dictionary, sub v. for* IV, 11, where the earliest example given of this idiom is dated 1175 (*Cotton Homilies*).

5. *An Inflected Infinitive without* "*To*" is found in *Ælf. L. S.* 222.39: ða petrus *siðode neosigenne* [MSS. U. and B.: *neosigende*] ða geleaffullan.

6. *The Uninflected Infinitive after* "*Beran*," "*Hladan*," and "*Sellan*." — Dr. Wülfing,[2] *l. c.*, II, pp. 178 and 181, seems to consider as objective the uninflected infinitive after *beran, hladan*, and *sellan*, but the Latin equivalents in most cases show, I think, that the infinitive is final, as in the Latin *da bibere* etc. Occasionally in Anglo-Saxon, *drincan* (after *sellan*) may be a noun instead of an infinitive, as it at times corresponds to the Latin noun, *potum*, instead of to the infinitive, *bibere*, as in *Ælf. Hept.: Ex.* 2.19 (hlod wæter mid us and *sealde* ðam sceapum *drincan* = hausit aquam nobiscum *potum*que *dedit* ovibus). The infinitive after these verbs is considered final by Dr. Shearin,[1] *l. c.*, pp. 13–15.

7. *A Final Infinitive as Modifier of a Verb to Be Supplied.* — Occasionally a final infinitive modifies an infinitive that is to be supplied as the complement of an auxiliary verb, as in *Ælf. Hept.: Gen.* 22.4 (Ða on ðone ðriddan dæg, ða hig ða dune gesawon, ðær ðær hig to *sceoldon to ofsleanne* Isaac = vidit locum procul) and in *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II*, 15.218 (Geswic ðu earming, ne *miht* ðu to nahte minne mægðhad me *to beswicenne*).

8. *The Uninflected Infinitive as a Translation of the Latin Supine in* "*-um*." — Ælfric, in his *Grammar*, p. 134, gives several examples of an uninflected infinitive translating a Latin supine, after a verb of motion in each language, and seems to say that the infinitive denotes futurity, but in each example the infinitive, while future in sense, also denotes purpose, I think. The examples are: vis amatum ire? = wylt ðu faran lufian? uenatum pergo = ic fare huntian; uis doctum ire? = wylt ðu gan leornian? lectum pergit = he gæð rædan; bibitum pergo = ic gange drincan.

9. *Final or Predicative Infinitive?* — Dr. Kenyon, *l. c.*, p. 137, considers the two infinitives (*beon* and *faran*) after *todældon*, in *Oros.* 46.15, 16, as final. To me, however, they seem predicative, and the infinitive phrase seems absolute: see Chapter VIII, p. 118, and section D of Chapter XII, p. 169.

10. *Infinitive or Indicative?* — In *Ex.* 166 (Wulfas sungon atol æfenleoð ætes on wenan, carleasan deor, cwyldrof *beodan* on laðra last leodmægnes ful), as Grein, in his *Sprachschatz, sub v. beodan*, states, we may have the infinitive of *bēodan*, 'announce,' or the preterite plural of *bīdan*, 'await.' Professor J. W. Bright kindly writes me that the presumption is certainly against the infinitive, and that he would read *fyl* for *ful*. Accordingly, I have omitted *bēodan* from my statistics.

11. "*The Split Infinitive.*" — In the second infinitive quoted in Note 4 above, we seem to have the earliest instance of splitting the infinitive in the English language, though it is of the compound prepositional infinitive introduced by *for to*, not of the simple prepositional infinitive introduced by *to*, to which latter idiom the phrase, "the split infinitive," is usually applied. Of the latter idiom, the earliest instance cited by F. Hall is from Wycliffe: see his "On the Separation, by a Word or Words, of *To* and the Infinitive Mood," as cited in my bibliography.

CHAPTER XI.

THE INFINITIVE WITH ADJECTIVES.[1]

A. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

Usually the active infinitive that modifies an Adjective is inflected, but occasionally it is uninflected. There are 241 examples of the former to 6 examples of the latter. Of the inflected infinitive, 217 examples occur in the prose, rather widely distributed, in Early West Saxon and in Late West Saxon, and 24 examples in the poetry. Of the six uninflected infinitives, four are found in the prose and two in the poetry. Although Dr. Riggert, *l. c.*, p. 71, declares that "Ein reiner Infinitiv in Verbindung mit einem Adjektiv ist in der ae. Poesie nicht zu belegen," he practically withdraws this statement in his comment on *Guthlac*, 1. 1050. In discussing the simple infinitive of purpose after verbs of motion, he adds, *l. c.*, p. 44: "Anzuführen ist hier endlich *Gu.* 1050, wo *ic eom siðes fus* als Ausdruck der Eile aufzufassen ist und demgemäss mit dem reinen Infinitiv steht; *Gu.* 1050: ic eom siðes fus upeard niman edleanan georn in ðam ecan gefean, ærgewyrhtum geseon sigora frean."

To me the active infinitive with adjectives seems almost, if not quite, exclusively active in sense. Dr. Farrar, however, *l. c.*, pp. 16 and 19, contends that the infinitive is passive in the following: *Bede* 174.22: wundro, . . . ða ðe nu to *long to secgenne* syndon = 143.30: sed haec nos ad alia tendentes, suis *narrare permittimus; Greg.* 173.11: Ne brede ge no ða stengeas of ðæm hringum, ðylæs sio earc sie *ungearo to beranne* = 126.28: Ut *ad portandam* arcam nulla mora *præpeditat.* Undoubtedly each of these infinitives may be translated as if passive, but I see no necessity therefor in either sentence. The Latin in the second sentence seems to me distinctly to suggest that *to beranne* is to be taken as active, not passive, in sense; and with the former sentence should be compared *Greg.* 239.10 (nawuht nis *ieðre to gesecgenne,* ne eac to [ge]hefanne ðonne soð = 180.21: Nil autem est ad defendendum puritate tutius, nil *ad dicendum* veritate *facilius*), in which *ad dicendum* likewise suggests the active sense for *to (ge)secgenne.* More doubtful than the two cases cited by Dr. Farrar, in my judgment, are the following: — *Oros.* 80.11, 12[a, b]: Swa ðeah seo . . . menegeo ðæs folces wæs ða *ieðre to oferwinnanne* ðonne heo us sie nu *to gerimanne* oððe *to geliefanne* = 81.7, 8: Huic tam incredibili temporibus nostris agmini, cujus *numerum* nunc *difficilius* est *adstrui,* quam tunc fuit *vinci; Greg.* 459.9[a, b]: sio hea lar is *betere* manegum monnum *to helanne,* & feawum *to secgganne* = 392.7, 8: Alta enim quæque debent multis audientibus *contegi,* et vix paucis *aperiri.* However, despite the presence of the Latin passive infinitives in these sentences, I see no necessity for considering the corresponding infinitives in Anglo-Saxon as passive; it seems to me that the utmost that we can say is this: the infinitives may be passive in sense, but are probably not.

The general contention of the preceding paragraph is supported, it seems to me, by what we know of the infinitive with adjectives in Greek. In his

[1] Also sporadically with a few Adverbs.

Syntax of Classical Greek, I, § 143, "Infinitive Active Apparently as Passive," Professor Gildersleeve tells us: "The infinitive being a verbal noun is not so strictly bound by the voices as the finite form. The infinitive as a complement to adjectives and the so-called epexegetic infinitive often coincide with the English idiom in which 'good to eat' is 'good for food,' 'fair to see' is 'fair to the sight,' and in Greek the active form is more common and, if anything, more natural than the passive. Καλὸς ἰδεῖν, 'fair to see;' καλεπὰ εὑρεῖν, Plato, Rpb. 412 B, 'hard to find;' but καλεποὶ . . . γνώσθηναι, Antiphon, 2 a I, 'hard to recognize.'"

The infinitive usually follows its adjective, at times immediately, as in *And.* 73 (ic beo sona *gearu to dreoganne* ðæt ðu . . . deman wille); at times with several words intervening, as in *Chron.* 139ᵇ, 1009 Eᵉ (eall folc *gearu* wæs heom on *to fonne*). Occasionally the infinitive precedes the adjective, as in *Hept.: Gen.* 2.9 (treow . . . *to brucenne wynsum* = lignum . . . *ad vescendum suave*). Not infrequently the adjective immediately precedes the noun that it modifies (apparently attributively but really appositively, as a rule), and sometimes it is not easy to tell whether the infinitive modifies the adjective or the intervening noun, as in *Bede* 60.29: heo hæfdon *geara* mod . . . deað sylfne *to ðrowianne* = 47.6: *paratum ad . . . moriendum . . .* animum habendo; *Beow.* 2416: næs ðæt *yðe* ceap *to gegangenne* gumena ænigum.

As stated in Chapter I, some of the infinitives there classed as subjective may possibly belong here; and this difficulty, if not impossibility, of precise demarcation [1] accounts for the chief divergences of my statistics from those of my predecessors. The differences occur chiefly in pronominal clauses of the sort discussed in Chapter I, pp. 9 ff. Aside from this, Dr. Wülfing [2] puts here *Bede* 468.30 = 643.7 (Sende him cræftige wyrhtan stænene cyricean *to timbrianne* = 333.12: misit architectos), which I consider final; and *Bede* 202.28 = 543.27, which he [3] rightly puts here, has no infinitive in the text used by me. Once more: as stated below, in the discussion of the inflected infinitive with adjectives, I have put a few infinitives with adjectives in the chapter on "Other Adverbial Uses of the Infinitive," in the section treating of the consecutive use.

I. THE INFINITIVE UNINFLECTED.

Of the six examples of the uninflected infinitive modifying an adjective, three occur with *gearu(-o)*, 'ready,' 'prepared for;' two with *fus*, 'ready,' 'prepared;' and one with *wierðe* (*-u-*, *-y-*), 'worthy.' I give the examples in full: —

fus, *ready, prepared:*

Gu. 1051, 1053: ic eom siðes *fus* upeard *niman* edleanan georn in ðam ecan gefean, særgewyrhtum *geseon* sigora frean, min ðæt swæse bearn! [See Dr. Riggert's comment on this passage, above, p. 149.]

gearu, *ready:*

Bede 56.21: forðon he *gearo* wære in ðam ylcan gewinne mid him *beon* = 43.21: quia *laborare* scilicet *uolo*.

Ælf. Hom. I. 534ᵇ [3]: ic eom *gearo* to gecyrrenne to munuclicere drohtnunge,

[1] On this topic see, too, Einenkel,[1] *l. c.*, pp. 243–244.
[2] Wülfing,[2] *l. c.*, II, p. 199. The number after the equal sign is that of the text used by Wülfing, namely, Smith's.
[3] Wülfing,[2] *l. c.*, II, p. 203.

and woruldlice ðeawas ealle *forlætan* (*sic!*). — *Ib.* II. 130[4 2]: *gearowe* wæron ehtnysse to ðoligenne, and deaðe *sweltan*.

wierðe, *worthy:*

Ælf. L. S. 138.353[b]: biddende mid wope ðæt hi *wurðe* wæron for criste to ðrowiganne and *becuman* (*sic!*) to his halgum.

II. THE INFINITIVE INFLECTED.

The inflected infinitive occurs with numerous adjectives to specify the tendency, the purpose, or the activity appropriate to the quality denoted by the adjective, about as does the Latin phrase made up of *ad* + a gerund (or *ad* + a gerundive), or the Latin gerund in the genitive or the dative or the ablative, or the supine in *-u-*, — idioms to which the Anglo-Saxon inflected infinitive often corresponds in the translations. The Infinitive of Specification occurs with the following groups[1] of adjectives (and adverbs): —

1. Adjectives Denoting Readiness, Capacity, Inclination, and the like, with their opposites, the chief representatives of which are *gearu*, 'ready,' and its negative, *ungearu:* —

æmetig, *at leisure, free.*
bealdra, *bolder.*
behydigest, *most solicitous.*
freora, *freer.*
from, *energetic.*
fus, *ready.*
gearu, *ready.*
gedyrstig, *audacious.*
gemyndig, *mindful.*
geornfull [**giorn-**], *eager, desirous.*
geornost, *most eager.*
geris(e)ne, *suitable, apt.*
geðancol, *thoughtful.*
gifre, *eager.*
hal, *whole, able* (?).
hræd, *quick.*
hræð: see hræd.
læt, *slow.*
latheort, *slow of heart.*
listhendig, *skillful.*
lustbære, *desirous.*
lustfull, *desirous.*
lustlic, *desirous.*
mi(e)htig, *mighty, powerful.*
open, *open.*
scearp, *sharp, eager.*
strang [**-o-**], *strong, powerful.*
strengra, *stronger.*
swift, *swift.*
trum, *firm, strong.*
ðurhwæccendlic, *very vigilant.*
ungearu[**-o**], *unready.*

2. Adjectives Denoting Ease and Difficulty and the like, of which the chief representatives are *ieðe*, 'easy,' its negative, *unieðe*, and *earfoð(e)*, 'difficult:' —

deop, *deep, profound.*
earfoð(e), *difficult.*
earfoðest, *most difficult.*
earfoðlic, *difficult.*
hefig, *difficult.*
ieðe [**y-**, **e-**, **ea-**], *easy.*
ieðelic, *easy.*
ieðre, *easier.*
lang [**-o-**], *long, tedious.*
langsum [**-o-**], *long, tedious.*
leoht, *light, easy.*
leohtest, *lightest, easiest.*
lytel, *little, insignificant.*
unieðe [**-ea-**, **-e-**], *not easy, difficult.*

3. Adjectives Denoting Goodness, Usefulness, Necessity, and the like, of which the chief representatives are *god*, 'good;' *sel*, 'excellent;' *wierðe*, 'worthy,' and its compounds; *nyt*, 'useful,' with its compounds; and *niedðearf*, 'necessary,' with its compounds: —

æðele, *excellent, valuable.*
betere, *better.*
betst, *best.*
frymful, *beneficial.*
god, *good.*
mære, *glorious, famous.*

[1] The groups are substantially those given by Dr. Wülfing,[2] *l. c.*, II, pp. 197–206. A few adjectives appear in more than one group.

niedbeðearfest [-ea-, -e-], *most necessary.*
niedðearf [-ea-, -e-], *necessary.*
niedðearflic, *necessary.*
nyt(t)wierðe [-y-], *useful.*
nyt(t)wierðlic [-y-], *useful.*
rædlicost, *most advisable.*
selost [-e-, -e-], *most excellent.*
selra, *more excellent.*
til, *excellent.*
wierðe [-u-, -y-], *worthy.*
wierðelic, *worthy.*
wierðost, *most worthy.*

4. Adjectives Denoting Pleasantness and Unpleasantness and the like, of which the chief representatives are *leof*, 'dear,' with its compounds; and *wynsum*, 'winsome,' with its compounds: —

andrysnlic [on-], *terrible.*
arwurðlic, *venerable.*
bitterre, *more bitter.*
eatolice, *terribly.*
egeful, *terrible.*
egeslic, *terrible.*
fæger, *fair, beautiful.*
gecweme, *agreeable.*
gesom, *agreed, friendly.*
glæd, *bright, clear.*
glæshlut(t)or, *clear as glass.*
grimlic, *terrible.*
grimre, *more terrible.*
halwende, *beneficial.*
leof, *dear, desirable.*
leofra, *dearer*, etc.
leofost, *dearest*, etc.
licwierðe [-u-], *pleasing, acceptable.*
liðe, *pleasant.*
lustbære, *pleasant, fruitful* (also in 1).
lustbærre, *more pleasant.*
lustfullic, *pleasant.*
lustlicre, *more pleasant.*
lustsumlic, *pleasant.*
myrige, *pleasant.*
onderslic, *terrible.*
reow [reoh], *rough, fierce.*
scir, *white.*
swete, *sweet.*
ðearlic, *painful.*
unwerodre, *more unsweet.*
unwynsum [-i-], *unwinsome.*
wered [-od], *sweet.*
wynsum [-i-], *winsome, pleasant.*
wynsumre [-i-], *more winsome*, etc.

5. Adjectives Denoting Right and Wrong, Suitability and Unsuitability, the Customary and the Strange, and the like, of which the chief representatives are *rihtlic*, 'right;' *gecoplic*, 'suitable;' *getriewe*, 'true;' *gewuna*, 'accustomed;' *soðlic*, 'true;' *unrihtlic*, 'wrong;' *wundorlic*, 'wonderful:' —

deaflic, *suitable.*
diegol [diegle], *mysterious.*
gecoplic, *fit, suitable.*
gehendast, *most convenient.*
gehyð, *convenient.*
getriewe [-e-], *true, safe, able.*
gewuna, *accustomed.*
lang [-o-], *long* (also in 2).
langsum [-o-], *long* (also in 2).
manigfeald [-o-], *manifold.*
manigfealdlicor, *more manifoldly.*
micel [-y-], *great, wonderful.*
rihtlic, *just, proper.*
soðlic, *true.*
unaberendlicre, *more intolerable.*
ungeliefedlic, *incredible.*
ungewunelic, *unusual.*
unrihtlic, *wrong, improper.*
unscende, *honorable.*
wrætlic, *rare, wonderful.*
wundorlic, *wonderful.*

6. Other Adjectives: —

ana, *alone.*
feald [god and —], *suitable* (?).
feorr, *far.*
læne, *fleeting, deceptive.*
toweard, *toward, coming.*

Typical examples are: —

1. Adjectives Denoting Readiness, Capacity, Inclination, etc.:—
fus, *ready:*
Beow. 1805: wæron æðelingas eft to leodum *fuse to farenne.*
gearu [-o], *ready:*

And. 73: quoted on p. 150.

Bede 60.29: quoted on p. 150. — *Ib.* 98.4: ðæt he selfa *geara* wære . . . ðæt weorc *to fremmenne* = 80.27: ipsum *paratum* esse *in* hoc opus . . . *perficendum.*

Boeth. 107.32: ðu eart *gearo to ongitanne* = 93.69: quoniam te *ad intellegendum promptissimum* esse conspicio.

Greg. 45.9: Sceawiað iowre fet, ðæt ge sien *gearwe to ganganne* on sibbe weg = 22.28: Calceati pedes *in præparatione* Evangelii pacis. — *Ib.* 173.5: ðonne hi suiðe hrædlice bioð *gearwe to læranne* = 126.24: protinus *docent.* — *Ib.* 173.8[1, 2]: Bioð simle *gearwe to læranne & to forgiefanne* ælcum etc. = 126.26: *Parati* semper *ad satisfactionem* omni poscenti vos rationem etc. — *Ib.* 203.12: ðonne beoð ða heortan suiðe *gearwe* wisdomes *to anfonne* = 152.10: quasi *ad suscipiendum* ædificium corda *paraverunt.* — *Ib.* 423.28: forðæmðe he næfð *gearone* willan ðæt woh *to fulfremmanne* = 346.21: nec bonos mala *inconsummata* condemnant.

Solil. 11.11: ðe ic eom *gearu to ðeowianne* = tibi soli *servire paratus sum.*

Pr. Ps. 7.13: he bende his bogan, se is nu *gearo to sceotanne* = arcum suum tetendit, et *paravit* illum.

Chron. 139[b], 1009 E[c]: eall folc *gearu* wæs heom on *to fonne.*

Laws 166, V Æthelstan, Prol., 1: Nu hæbbe ic funden mid ðæm witum . . . ðæt ða ealle beon *gearwe* . . . mid eallum ðingum *to farenne* ðider ic wille.

Wærf. 80.27: we syndon *gearwe* ðæt *to done* [*sic!* but MS. H.: *to donne*] = 205 C[2]: *facere parati* sumus.

Ælf. Hom. I. 406[b]: gif hwa . . . wolde his lac Gode offrian, ðæt he on gehendnysse *to bicgenne gearu* hæfde.

Ælf. L. S. XXXVII. 110: ic . . . *gearo* eom witu *to ðrowienne.*

Ælf. Hept.: Num. 15.40: We syndon *gearwe* nu *to gewinnanne* ðæt land = *Parati* sumus *ascendere* ad locum.

A. S. Hom. & L. S. II. 15.104: ic eom *geara* . . . on drihten *to gelefanne* = 210.90: ego illum *adoro.*

L. 22.33: ic eom *gearu to farenne* mid ðe = tecum *paratus sum* . . . *ire.*

gemyndig, *mindful:*

Pr. Ps. 9.12: he is swyðe *gemyndig* heora blod *to wrecanne* = 9.13: *requirens* sanguinem eorum *recordatus est.*

geornfull [**giorn-**], *eager, desirous:*

Boeth. 51.9: ðæt ðu swiðe *geornfull* wære hit *to gehyranne* = 50.14: te *audiendi cupidum.*

Greg. 281.5[b]: Sie æghwelc mon suiðe hræd & suiðe *geornful to gehieranne*, & suiðe læt to sprecanne = 212.9[a]: Sit omnis homo *velox ad audiendum*, tardus autem ad loquendum.

geris(e)ne, *suitable, apt:*

Bede 274.7: ða gemette he sume *gerisne* stowe in H. mynster on *to timbrienne* = 213.24: inuenit locum in H. . . . *aptum* monasterio *construendo.*

gifre, *eager:*

Boeth. 50.24[a, b]: ic heora eom swiðe *gifre* ægðer ge *to geheranne* ge eac *to gehealdenne* = 50.8: *audiendi auidus* (or are the infinitives appositive?).

læt, *slow, tardy:*

Greg. 281.6: see under *geornful.*

listhendig, *skillful:*

Gifts of Men 96: Sum bið *listhendig to awritanne* wordgeryno.

lustbære,[1] *desirous:*

Boeth. 50.10: ic . . . wæs . . . swiðe *lustbære* hine *to geheranne* = 50.1: me *audiendi auidum.*

Ælf. L. S. 96.117: wæron *lustbære* . . . wita *to ðrowienne.*

mi(e)htig, *mighty, powerful:*

Greg. 91.15[a, b]: se lareow sceolde beon *miehtig to tyhtanne* on halwende lare, & eac *to ðreanne* ða ðe him [wiðstondan wiellen = 62.3, 4: Ut *potens* sit *exhortari* in doctrina sana, et eos, qui contradicunt, *arguere.*

ðurhwæccendlic, *very vigilant:*

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 44: mid *ðurhwæccendlican* mode forð heonon *to under* [*fonne*] ða towearðan mede.

ungearu [-o], *unready:*

Greg. 173.11: quoted on p. 149.

2. Adjectives Denoting Ease and Difficulty, etc.:—

earfoð(e) [-eð(e)], *difficult:*

Boeth. 81.3[a, b]: Swa swa nu eorðe . . . 7 wæter sint swiðe *earfoðe to geseonne* oððe *to ongitonne* dysgum monnum = 0. — *Ib.* 92.24: ða stanas . . . bioð *earfoðe to tedælenne* (*sic!*) = 79.77: ne *facile dissoluantur.*

Chron. 218[m], 1086 E[a]: unriht . . ., ðe sindon *earfeðe to areccenne.*

Ælf. Hom. II. 542[b]: Ælc ehtnys bið *earfoðe to ðolienne.*

ieðe [eðe], *easy:*

Beow. 2416: quoted on p. 150.

Boeth. 16.13[b]: ðing ða ðe nawðer ne sint getrewe to habbanne, ne eac *ieðe to forlætanne* = 25.38: quam non relicturam nemo umquam poterit esset securus. An uero tu pretiosam aestimas *abituram* felicitatem? — *Ib.* 92.27: hi bioð swiðe *eðe to tedælenne* (*sic!*) = 79.79: facile quidem *diuidentibus cedunt.*

ieðelic, *easy:*

Greg. 419.10: Ða cyðde se witga hu *ieðelic* bið *to forgiefenne* sio geðohte synn = 340.22: quam sit super hæc *facilis venia* ostendit.

ieðre, *easier:*

Greg. 239.10, 11: nawuht nis *ieðre to* [*ge*]*secganne* ne eac *to* [*ge*]*hefanne* ðonne soð = 180.21: Nil autem est ad defendendum puritate tutius, nil *ad dicendum* veritate *facilius.*

langsum [2] [-o-], *long, tedious:*

Ælf. Hom. II. 170[b 1, 2]: ðing . . ., ðe us sind *langsume to gereccenne*, and eow *to gehyrenne.*

leoht, *light, easy:*

Greg. 23.13: ðylæs hi hwæm *leohte* ðyncen *to underfonne* = 2.3: quæ ne quibusdam *levia esse* videantur.

unieðe [**uneaðe**], *not easy, difficult:*

Greg. 385.10, 11: Ðu gionga, bio ðe *uniðe to clipianne & to læranne* = 300.16: Adolescens *loquere* in causa tua *vix.* — *Ib.* 409.20: sæde ðæt he *unieðe* wære *to gehealdenne* = 330.1: et dum prædicit quia *difficile capitur.*

Bl. Hom. 59.15: se deada byð *uneaðe* ælcon men on neaweste *to hæbbenne.*

[Cf. Einenkel,[2] *l. c.*, p. 244.]

[1] Also under 4.

[2] See also under 5.

3. Adjectives Denoting Goodness, Usefulness, Necessity, etc.:—

betere, *better:*

Greg. 457.7: Đætte hwilum ða leohtan scylda bioð *beteran to forlætenne* = 388.21: Quod aliquando leviora vitia *relinquenda sunt.*

betst, *best:*

Læce. 44.29: wyrta ðonne sien *betste to wyrcenne.*

god, *good:*

Bened. 127.7ª: cræftas, ðe synd *gode to beganne* = 194.13: ut . . . artes diversæ . . . *exerceantur.*

Ælf. Hept.: Gen. 3.6: ðæt treow wæs *god to etanne* = *bonum* esset lignum *ad vescendum.*

Læce. 34.10: fifleafe awrungenu 7 wið win gemenged *god* bið *to drincanne.*

niedbeðearfost, *most necessary:*

Greg. 7.7: bec, ða ðe *niedbeðearfosta* sien eallum monnum *to wiotonne* = 0.

niedðearflic [ned-], *necessary:*

Bl. Hom. 225.26: gif ic nugit sie ðinum folce *nedðearflic* on worlde *to hæbbenne.*

nyt(t)wierðe [-y-], *useful:*

Greg. 275.14, 15: ac ðonne he *nytwyrðne* timan ongiet *to sprecanne,* he forsihð ða swigean, & spricð eall ðæt he *nytwyrðes* ongiet *to sprecanne* = 208.8: ut nimirum cum opportunum considerat, postposita censura silentii, *loquendo* quæ *congruunt,* in usum se utilitatis impendat. — *Ib.* 255.12: se gæsðlica Fæder he us lærð *nytwyrðlicu* ðing *to underfonne,* ðæt is ðæt we ge(e)arnigen ðæt ece lif = 192.23: Et illi quidem in tempore paucorum dierum secundum voluntatem suam *erudiebant* nos; hic autem *ad id quod utile* est *in recipiendo* sanctificationem ejus.

selra, *more excellent:*

Beow. 1851: Wen ic talige . . . ðæt ðe Sæ-Geatas *selran* næbben *to geceosenne* cyning ænigne, hordweard hæleða.

S. & S. 406: Swilc bið seo an snæd æghwylcum men *selre* micle, gif heo gesegnod bið, *to ðycgganne.*

wierðe [-u-, -y-], *worthy:*

Gen. 622: ne wite ic him ða womcwidas, ðeah he his *wyrðe* ne sie *to alætanne* ðæs fela he me laðes spræc.

Ælf. L. S. 138.353ª: biddende mid wope ðæt hi *wurðe* wæron for criste *to ðrowigenne* and becuman (*sic!*) to his halgum.

Mat. 3.11: ðæs gescy neom ic *wyrðe to berenne* = cujus non sum *dignus* calceamenta *portare.*

wierðelic [-y-], *worthy:*

Wærf. 230.16: bebodu, ðe *wyrðelice* wæron *to gehyranne* = 281 B: ei per quos potuit quæ fuerat *dignus audire* mandavit.

wierðost [-y-], *most worthy:*

Ælf. L. S. XXXI. 637: he *wurðost* wæs æfter him *to drincenne.*

4. Adjectives Denoting Pleasantness and Unpleasantness, etc.:—

andrysnlic, *terrible:*

Bl. Hom. 33.5: Đonne ðincð ðis geleaffullum monnum swiðe *andrysnlicu* wise *to gehyrenne.*

fæger, *fair, beautiful:*

Oros. 74.13: Seo burg . . . wæs swiðe *fæger* an *to locianne* = 75.11: natura loci *laetissima.*

Bl. Hom. 113.22: ðær ðu ær gesawe . . . *fægre* leomu on *to seonne.*

glad, *bright, clear:*

Boeth. 14.14: ðeah heo [= sæ] ær *gladu* wære on *to locienne* = 23.12: 0.

grimlic, *terrible:*

Chr. 919[b]: he bið ðam yflum egeslic and *grimlic to geseonne.*

leof, *dear, desirable:*

Bede 450.3[a, b]: Wæs he . . . ealre his ðeode *leof* heora rice *to habbanne* 7 *to healdenne* = 322.8, 9: genti *ad tenenda seruandaque* regni sceptra *exoptatissimus.*

leofost, *dearest, most desirable:*

Bl. Hom. 55.18: ða word ðe he wenð ðæt him *leofoste* syn *to gehyrenne.* — *Ib.* 111.26[a, b]: eall forlæteð ðæt him . . . wynsumlic wæs, & *leofost to agenne* & *to hæbbenne.*

leofra, *dearer, more desirable:*

Oros. 286.8[a, b]: him *leofre* wæs se cristendom *to beganne* ðonne his scira *to habbanne* = 287.8: omnes officium quam fidem *deserere maluerunt.*

Bl. Hom. 195.8: him wæron ær his æhta *leofran to hæbbenne* ðonne Godes lufu. [Cf. Einenkel,[1] *l. c.*, p. 244.]

lustbære,[1] *pleasant, fruitful:*

Ælf. Hom. I. 130[m]: Ðas word sind *lustbære to gehyrenne.*

lustlicre, *more pleasant:*

Bened. 3.3: Hwæt is *lustlicre to gehyrenne* ðonne ðeos . . . stefn? = 6.7: Quid *dulcius* nobis hac voce?

onderslic, *terrible:*

Bede 144.18[b]: wære æghwæðer ge arwyrðlic ge *onderslic* on *to seonne* = 117.29[b]: uenerabilis simul et *terribilis aspectu.*

swete, *sweet:*

Boeth. 51.5: he [= se læcecraft] . . . swiðe *swete to bealcetenne* = 0.

Bl. Hom. 59.10: geogoðlustas . . . ða ðe . . . him *swete* wæron *to aræfnenne.* [Cf. Einenkel,[1] *l. c.*, p. 244.]

unwynsum, *unwinsome:*

Ælf. Hom. I. 184[t]: swa ðæt heo foroft bið swiðe *unwynsum* on *to eardigenne.*

werod [**-ed**], *sweet:*

Ælf. Hept.: Ex. 15.25[b]: het don ðæt treow on ðæt wæter, and hit wearð siððan *wered to drincanne* = lignum, quod cum misisset in aquas, *in dulcedinem* versæ sunt.

wynsum [**-i-**], *winsome:*

Met. 21.19: ðæt is *wynsum* stow æfter ðissum yrmðum *to aganne.*

Bede 346.4: his song 7 his leoð wæron swa *wynsumu to gehyranne,* ðætte . . . his lareowas æt his muðe wreoton 7 leornodon = 260.32: *suauiusque resonando* doctores suos uicissim auditores sui faciebant.

Solil. 51.11: deoplicu is seo ascung and *winsumu to witanne* = 0.

Ælf. L. S. XXX. 315: Wæs seo wunung ðær . . . *wynsum* on *to wicenne.*

wynsumre [**-i-**], *more winsome:*

[1] Also under 1.

Boeth. 52.8: Swa bið eac micle ðe *winsumre* sio soðe gesælð *to habbenne* efter ðam eormðum ðisses . . . lifes = 0.

5. Adjectives Denoting Right and Wrong, Suitability and Unsuitability, the Customary and the Strange, etc.:—

getriewe [-trewe], *true, safe:*

Boeth. 16.13ª: ðing ða ðe nawðer ne sint *getrewe to habbanne,* ne eac ieðe to forlætanne = 25.36: quam non *relicturam* nemo umquam poterit esset *securus.* An uero tu pretiosam aestimas abituram felicitatem?

gewuna, *accustomed:*

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 614: ne oferfar ðu na iordanen swa swa *gewuna* synt of eowrum mynstrum *to farenne.*

rihtlic, *just, proper:*

Wærf. 345.14: ðing . . ., ðe heom symle gelyfde wæron genoh *rihtlice to habbanne* = 421 A¹: cœperunt singuli extrema quæque et vilia, et quæ eis *habere* regulariter semper *licuerat* (or does the infinitive modify *gelyfde?*).

soðlic, *true:*

Ælf. L. S. 182.226: scyppend *soðlic to wurðigenne.*

ungewunelic, *unusual:*

Wærf. 17.28: ongan ðencan, ðæt ðyllic wundor wære mannum *ungewunelic to wyrcanne* = 160 B²: At ille *inusitatum* habens tale miraculum, expavit petitionis illius juramentum.

unrihtlic, *wrong, improper:*

Wærf. 209.23ª: ðeah ðe heo [= spræc] si us unwyrðelice (*sic!*) *7 unrihtlic to sprecane* (*sic!*) = 256 C¹: locutionem quæ nobis *indigna* est etiam delectabiliter tenemus.

wrætlic, *rare, wonderful:*

Rid. 40.25: ðæt [is] *wrætlic* ðing *to gesecganne.*

wundorlic, *wonderful:*

Wulf. 15.14: seo menniscnes is *wundorlic* ymbe to *smeagenne.*

6. Other Adjectives:—

ana, *alone:*

Ælf. L. S. 182.225: Eala ðu ælmihtiga god *ana to gebiddene* (*sic!*).

feald [**god** and —], *suitable* (?):

Læce. 87.15, 16: se petraoleum . . . is god and *feald to drincanne* wið innan tiedernesse *7* utan *to smerwanne* on wintres dæge.

feorr, *far:*

And. 424: Mycel is nu gena lad ofer lagustream, land swiðe *feorr to secanne.* [Cf. *Beow.* 1922 in Ch. I, p. 13.]

læne, *fleeting, deceptive:*

Wulf. 189.4: gecnawan hu *læne* . . . ðis lif is on *to getruwianne.*

toweard,[1] *toward, coming:*

Bede 270. 2: hwonne he . . . *toweard* sy in . . . wolcnum . . . *to demanne* cwice and deade = 211.7: *uenturus est* . . . *ad iudicandos* uiuos et mortuos.

Bl. Hom. 81.35, 36: we eac witon ðæt he is *toweard to demenne,* & ðas world *to geendenne.*

[1] See Chapter VII, p. 105.

Ælf. Hom. I. 190ᵇ: Godes Sunu, se ðe wæs *toweard to alysenne* ealne middangeard fram deofles anwealde.

Chad. 188: ðonne he bið *toweard to demenne* cwice ⁊ deade.

Differentiation of the Two Infinitives.

Although twice in the poetry an uninflected infinitive is found with an adjective, we may be reasonably sure that, in the poetry as in the prose, the infinitive with adjectives normally was inflected: of the 26 examples of the infinitive in Anglo-Saxon poetry, only two are uninflected; of the 221 examples in the prose, only four are uninflected. The lack of inflection in both poetry and prose appears to be due chiefly to the remoteness of the infinitive from the adjective that it modifies, since in each [1] of the examples the infinitive is appreciably separated from its adjective. As, however, in three of the examples (*Ælf. Hom.* I. 534ᵇ ², II. 130ᵗ ²; *Ælf. L. S.* 138.353ᵇ) the uninflected infinitive is the second of a series of two infinitives the first of which is inflected, some may prefer to consider that the force of *to* is carried over to the second infinitive, or, to state the matter another way, that the presence of *to* with the first infinitive accounts for its absence with the second infinitive. What seems to me to militate against this latter view and to favor the former, is the fact that in *Bede* 56.21, where we have only a single infinitive and that separated from its adjective by a number of words, the infinitive is uninflected; and the further fact that in sixteen series we have only the inflected infinitive, while in only three series have we an uninflected infinitive following an inflected. Moreover, we have seen that in some other uses remoteness from a word normally requiring an inflected infinitive, tends to cause the infinitive to lose its inflection.

B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

Of an adjective modified by an infinitive that is passive in form I have found only one example, in *Ælf. Hom.* II. 316ᵇ ²: we ðe næron *wurðe beon* his wealas *gecigde.*

For the infinitive with adjectives (and adverbs) in the other Germanic languages, see Chapter XVI, section xi.

NOTES.

1. *The Infinitive in a Series with Adjectives.* — In the following passages, of which only the last is cited by Dr. Farrar,[2] we have a series of infinitives with adjectives in which the first infinitive is inflected, but the succeeding is not: *Ælf. Hom.* I. 534ᵇ ², ³, quoted on p. 150; II. 130ᵗ ¹, ², quoted on p. 151; *Ælf. L. S.* 138.353ᵃ, ᵇ, quoted on p. 151. In the following passages we have a series of infinitives in which each infinitive is inflected: *Bede* 410.4ᵇ, 5ᵇ; 450.3ᵃ, ᵇ; — *Boeth.* 50.24ᵃ, ᵇ, 81.3ᵃ, ᵇ; — *Greg.* 91.15ᵃ, ᵇ; 173.8ᵃ, ᵇ; 239.10, 11; 385.10, 11; 459.9ᵃ, ᵇ; — *Oros.* 80.11, 12ᵃ, ᵇ; 286.8ᵃ, ᵇ; — *Wærf.* 27.8, 9; — *Bl. Hom.* 81.35, 36; 111.26ᵃ, ᵇ; — *Ælf. Hom.* II. 170ᵇ ¹, ²; — *Ælf. L. S.* XXV. 113ᵃ, ᵇ; — *Læce.* 87.15, 16.

2. *An Infinitive with an Adjective That Is to Be Supplied.* — We have an inflected infinitive dependent upon an adjective that is to be supplied from the context in the following: *Oros.* 120.9: ðonne sceoldon ge swa lustlice eowre agnu brocu arærnan, ðeh hie læssan sien, swa ge heora sint to gehieranne [= (as Dr. Wülfing,[2] *l. c.*, II, p. 199, states) swa ge *lustlice* sint heora *to gehieranne*].

[1] Except in *Gu.* 1051, in which only one word intervenes: see pp. 149 and 150.

[2] *L. c.*, pp. 25 and 34.

3. *An Inflected Infinitive Alternates with a Prepositional Phrase* in *Ælf. Hom.* II. 322[20]: Wa ðan ðe *strang* biþ *to swiðlicum drencum* and *to gemenegenne* ða micclan druncennysse.

4. *Confusion of Adjective with Adverb.* — Occasionally confusion seems to arise between an adjective and an adverb, as in the following: *Bede* 240.21: Ða wæs geworden ymb syx hund wintra ⁊ feower ⁊ syxtig æfter Drihtnes menniscnesse *eclipsis solis*, ðæt is sunnan asprungennis, ðæt heo sciman ne hæfde: ⁊ wæs *eatolice* on *to seonne* = 191.29: facta erat eclipsis solis; — *Wærf.* 49.8: ðohte . . . ðæt seo ylce stow mihte beon *gecoplice* wyrta on *to settanne* = 184 A: cogitaret, quod saltem *ad condimenta* olerum *nutrienda* locus idem *aptus* potuisset existere; — *Alex.* 66: ðy læs ðæt eow seo ælegen *monigfealdlicor* bi ðon *ðuhte to writanne.*

5. *The Infinitive with Adverbs.* — In the following passages, all quoted in the preceding note, we have an inflected infinitive modifying an adverb, not an adjective: *Bede* 240.21: *eatolice;* *Wærf.* 49.8: *gecoplice; Alex.* 66: *monigfealdlicor.* Dr. Shearin,[1] *l. c.*, p. 26, would put here the following, the only examples given by him of the infinitive with adverbs: "In two instances the infinitive depends upon an adverb in the main clause and the purpose idea fades into one of mere reference, e. g. *Æ.* H. ii. 78.14 [= my *Ælf. Hom.* II. 78.14]: ge habbaþ hwonlice to swincenne = 'little time to labor;' Int. Sig. 285 [= my *Ælf. Int.* 285]: Hwæt is, ðæt God gelogode Cherubim and fyren swurd and awendedlic to gehealdenne (= Quid est: Cherubin vel flammeum gladium atque versatilem ad custodiendum viam ligni vitæ posuit)." To me, however, *to swincenne* seems rather the object of *habbaþ* (see p. 43 above, in Chapter II); and *to gehealdenne*, the adverbial (final) modifier of *gelogode.* Dr. Kühn, *l. c.*, p. 36, considers that the infinitive depends on an adverb in the following passages in *Ælf. L. S.*: — 126.150: gearcodon heora mod to ðam martyrdome *caflice to campienne* for cristes geleafan; 182.226: Eala ðu ælmihtiga god, ana to gebiddenne, ondrædendlic scyppend, *soðlic to wurðigenne;* 274.186: Hi wurdon ða beswungene and swyðlice getintregode, swa swa ða wæs *gewunelic to witnigenne* forligr. But to me it seems that, in the first example, the adverb modifies the infinitive, which latter is final; that, in the other two examples, we have, not adverbs, but adjectives; that, in the second example, the infinitive modifies the adjective; and that, in the third example, the infinitive is the subject of the verbal phrase made up of the copula plus the adjective.

CHAPTER XII.

OTHER ADVERBIAL USES OF THE INFINITIVE.

Besides denoting purpose and specification (with Adjectives), the infinitive in Anglo-Saxon is occasionally used to denote other adverbial relationships: (A) Cause; (B) Specification with Verbs; (C) Result; and (D) Absoluteness. Possible examples of an infinitive denoting (E) Condition and (F) Manner, are given at the end of this chapter.

In each of these uses, the infinitive that is active in form seems to me active in sense with the possible exception of the absolute infinitives, *to metanne wiþ* and *to gesettanne wiþ:* see D below.

A. THE CAUSAL INFINITIVE.

With a few verbs denoting emotion the infinitive is occasionally used to denote the Cause of the emotion. The little that has been written about this use of the infinitive in Anglo-Saxon is referred to under the specific examples. At this place I need to quote only the statement of Mätzner, who, *l. c.*, III, p. 40, in speaking of the inflected infinitive of cause after verbs of emotion in Modern and in Middle English, declares: "Im Ags. trifft man nichts Entsprechendes." While some of my examples are doubtful, I think those with the inflected infinitive (especially after *forsceamigan*) are less doubtful than those with the simple infinitive. I give all the clearer examples that I have observed: —

(1) The Uninflected Infinitive:

cearian, *care:*

Gen. 2279: Ne *ceara* þu feor heonon fleame, *dælan* somwist incre (or objective?). — *Ib.* 2733: Ne *ceara* incit duguða of þisse eðeltyrf ellor *secan* winas uncuðe, ac wuniað her (or objective?). [Cf. Mätzner, *l. c.*, III, p. 40, who also seems in doubt as to whether to consider the infinitive here as objective or as causal.]

gefeon, *rejoice, delight:*

Bede 484.15: mynstres, on þam ic *gefeo þiowian* þære uplican arfæstnesse = 359.13: in quo supernae pietati *deseruire gaudeo.* — *Ib.* 478.32: sibbe ⁊ soðfæstnesse mid . . . Godes ciricean *gifeð* (= *gifehð*) dælnimende *beon* = 351.7: pacis ac ueritatis cum universali ecclesia particeps *existere gaudet.* [Dr. Kenyon, *l. c.*, p. 69, cites this example, and adds: "*Gefeon* takes the simple infinitive, but it may as well be complementary as causal in conception. I find in Wülfing no cases of the prepositional infinitive that can be distinctly treated as causal."]

gelustfullian, *rejoice in:*

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 535: ic gewilnode þæs wines on þam ic ær *gelustfullode* to oferdruncennysse *brucan.*

lustfullian, *rejoice in:*

Bede 432.32: ic *lustfullede* þære stowe swetnesse ⁊ wlite, þe ic þær geseah, ⁊ eac somod þara gemænan ⁊ eadignesse *brucan,* þe ic on þære stowe sceawade

= 309.11: *delectatus* nimirum suauitate ac decore loci illius, quem intuebar, simul et *consortio* eorum quos in illo uidebam.

(2) The Inflected Infinitive:

aforhtian, *be afraid:*

A. S. Hom. & L. S. II. 18.357: ic earma nu *aforhtige to secgenne* hwæt me becom (or objective?).

bisorgian, *regret:*

Chr. 1555: Ne *bisorgaδ* he synne *to fremman* (*sic!*), wonhydig mon. [On this infinitive, Dr. Kenyon, *l. c.*, p. 71, speaks as follows: "In a sentence like Christ, 1556, Ne *bisorgaδ* he synne *to fremman*, it is hard to say whether we have a complementary or a true causal infinitive. Such an example in O. F. would be explicable as causal, with *a* or *de* + infinitive, on the ground of the original meaning of the preposition itself, but hardly so in O. E. It may be that in many such cases in O. E. the present object of the infinitive (*synne*) was originally object of the main verb (*bisorgaδ*), so that the infinitive could have its natural purpose force, as further explication. But in both O. F. and O. E., constructions like this with verbs of *dislike, sorrowing*, etc., would easily arise by analogy of words like *desire* + infinitive."]

forhtian, *be afraid, fear:*

Ælf. Hom. I. 538^{b}: Be δam we *forhtiaδ* fela *to sprecenne* (or objective?). — *Ib.* II. 554^{18}: δeah ne *forhtiaδ to wunigenne* on heora unrihtwisnyssum (or objective?).

forsc(e)ami(g)an, *be ashamed:*

A. S. Hom. & L. S. II. 18.189: ic nu *forsceamige to secganne* mine ungeleaffulnesse.

Wulf. 275.23: forδam na δet he naht, *forsceame* he δæt riht *to secgenne.*

geunlustian, *loathe:*

Bl. Hom. 59.9: se lichoma *geunlustaδ* δa geogoδlustas *to fremmenne* (or objective?).

B. THE INFINITIVE OF SPECIFICATION WITH VERBS.

Aside from denoting Specification (or Respect Wherein) with Adjectives (already treated in Chapter XI), occasionally the infinitive, always inflected, seems to be used with a verb to denote Specification: —

1. With an Active Finite Verb.

drefan, *trouble:*

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 283: To hwy *gedrefest* δu abbot δine geδohtas *to geæwicianne* on me (or final?).

efstan, *hasten:*

Ælf. Hom. II. 364: swa miccle swiδor we *efstaδ to lybbenne* swa micclum swa we swiδor on δissere oncnawennysse δeonde beoδ (or final?).

forlætan, *leave:*

Bede 82.22: δes mon is his seolfes dome *to forlætenne*, oδδe be cirican ingonge, oδδe *to onfonne* δæm geryne = 58.25: iste profecto siue de ingressu ecclesiae, seu de *sumendo* dominici corporis sanguinisque mysterio, suo *est* iudicio *relinquendus.* [Cf. Chapter III, p. 78.]

slawian, *be or become sluggish:*

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 224: hwæs wilnast ðu fram me to hæbbenne oððe *to* witenne ðæt ðu ne *slawedest* swa micel geswinc *to gefremmanne* for minum ðingum?

2. With a Passive Finite Verb.

abysgian, *occupy, engage:*

Wærf. 88.18: ðæt se mæssepreost *wæs* unwenlice *abysgod* wingeard *to settanne* = 212 C¹: Qui videlicet sacerdos inopinate contigit ut *ad putandam* vineam *esset occupatus* (or final?).

(ge)læran, *teach, instruct:*

Wærf. 180.26: ðæt he *gelæred wæs* wyrta *to begangenne* = 217 C¹: Quod vir gentilis valde libenter accepit, cum *in nutriendis* oleribus quia *peritus esset* audivit.

All of the foregoing examples, with both active and passive verbs, seem doubtful to me except *Wærf.* 180.26.

C. THE CONSECUTIVE INFINITIVE.

I have found very little concerning the Consecutive Use of the Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon. Dr. K. Köhler and Dr. Wülfing do not treat this use apart from that of purpose. In his "The Clause of Result in Old English Prose," Dr. A. R. Benham does not include the infinitive. Professor Einenkel treats the construction in Middle English, but says nothing of it in Anglo-Saxon. Mätzner treats the consecutive infinitive after particles (*so, as, such, enough, too, more than*), in III, 48–49, and the infinitive of result that is loosely connected with the rest of the sentence, in III, 49–50, but he says nothing of either use in Anglo-Saxon. Koch, too, has a word about the infinitive after particles, in II, 64, but likewise says nothing of the idiom in Anglo-Saxon. Aside from these two statements, the most specific comments are those by Dr. Buchtenkirch, Dr. Höser, and Dr. Kenyon, which are quoted below.

At times the inflected infinitive denotes Tendency or Result, and in such use is found (a) with Adjectives and (b) with Verbs.

1. With Adjectives.

It is difficult to distinguish this use of the inflected infinitive with adjectives to denote tendency or result from its use with adjectives to denote specification (or respect wherein). But in the examples below, those in which the adjective is preceded by an adverb (*swa* or *to*) seem to me pretty certainly to denote tendency or result, and thus to be clearly differentiated from the inflected infinitive with adjectives as treated in Chapter XI. Even this use with *swa* and *to* has been denied to Anglo-Saxon, as by Dr. Buchtenkirch, *l. c.*, p. 41, who, in speaking of this construction in Occleve, declares: "Im Angelsächsischen scheint der Infinitiv in dieser Verbindung garnicht vorzukommen; wenigstens führen Mätzner und Köhler keine Belege an."

I cite all of what seem to me the clearer examples: —

With several adjectives:

Bl. Hom. 109.29, 30: Ne beo nænig man her on worldrice on his geðohte *to modig*, ne on his lichoman *to strang*, ne niða *to georn*, ne bealwes *to beald*, ne bregda *to full*, ne inwit (*sic!*) *to leof*, ne wrohtas *to webgenne*, ne searo *to renigenne*.

Nic. 506.1: Oððe hwæt eart ðu *swa mycel 7* eac *swa lytel 7 swa nyðerlic 7* eft up *swa heah 7 swa wunderlic* on anes mannes hywe us *to oferdryfenne?*

Wulf. 253.7[a, b], 8[a, b, c]: ne syn we *to gifre* ne *to frece* ne *to firenlustgeorne* ne *to æfestige* ne *to inwitfulle* ne *to tælende* ne *to twigspraece* ne morðor *to begangenne* ne aðas *to swerianne* ne niðas *to fremmanne* ne leasunga *to sæcganne* ne ðeofenda *to begangenne.*

ælenge, *tedious:*

Solil. 59.31: ac me ðincð nu ðæt to lang æall to rimande (*sic!*) and ðe *to ælenge to gehyranne* = 0.

beald, *bold:*

Wærf. 132.13: he næs naht *beald* him to *to ganne* = B. 162.A[2]: non *ausus accedere* sese in terram dedit.

carful, *careful:*

Ælf. Hom. I. 340[b 2]: ðæt hi ne beoð ealles *swa carfulle to beganne* ða earfoðlican drohtnunge.

eald, *old:*

Ælf. L. S. XXV. 94: ic eom *eald to hiwigenne* (or specification?).

genoh, *enough:*

Boeth. 135.9: Ac on ðæm hi habbað *genoh to ongitanne* ðæt etc. = 114.189: Hoc tantum *perspexisse sufficiat.*

Greg. 415.35: hwilum him ðyncð ðæt he hæbbe fierst *genogne to hreowsianne* = 338.2: modo adhuc tempus subsequens *ad pœnitentiam* pollicetur.

Wærf. 49.16: gewearð ðam gebroðrum ðær *genoh* rum stow wyrta on *to settanne* = 184 B: invenerunt . . . suoque secessu *largum* fratribus spatium dedisse.

Hept.: Ex. 16.16: ðæt ælc man gadrie swa micel ðæt he *genoh* hæbbe *to etanne* = colligat . . . quantum *sufficit ad vescendum.* — *Ex.* 17.6: ðæt wæter gæð ut of him, ðæt ðæt folc hæfð *genoh to drincanne* = exibit ex ea aqua, *ut bibat* populus.

geornful, *eager:*

Solil. 63.11: Acsa ðin agen mod for hwi hyt swa willen si and *swa geornful to witanne* ðætte ær wæs = 0.

lang [-o-], *long, tedious:*

Bede 174.22: wundro . . ., ða ðe nu *to long to secgenne* syndon = 143.30: sed haec nos ad alia tendentes, suis *narrare permittimus.*

Solil. 59.30: ac me ðincð nu ðæt *to lang* æall *to rimande* (*sic!*), and ðe to ælenge to gehyranne.

Læce. 56.19: læcedomas . . . ne sculon on ane ðrage *to lange* beon *to donne.*

lustsumlic, *pleasant:*

Oros. 120.3: Ic nat . . . for hwi eow Romanum sindon ða ærran gewin swa wel gelicad *7 swa lustsumlice* on leoðcwidum *to gehieranne* = 0.

mihtig, *powerful:*

Bl. Hom. 223.22: Toðæs *mihtig* he . . . wæs . . . untrumnesse *to hælenne.* — *Ib.* 235.36, 237.1: ic eom *mihtig* . . . eal *to donne* & . . . *to æteowenne* swa hwæt me licað.

Ælf. Hom. I. 296[b 1]: we beoð . . . *mihtige to gefremmenne* swa hwæt swa us licað.

strang [**mihtig** and —], *strong:*

A. S. Hom. & L. S. I. 9.127[a, b]: he gedyde hi sona *mihtige* and *strange to wiðstandenne* heora feondum.

swið, *strong, powerful:*

Dan. 285: ðu eart mihtum *swiðr* niðas *to nergenne!*

Az. 6: ðu eart meahtum *swiðr* niðas *to nergenne.*

ungeornful, *negligent:*

Greg. 239.2: oððe eft sio bilewitnes & sio anfealdnes hine *to ungeornfulne* gedoo *to ongietanne*, ðylæs he weorðe besolcen = 180.14: quatenus nec seducti per prudentiam calleant, nec ab intellectus studio ex simplicitate torpescant.

unstrang, *not strong:*

Mart. 146.14: his ðrowung wæs ðe lengre ond ðy heardre ðy ðe hyra handa wæron *unstrange* hine *to acwellane.*

Wærf. 63.19: se ðe naht *unstrang* nis wræce *to donne* = 193 B[3]: qui *ad inferendam* ultionem quam voluerit, invalidus non est (or final?).

unswete, *unsweet:*

Læce. 16.2: gif ðu hine nimest *7* gaderast æt fylne ðonne ne bið he *to unswete to gestincanne.*

2. With Verbs.

Verbs meaning *to incite, to persuade, to compel, to prepare, to suffice*, and the like are followed by an inflected infinitive denoting tendency or result. It is difficult, if not impossible, to draw a hard-and-fast line between the consecutive use of the infinitive denoting tendency or result and the final use of the infinitive denoting purpose, so imperceptibly does the one use pass into the other. Accordingly, as noted below, a few of my examples for the consecutive use are by others, notably by Dr. Kenyon, put under the final use. Indeed, Dr. Kenyon's second subdivision of the "The Prepositional Infinitive of Purpose," in which, as he states, *l. c.*, p. 18, "The infinitive often denotes, not so much a consciously conceived, final purpose of the action of the governing verb, as simply the direction, tendency, or destiny of it," is scarcely distinguishable from what he (on p. 59) and I both consider the consecutive use. On the other hand, Dr. Kenyon, *l. c.*, p. 60, considers that, in *Ælf. L. S.* 368.78 (ne galdras ne *sece, to gremigenne* his scyppend), the infinitive is consecutive, but to me it seems final. Once more: unquestionably to some the inflected infinitive after verbs like *tilian*, 'strive for,' may seem to belong either here under the consecutive use or in Chapter X under the final use; but, as this verb is followed also by the uninflected infinitive, I have considered the infinitive, whether uninflected or inflected, after it as objective rather than as adverbial. Again, in some of the examples below (especially with verbs of compelling) we may have an inflected predicative instead of a consecutive infinitive: see the note to *neadian.* Finally, it should be added that Dr. Höser, *l. c.*, p. 38, cites *Doomsday*, l. 186 (nænig spræc mæg beon, spellum *areccan* ænegum on eorðan earmlice witu), as having an uninflected infinitive of result, and that he is quoted approvingly by Professor Kenyon, *l. c.*, p. 60, but to me *areccan* seems predicative after *mæg.*

I. WITH AN ACTIVE FINITE VERB.

The inflected infinitive is found after the active of the following verbs to denote tendency or result: —

aweccan, *awake, incite.*
bædan, *compel.*
deah, *avail.*
gearcian, *prepare.*
gebiegan, *bend, force.*
gegearwian, *make ready.*
gehwierfan, *turn.*
gelædan, *lead.*
gemedemian (hine), *humble one's self, condescend.*
geneah, *suffice.*
geniedan, *force.*
genihtsumian, *suffice.*
gescierpan, *sharpen.*
geweman, *persuade.*
gremian, *provoke.*
hleonian, *lean, incline.*
manian, *admonish, urge.*
neadian, *compel.*
niedan [-y-], *compel.*
onælan, *incite.*
onstyrian, *stir.*
sellan, *give.*
teon, *draw, induce.*
trymman, *strengthen, encourage.*
ðeowan, *force, threaten.*
ðreatian, *force.*
ðywan [-i-], *force, threaten.*
weaxan, *grow.*

The clearer examples in full are: —

aweccan, *awaken, incite:*

Bede 268.31: ðæt he eorð-bigengan *awecce* hine *to ondrædanne* = 211.1: ut terrigenas *ad timendum* se *suscitet* (considered by Wülfing,[2] *l. c.*, II, p. 217, as final; by Kenyon, *l. c.*, p. 60, as consecutive).

Chad 185: he leoðrað of heofone ðæt he ða eorðlican mod *awecceð* hine *to ondredenne.*

bædan, *compel:*

Læce. 86.27[a]: *bæde to spiwanne.*

deah, *avail:*

Læce. 68.27: Þicge ðæt broð 7 eac *deah* netle gesoden on wætre 7 geselt *to ðicganne* 7 eac ellenes leaf etc. — *Ib.* 72.11: wyrt, seo *deah to drincanne.* — *Ib.* 122.12[a, b]: ðeos sealf *deah* wið æghwylcum geswelle *to ðicganne* 7 *to smergenne* on swa hwylcum lime swa hit on bið.

gearcian, *prepare:*

Ælf. Hom. II. 84[m]: He *gearcað* urne godan willan *to fultumigenne.*

gebiegan, *bend:*

Pr. Ps. 34.13: Ic . . . *gebigde* min mod *to fæstenne* = *humiliabam in jejunio* animam meam. [Mätzner, *l. c.*, III, p. 31, seems to consider this an instance of the accusative with predicative inflected infinitive, while Dr. Kenyon, *l. c.*, p. 19, considers the infinitive to be final in sense; but see *neadian.*]

gegearwian, *make ready:*

Wulf. 35.11: ðæt is, ðæt he *gegearwað* his heortan gode on *to wunianne.*

gehwierfan, *turn:*

Greg. 255.16: for ðæm sio medtrymnes ðæt mod *gehwierfð* gehwelces monnes hine selfne *to ongietanne* = 192.26: molestia corporalis, quæ *ad cognitionem* sui mentem *revocat.*

gelædan, *lead:*

Bede 468.7[a, b]: he hine 7 his ðeode *gelædde to mærsianne* 7 *to weorðianne* ða . . . tide = 332.19: se suosque omnes *ad* . . . tempus *celebrandum perduxit.*

gemedemian (hine), *humble one's self, condescend:* see pp. 54–55 above.

geneah, *suffice:*

Bl. Hom. 165.5: nænig . . . tunge ne *geneah* ðæs . . . engles godcund mægen *to gesecgenne.*

geniedan [-y-], *force, compel:*

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 360: miltsa me ðæt ðu me ne *genyde to areccenne* mine gescyndnysse. — *Ib.* XXIII B. 381: hu ic *to syngigenne genydde* ægðer ge ða earman willendan and ða earman syllendan.

Wulf. 200.6: arærað him anlicnesse, and ðærto hi *genydað* men *to gebiddanne.*

genihtsumian [-y-], *suffice:*

Mart. 104.12: ne *genyhtsumað* ænigum men *to asecganne* ðæs acennedan engles mægen Iohannes.

Ælf. Hom. II. 90$^{m\ 1,\ 2}$: heorte . . ., ðe ne *genihtsumað to underfonne* Godes word, ne nænne wæstm *to spryttanne.*

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 788: seo leo . . . scræf geworhte swa micel swa *genihtsumode* ðære halgan *to byrgenne.*

gescierpan [-y-], *sharpen:*

Wærf. 269.21: buton hit *gescyrpe* ða ðing *to geseonne* seo unlichamlice wise = 329 A^{1}: nisi hunc res incorporea *ad videndum acueret.*

geweman, *persuade:*

Ælf. Int. 504: ðæt is seo costnung ðe *gewemð* ðone man *to synnigenne* = qua [= tentatione] *peccato implicamur.*

gremian, *provoke:*

Læce. 55.26: hine mon scel neahtnestigne tyhtan and *gremian to spiwanne.*

hleonian, *lean, incline:*

Bede 258.21: ealra willa *hleonade to geheranne* ða gefean = 205.8: omnium uota *ad* nuper *audita* . . . gaudia *penderent.*

manian [-o-], *admonish, urge:*

Seafarer 38: *monað* modes lust mæla gehwylce ferð *to feran* (*sic!*), ðæt ic feor heonan elðeodigra eard gesece.

Wærf. 265.20: for hwan wolde he ðonne ealle men *manegian* samod mid him *to gehyranne* ðone ænde ðære spræce? = 324 B: cur *ad audiendum* loquendi finem secum pariter omnes *admonebat?*

Ælf. Hom. II. 520$^{b\ 1,\ 2}$: Ðes apostolica freolsdæg *manað* us *to sprecenne,* and sum ðing eow *to secgenne* be ðam gesæligan heape.

neadian, *compel:*

Ælf. Hom. I. 114^{t}: *Healdað* ðis fæste on eowerum heortum, ðæt se . . . God nænne mann ne *neadað to syngigenne.* [Cf. Mätzner, *l. c.*, III. p. 31, who seems inclined to consider this an instance of the predicative infinitive with accusative subject.]

Ælf. Hept.: De N. T. 21.31: se ðe oðerne *neadað* ofer his mihte *to drincenne.*

niedan [-y-], *compel:*

Greg. 271.16: forðæm hie hie selfe *nidað to healdonne* ungemetlice swigean, & forðæm beoð suiðe forðrycte = 204.19: ut eo plus cogitationes in mente ferveant, quo illas violenta *custodia indiscreti silentii angustat.*

Mart. 166.21: Ðone *nydde* Decius se casere deofolgeld *to begangenne.*

Ælf. Hom. II. 376^{m}: Far nu geond wegas and hegas, and *nyd* hi inn *to farenne.* [Cf. *L.* 14.23: Ga geond ðas wegas and hegas and *nyd* hig ðæt hig gan in = Exi in vias et sepes, et *compelle intrare.*]

Napier's Ad. to Th. 102.36^{t}: Ga geond wegas and hegas, and *nyd* hi in *to farenne.*

Læce. 86.24: *nede* hine *to spiwanne.*

onælan, *incite:*

Wærf. 109.30: he tihte and *onælde* oðre men ðus *to arœfnienne* = B. 140 A^{2}: qui passionum certamina non solum ipse appetit, sed *ad toleranda* hæc et alios *accendit.*

onstyrian, *stir:*

Wærf. 224.23: ne mihte na *onstyrian* his fet *to ganne* = 273 C[1]: *gressum movere* non potuit.

sellan [-i-], *give:*

Ælf. Hept.: Num. 11.13: *Sile* us flæsc *to etanne* = *Da* nobis carnes, ut *comedamas* (or final?).

teon, *draw, induce:*

Ælf. L. S. 316.148: On hwilcum godum *tihst* ðu us *to gelyfenne?*

trymman, *strengthen, encourage:*

Bede 124.26: gewrit, mid ðy he hine *trymede to onfonne* Cristes leafan = 100.18: *exhortatorias ad fidem* litteras . . . accepit (or final?).

ðeowan, *force, threaten:*

A. S. Hom. & L. S. I. 9.342: ðeah ðe he mid huxe hine hete gebindan and hine *ðeowde to ofsleanne* mid ðam folce (or objective?).

ðreatian, *force:*

Boeth. 138.2: wyrde ðe oft *ðreatað* ða yflan *to witnianne* = 117.27: iusto *supplicio* malos *cohercet.*

ðywan [-i-], *force, threaten:*

Ælf. Hom. II. 174[b 2]: Benedicte, ðe hi ær for heora stuntum wordum *ðiwde to amansumigenne* (or objective?). — *Ib.* II. 308[b]: Ða *ðywde* se casere hine *to swingenne* (or objective?).

weaxan, *grow:*

Greg. 263.18: hie sculon uparisan & *weaxan* a ma & ma *to lufigeanne* ða godcundan weorc = 198.20: sed *ad amoris gratiam* nutrimento caritatis *excrescant* (cited also by Dr. Kenyon, p. 60, as consecutive).

II. WITH PASSIVE VERBS.

Occasionally the inflected infinitive is used after the passive of the following verbs to denote tendency or result: —

afysan, *impel.*
ascierpan, *sharpen.*
bærnan, *incite.*
forðgelædan, *lead forth.*
(ge)bædan, *compel.*
(ge)cierran, *turn, move.*
(ge)fysan, *incite.*
(ge)lædan, *lead.*
(ge)manian, *admonish.*
(ge)neadian, *compel.*
(ge)niedan, *compel.*
onælan, *kindle, incite.*
onwendan [-wænd-], *move.*
settan, *set, appoint.*
sponan, *persuade.*
underðeodan, *subject.*

I cite all the clearer examples that I have observed: —

afysan, *impel:*

Ph. 275: Ðonne *afysed bið* agenne eard eft *to secan* (*sic!*).

ascierpan, *sharpen:*

Greg. 69.13: ðonne we mid ðæm læcedome godra weorca gefultumað urum ondgite ðæt hit *bið ascirped to ongietenne* ða bierhtu ðæs soðan leohtes = 44.1: cum *ad cognoscendam* veri luminis claritatem intellectus nostri aciem medicamine operationis adjuvamus (or final, as Dr. Kenyon, *l. c.*, p. 19, holds?).

bærnan, *incite:*

Bede 330.18[a, b], 19: men . . . *wæron bærnde* . . . *to gebiddenne* ge ælmessan *to sellenne* ge Gode asægdnesse *to beranne* = 252.5[a, b, c]: *accensi sunt* . . . *ad orandum* uel *ad* elimosynas *faciendas*, uel *ad offerendas* Deo uictimas sacræ oblationis (or final, as Dr. Shearin,[1] *l. c.*, p. 31, holds?).

forðgelædan, *lead, induce:*

Oros. 290.10: Firmus *wearð* gefangen, *7 forðgelæded to sleanne* = 291.9: Firmum *coegit ad mortem.*

(ge)bædan, *compel:*

Greg. 251.13: ðonne hio hire unðonces *gebædd wierð* ðæt yfel *to forlætanne* = 190.14: cum jam *egredi* anima *urgetur.*

(ge)cierran, *turn, move:*

Greg. 99.19: for mildheortnesse *wæs* ðonon *gecierred to smeaganne* hu flæsclicum mo(n)num gedafenode on hira burcotum & on hiera beddum to donne = 68.17: tamen per condescensionis viscera carnalium cubile *perscrutatur.*

(ge)fysan, *incite:*

Beow. 2562: ða *wæs* hringbogan heorte *gefysed* sæcce *to seceanne.*

(ge)lædan, *lead:*

Wærf. 227.26: ðonne ðæt . . . mod *byð gelæded* ofer hit self hwæthwylces *to geseonne* = 277 D^1: cum mens . . . ultra se *ad videndum ducitur*, necesse est ut etc.

(ge)manian, *admonish:*

Greg. 259.20: ðonne *beo* we suigende *gemanode* mid ðære mettrymnesse ura synna *to gemunanne* = 196.9: ad peccatorum nostrorum memoriam taciti afflictique *revocamur.*

(ge)neadian, *force:*

Ælf. Hom. II. $376^{b\ 4}$: Se *bið geneadod to cumenne.*

(ge)niedan [-e-], *compel:*

Bede 368.17: he *wæs* oferswiðed *7 geneded to onfonne* ða ðegnunge biscophades = 272.29: *ad suscipiendum* episcopatus officium collum submittere *compellitur.*

Greg. $302.19^{a, b}$: *weorðen geniedde* h[i]era unðeawas *to herianne & to weorðianne* = 230.2: *compellantur* eorum etiam vitia *venerari.*

onælan, *kindle, incite:*

Greg. 383.18, 19: Godes ðegn se ðe mid ðæm andan *onæled bið* godcundre lufan unðeawas *to ofsleanne* = 298.16: Si ergo ille Dei dicitur qui *ad ferienda* vitia zelo divini amoris *excitatur.*

onwendan [-wænd-], *move:*

Wærf. 195.10: ða *wæs* eac se cyning . . . *onwænded to begangenne* ðæs biscopes arwyrðnysse = 237 C^1: Tunc *ad* ejus reverentiam *colendam* rex ipse *permotus est.*

settan, *set, appoint:*

Wulf. 304.29: eac *is geset* swiðe micel dædbot swylcum mannum *to donne* and *to betenne* (or final?).

sponan, *persuade:*

Bede 220.31: he *wæs* swiðust *gesponen to onfonne* Cristes geleafan from Oswies suna = 170.7: *persuasus* maxime *ad percipiendam* fidem a filio regis Osuiu.

underðeodan, *subject:*

Ælf. Hom. II. 116^{t}: forðan ðe we *sind* eadmodlice, mid lichaman and mid sawle, godcundlicum spræcum *underðeodde to gefyllenne* his beboda, ðæt he us his behat gelæste.

Note. — *Possible but not Probable Examples of the Inflected Infinitive of Result* occur after the active of the following verbs, which have been left under the Objective Use: — *æteowan*, 'show:' *Bl. Hom.* 169.9; *beotigan*, 'boast,' 'threaten:' *Chad* 193; *elcian*, 'delay:' *Ælf. Hom.* II. 282; *gedihtan*, 'direct:' *Wulf.* 10.10; *higian*, 'strive for,' 'be intent on:' *Wærf.* $178.3^{a, b}$; *tæcan*, 'teach:' *Greg.* 165.10; *Ælf. Hom.* II. 216^{b}.

D. THE ABSOLUTE INFINITIVE.

The Absolute Use of the Infinitive Mätzner, *l. c.*, III, p. 53, characterizes as follows: "Von anderer Art sind präpositionale Infinitive, zum Theil parenthetischer Natur, welche eine Reflexion des Redenden, die Absicht desselben bei der Darstellung ihrem Gehalte oder ihrer Form nach, eine Erklärung, Erinnerung oder Versicherung dem Zuhörer oder Leser gegenüber enthalten." After giving examples like *to be short, to say truth*, etc., in Modern English and in Middle English, he adds, p. 54: "Im Ags. sind mir dergleichen unabhängige Infinitive nicht aufgestossen." I had discovered the examples of the absolute use of *hrædest to secgenne* in Wulfstan before I came upon the following from Sohrauer, who, *l. c.*, p. 27, after quoting the foregoing passage from Mätzner, adds: "Einen beleg für das ae. bietet Napier's Wulfstan, 36.6," and quotes one example of *hrædest to secganne*[1] given below, but not the others. Wülfing,[2] *l. c.*, II, p. 224, calls attention to the absolute use of *to metanne wiþ* in *Boethius*. Professor Einenkel,[1] *l. c.*, p. 240, speaks of the construction in Middle English and declares that it exists in Anglo-Saxon, but he does not give any examples from the latter. Koch, *l. c.*, II, p. 69, Dr. Scholz, and Dr. Druve treat the idiom in Modern English only; Dr. Zeitlin, in Middle English only. The idiom is not discussed by Dr. Karl Köhler. For the construction in Anglo-Saxon, Dr. Kenyon merely refers to the above passage from Sohrauer. Drs. Farrar and Riggert do not mention the idiom.

The infinitive is inflected in all cases except two. The two uninflected infinitives and several of the inflected infinitives are doubtful. I give all the examples that I have observed:—

(1) The Uninflected Infinitive:

Oros. 46.16, 17ᵇ: Heora twa wæron heora cwena, Marsepia ⁊ Lampida wæron hatene. Hie heora here on tu todældon; oðer æt ham *beon* heora lond to healdanne, oðer ut *faran* to winnanne = 47.16: Harum duae fuere reginae, Marsepia et Lampedo, quae agmine diviso in duas partes, vicissim curam belli et domus custodiam sortiebantur. [The foregoing seems to me to be a possible instance of what I should call an absolute infinitive with an accusative subject, by which I mean an accusative-and-infinitive phrase standing in an absolute or loose relation to the rest of the sentence; and I have put the passage in Chapter VIII, p. 118. It is possible, of course, as claimed by Drs. Einenkel[2] and Zeitlin,[3] that *oðer* here is nominative, not accusative; but I prefer to believe with Dr. Kenyon, *l. c.*, p. 137, that *oðer* is accusative neuter, possibly due to the influence of *tu*. Dr. Kenyon, however, considers *oðer* to be, not the subject of the infinitive, but an appositive each to *butu;* and the infinitives to denote purpose after *todældon*. Somewhat similar, apparently, is the view of Dr. Wülfing,[2] *l. c.*, II, § 487: "Im Or. [46.16, 17ᵇ] steht der Infinitiv einmal ganz unabhängig zur Angabe des Zweckes;" though he clearly considers that the use leans more to the absolute than does Dr. Kenyon. Whether Dr. Wülfing considers these infinitives, also, to be the predicates of *oðer-oðer* is not clear. And there is the same uncertainty on this point in the statement of Dr. Shearin,[4]

[1] Mohrbutter, *l. c.*, p. 35, considers that the infinitive is, not absolute, but dependent on *hrædest*, which he takes to be an adjective.
[2] Einenkel,[2] *l. c.*, p. 1076. [3] Zeitlin,[1] *l. c.*, p. 145. [4] Wülfing,[2] *l. c.*, II, p. 224.

l. c., p. 15: "Twice we find the simple infinitive following loosely the main verb as a final element." He then cites the *Orosius* passage as one example and *Luke* 1.17 as another. Concerning the latter see Chapter X, p. 148, Note 2.]

(2) The Inflected Infinitive:

Perhaps the clearest example of the absolute use of the inflected infinitive is to be found in the phrase *hrædest to secganne*, 'to speak briefly,' of which I give all the clearer examples observed: *Wulf.* 27.1: ðyder sculon wiccan and wigleras and, *hrædest to secganne*, ealle ða manfullan, ðe ær yfel worhton and noldan geswican ne wið god ðingian; — *ib.* 36.7: ðonne wyrð ðæt wæter mid ðam halgan gaste ðurhgoten, and, *hrædest to secganne*, eal, ðæt se sacerd deð ðurh ða halgan ðenunge gesawenlice, eal hit fulfremeð se halga gast gerynelice; — *ib.* 115.3: ðider sculan ðeofas . . . and, *hrædest to secganne*, ealle ða manfullan. — With this infinitive phrase compare the following: *Boeth.* 39.10: Swa hit *is* nu *hraðost to secganne* be eallum ðam woruldgesælðum ðe seo wyrd brengð, ðæt etc. = 42.63: Postremo idem de tota *concludere* fortuna *licet* etc.; — *ib.* 41.3: Ðæt *is* nu *hraðost to secganne*, [ðæt ic wilnode] weorðfullice to libbanne = 46.80: 0; — *Wulf.* 158.16: godcunde hadas wæron nu lange swa forsawene . . . and *hrædest is to cweðenne* godes laga laðe and lara forsewene; — *ib.* 204.2: ðider scylan wiccan and wigleras, and, *raðest is to sæcgenne*, ealle ða manfullan.

Another phrase used absolutely is *to metanne wið*, 'to compare with,' 'in comparison with,' which, as stated above, is mentioned by Wülfing,[1] and occurs as follows: *Boeth.* 29.6: forðæm ðe oðer twega oððe hit nan god nis for eow selfe, oððe ðeah forlytel god wið eow *to metane* = 36.28: quae tametsi conditoris opera suique distinctione postremo aliquid pulchritudinis trahunt, infra uestram tamen excellentiam *conlocatae* ammirationem uestram nullo modo merebantur; — *ib.* 36.3: Hu micle mare is ðonne ðæs monnes lichoma *to metenne* wið ðæt mod ðonne seo mus wið ðone mon = 41.18: 0; — *ib.* 41.24: ðonne meaht ðu ongetan ðæt he is eal wið ðone heofon *to metanne* swilce an lytlu price on bradum brede = 44.11: ad caeli spatium puncti constat optinere rationem, id est ut, si ad caelestis globi magnitudinem *conferatur*, nihil spatii prorsus habere iudicetur; — *ib.* 44.26: ðeah he [= hlisa] hwilum lang sie, ⁊ fela geara ðurhwunige, he bið ðeah swiðe scort *to metanne* wið ðone ðe næfre ne geendað = 46.58: ita fit, ut quamlibet prolixi temporis fama, si *cum inexhausta aeternitate cogitetur*, non parua sed plane nulla esse uideatur; — *ib.* 72.18: ðonne magon ge ongitan ðæt he [= heofon] is ealles nauht wið his sceppend *to metanne* ⁊ wið his wealdend = 65.17: 0; — *ib.* 89.22: ðonne wile he cweðan ðæt sio beorhtnes ðære sunnan sciman sie ðesternes *to metanne* wið ða ecan birhtu Godes = 77.17: 0; — *ib.* 130.29, 31[a, b]: Swylc is ðæt ðæt we wyrd hatað be ðam godcundan foreðonce, swylce sio smeaung ⁊ sio gesceadwisnes is *to metanne* wið ðone gearowitan, ⁊ swylce ðas lænan ðing bioð *to metanne* wið ða ecan, ⁊ swilce ðæt hweol bið *to metanne* wið ða eaxe = 110.74, 75, 76: Igitur uti est ad intellectum ratiocinatio, ad id quod est id quod gignitur, ad aeternitatem tempus, ad punctum medium circulus: id est fati series mobilis ad prouidentiae stabilem simplicitatem. — *Boeth.* 36.3 above, Dr. Wülfing[2] (II, 213) puts, allowably, under the infinitive with *beon* denoting necessity, as he probably does *Boeth.* 72.18 and 130.29, 31[a, b], none of which are given by him

under the absolute infinitive. I have put these examples here, despite their doubtfulness, primarily to show how the predicative infinitive of necessity passes over to the absolute infinitive. With the examples of *to metanne* above given, compare those that I have given under the Infinitive of Necessity with *beon*, Chapter VII. Perhaps *Met.* 21.42 (ðonne wile he secgan ðæt ðære sunnan sie beorhtnes ðiostro beorna gehwylcum *to metanne* wið ðæt micle leoht godes ælmihtiges) belongs under the absolute use rather than under necessity.

Possibly we have the absolute use of the infinitive in the *Metres of Boethius* 6.7: forðæm hiora birhtu ne bið auht *to gesettanne* wið ðære sunnan leoht; if not, we have an infinitive of necessity on the road to becoming an absolute infinitive.

In the following, the infinitive, though predicative and therefore given in Chapter VII, reminds one of our modern idiom, 'so to speak:' *Bede* 88.23: ðæs ðe swa *to cweðenne sy* = 62.1: ut ita *dixerim.*

We have an infinitive loosely connected with the rest of the sentence in the following from the *Læceboc:* 1.26[a, b]: Læcedomas gif men yrne blod of nebbe; eft blodsetena, ge on *to bindanne* ge on eare, *to donne* ge horse ge menn; 57.3: Wið wlættan *7 to hætanne* magan. But the idea of purpose is evident, and I put these examples in the present chapter only because of the looseness of the connection with the rest of the sentence, or, better, because of the elliptical nature of the sentence. To the same purport is the following from Dr. Shearin,[1] *l. c.*, p. 23: "The following infinitives are used absolutely, yet implying a purpose relation to a main verb to be supplied, whose grammatical subject will be logically the subject of the phrase; e. g., Lch. ii, 188.19: To rymanne[1] ðone cealdan magan . . . (sc. 'genim'); id. 304.9: gealdor on to singanne."

E. THE CONDITIONAL INFINITIVE.

In the *Martyrology* 54.11 (Ðes biscop is swiðe *mihtig* on frecnum wisum gescyldnesse *to biddanne*), Dr. Herzfeld, the editor, translates the infinitive as if it were used to denote a condition: "This bishop is very powerful, if asked for protection in dangerous condition." To me, however, the infinitive seems to specify the respect wherein the bishop was powerful, viz., 'in praying for protection,' and to belong in Chapter XI.

F. THE MODAL INFINITIVE.

As stated in Chapter V, some consider that the infinitive in the *com . . . fleogan* construction denotes manner. But I have there tried to show why it seems better to me to consider that the infinitive is predicative in use rather than modal.

Possible, but not probable, examples of the inflected infinitive used to denote manner are found in the *Prose Psalms*, 34.13 (quoted under *gebiegan*) and *Boeth.* 138.2 (quoted under *ðreatian*) in the section on the consecutive use of the infinitive. See *gemedemian* in the same section.

In *Orosius* 188.10, 11 (sum his folc *sende* gind ðæt lond *to bærnanne 7 to hangenne* = 189.7: *vastatione* circumjacentium locorum Flaminium in bellum

[1] *To rymanne* should read *to wyrmanne:* see Cockayne, *l. c.*, II, 188.22; and *Lacc.* 57.9. In the former of these two passages, the infinitive is probably absolute; but, in the latter, the infinitive seems to me to modify the noun, *gealdor.* See *Lacc.* 93.22.

excitavit) and in *Bede* 66.5[a, b] (ðæt heo godum ðeawum *lifgen* under ciriclecum regole *7* sealmas *to singenne 7* wæccan *to bigongene, 7* from . . . unalyfednessum heora heortan . . . clæne healden = 49.10[a, b]: bonis moribus *uiuant* et *canendis* psalmis inuigilent, et ab . . . inlicitis et cor et linguam et corpus Deo auctore conseruent), the infinitives are possibly modal, but are probably final, and have been left in Chapter X.

Differentiation of the Two Infinitives.

In the main, the differentiation between the uninflected infinitive and the inflected infinitive in the preceding adverbial uses is clear. The infinitive of specification with verbs, the consecutive infinitive, and the absolute infinitive are regularly inflected, as would be expected from the meaning, the infinitive habitually denoting a relationship normally expressed, in nouns, by a case other than the nominative or the accusative. In the only two instances in which we have an uninflected infinitive in the adverbial uses just named, in *Oros.* 46.16, 17[b] (already quoted), we have, as I believe, an accusative and infinitive very loosely connected with the remainder of the sentence, and it is natural that the infinitive is not inflected. In the causal use of the infinitive we have both the uninflected infinitive and the inflected, but in the former the infinitive may possibly, as there indicated, be considered objective (accusative). We naturally expect cause to be expressed by the inflected infinitive, as we know that, with nouns, cause is often expressed by the genitive case in Anglo-Saxon.

For the other adverbial uses of the infinitive in the kindred Germanic languages, see Chapter XVI, section xii.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE INFINITIVE WITH NOUNS.[1]

A. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

When a Noun is modified by an infinitive, the infinitive normally is inflected, but in a few cases is uninflected. About 242 instances of the former occur to four of the latter.

The infinitive regularly follows the noun that it modifies, sometimes immediately, as in *Wærf.* 198.17 (onfangenre *leafe to lifigenne* = 241 C^4: *vivendi licentia* accepta); sometimes with a few words intervening, as in *Wærf.* 211.20[a, b] (gif ðu hwylce *leafe* habbe me *to sleanne 7 to wundianne* = 257 C^2: Si *licentiam* accepisti ut *ferias*, ego non prohibeo).

To me the infinitive with nouns seems prevailingly, if not exclusively, active in sense as in form. Dr. Riggert, *l. c.*, p. 71, declares, "Es steht nur der Infinitiv des Aktivs, der jedoch passiven Sinn haben kann," but he does not specifically cite any infinitives as passive in sense. If we have an infinitive that is passive in sense when used with a noun, we probably have it in such sentences as these: *And.* 23: næs ðær hlafes wist werum on ðam wonge, ne wæteres *drync to bruconne; Ælf. Hept.: Ex.* 16.12: ic sende ðisum folce *flæsc to etanne* = Vespere *comedetis* carnes; *Mk.* 3.20: ðæt hi næfdon *hlaf to etanne* = ita ut non possent neque *panem manducare.* But, as the Latin suggests, there is no necessity for considering the infinitive passive, and, in all probability, to the Anglo-Saxon mind the infinitive was active in his translation as in his Latin original; perhaps it was active to him even when translating a Latin passive, as in *L.* 24.41: Hæbbe ge her ænig *ðing to etanne?* = Habetis hic *aliquid* quod *manducetur?* though, of course, it is possible that in the latter case it seemed to him passive. Dr. K. Köhler and Dr. Farrar say nothing as to the voice of the infinitive with nouns; nor do Dr. Wülfing and Dr. Kenyon. — In the adjectivized infinitive, discussed below (pp. 180 ff.), on the other hand, the inflected infinitive is probably passive in sense.

I. THE INFINITIVE UNINFLECTED.

Of the four examples of the active uninflected infinitive modifying a noun, three occur in the prose and one in the poetry: —

anweald, *power:*

L. 12.5: adrædað ðone ðe *anweald* hæfð, seððan he ofslyhð, on helle *asendan* = timete eum qui, postquam occiderit, habet *potestatem mittere* in gehennam.

myne, *purpose, intention:*

And. 1538: Weox wæteres ðrym; weras cwanedon, ealde æscberend; wæs him ut *myne fleon* fealone stream, woldon feore beorgan, to dunscræfum drohtað secan, eorðan ondwist. [On this passage Dr. Riggert, *l. c.*, p. 67, comments as follows: "Der reine Infinitiv nach einem Substantive erscheint nur An. 1537 [= my 1538], und zwar bezeichnet das Hauptwort eine Absicht, einen Plan."]

[1] In some instances the infinitive modifies, not a noun, but a pronoun.

neod, *need, necessity:*

Ælf. Hom. II. 372[m] [2]: Ic bohte ænne tun, and me is *neod* to farenne and ðone *geseon* (*sic!*) [Cf. *L.* 14.18: Ic bohte ænne tun, ic hæbbe neode ðæt ic fare and hine geseo = Villam emi, et *necesse habeo* exire, et *videre* illam.]

Napier's Ad. to Th. 102.35[b] [4]: me is *neod* to farenne and ðone *sceawian* (*sic!*).

II. THE INFINITIVE INFLECTED.

The inflected infinitive modifies a large number of nouns. As is shown by the Latin originals, this infinitive often stands in the relation of a genitive modifier of the noun, and translates a Latin gerund or gerundive in the genitive (occasionally a noun in the genitive). This genitival infinitive, like the Latin genitive, has various uses, and denotes the characteristic, the object, the tendency, the purpose, etc. But the infinitive at times stands in a dativa relation, and translates a Latin gerundive in the dative or accusative, or *ad* plus a gerund or gerundive in the accusative, or an infinitive that modifies a noun; and this dativa infinitive habitually denotes the tendency or the purpose of the thing indicated by the noun. At other times the infinitive stands in an ablative relation, and translates a supine in *-u*. This is not a complete list of the Latin correspondents of our infinitive, for that is not called for here;[1] but these correspondents are given merely to help define the use of the infinitive in Anglo-Saxon.

The idiom is not common in the poems, less than a dozen examples having been found in a total, in prose and poetry, of about 242 examples. It is relatively frequent in Early West Saxon, Alfred having about 81 examples, not a few suggested by the Latin gerund or gerundive. It is rare in the *Chronicle* and in the *Laws*, neither furnishing more than a half dozen examples. It is not infrequent in Ælfric and in the *Gospels*, but is rare in Wulfstan.

At times it is difficult to decide whether the infinitive modifies a noun and is adjectival, or a verb and is adverbial; and this difficulty accounts for the chief differences between my statistics and those of others. For instance, Dr. Wülfing,[2] *l. c.*, II, pp. 219 ff., puts here *Bede* 98.18 (502.9 [2]), 242.7 (558.27), 330.18[a, b] (592.25[a, b]), 480.29, 30 (647.26[a, b]), while to me the infinitive seems rather to modify the verb.

The nouns modified by an infinitive may be roughly subdivided, as by Dr. Wülfing,[3] into two big classes: (a) those Denoting Ideas and (b) those Denoting Things.

1. Nouns Denoting Ideas.

Nouns denoting ideas may be subdivided as follows: —

1. Nouns Denoting Permission and Prohibition: —

bewerenis, *prohibition.*
leaf, *leave, permission.*
leafnes, *leave, permission.*

2. Nouns Denoting Power, Might, Capacity, and the like: —

andgi(e)t, *intelligence, ability.*
anweald, *power, authority.*
bieldo, *boldness.*
gelæredness, *learning, skill.*
getydnes, *learning, skill.*
geweald, *power, authority.*

[1] The complete list of Latin correspondents is given in Chapter XIV, section xiii.
[2] The numbers in parenthesis refer to the edition of *Bede* used by Dr. Wülfing, namely, Smith's.
[3] Wülfing,[2] *l. c.*, II, pp. 219 ff. My minor subdivisions, too, in the main follow Dr. Wülfing's.

giefu, *gift, power.*
gleawnes, *wisdom, intelligence.*
mægen, *strength, ability.*
mæð, *power.*
miht[meaht], *might, power.*
ondefn [an-], *capacity.*
strengð(o), *strength.*

3. Nouns Denoting Time and Place: —

fæc, *interval.*
fierst [-y-], *period of time.*
ielden [y-], *delay, respite.*
mæl, *time.*
rum, *space, opportunity.*
sped [and leafnes], *opportunity* (?).
stow, *place.*
tid, *time.*
tima, *time.*

4. Nouns Denoting Necessity: —

neod, *need, necessity.*
niedðearf [nyd-], *need, necessity.*
ðearf [ðerf], *need, necessity.*

5. Nouns Denoting Will, Purpose, Inclination, and the like: —

bliss, *bliss, joy.*
geornfulnes, *eagerness, desire.*
gescea(d)wisnes, *intelligence.*
geðoht, *thought, intention.*
geðyld, *patience.*
giemen, *care, concern.*
hyht [-i-], *hope.*
intinga, *cause, sake.*
lufu, *love.*
lustbærnes, *desire.*
mod, *mind, mood.*
riht, *right, reason.*
sorg, *sorrow, grief.*
wen, *hope, expectation.*
willa, *will, desire.*

6. Nouns Denoting Help: —

fultum, *help, assistance.*

7. Nouns Denoting Office and Work: —

ealdorlicnes, *authority, office.*
ðegnung [ðenung], *service.*
weorc, *work.*

8. Nouns Denoting Usage, Custom: —

æðelo, *habit* (?).
ðeaw, *custom, habit.*

9. Nouns Denoting Example and Teaching: —

bisn [-y-], *example.*
lar, *teaching.*

2. Nouns Denoting Things.

As I cannot think of any helpful grouping of these nouns, I merely give them in alphabetic sequence: —

æcer, *field.*
æht, *property.*
anweald, *power.*
að, *oath.*
auht, *aught.*
cild, *child.*
cyre, *choice.*
drenc, *drink.*
drinc, *drink.*
eage, *eye.*
eare, *ear.*
fela, *much.*
feoh, *money.*
flæsc, *flesh.*
forebeacen, *portent.*
gast, *spirit.*
gealdor, *charm.*
genoh [-g], *sufficiency.*
gierd [-y-], *rod.*
god, *god, God.*
gōd, *good.*
gryre, *horror.*
heafod [hæfod], *head* (metaphorically *chief*).
hlaf, *loaf, bread.*
hol, *hole, cave.*
hwæt, *what, something.*
lac, *offering.*
læcedom, *remedy.*
lacnung, *remedy.*
lamb [-o-], *lamb.*
land [-o-], *land.*
mare, *more.*
mete, *meat, food.*
mildheortnes, *clemency.*

naht, *naught.*
nanwiht [**-wuht**], *naught.*
onlegen, *medicinal application.*
pening, *penny.*
petraoleum, *petroleum.*
rod, *rood, cross.*
son, *sound, music.*
spell, *story, narrative.*
sprǽc, *speech.*
stæf, *stick.*
tol, *tool.*
ðearfa, *poor man.*
ðing, *thing.*
wegnest, *provisions for a journey.*
wela, *wealth.*
wundor, *wonder.*

Typical examples are: —

1. Nouns Denoting Ideas.

1. Nouns Denoting Permission and Prohibition: —

beweren(n)is, *prohibition:*

Bede 86.13[a, b]: ðonon hafað ðæt mod hwylcehugu scylde, nales hwæðre oð *bewerennisse to onfonne* ðæm halgan geryne, oððe ða symbelnesse *to mærsienne* mæssesonges = 60.12[a, b]: non tamen usque ad *prohibitionem pecipiendi* sancti mysterii uel missarum solemnia *celebrandi.*

leaf, *permission:*

Boeth. 120.28: habbað *leafe* yfel *to donne* = 102.76: *malorum potestas.*

Greg. 397.26: æfterðæmðe he hwelcehwugu gerisenlice *leafe* dyde ðæm gesinhiwon hira willan *to fremmanne*, he cwæð = 316.8: Quibusdum in magna honestate conjugii aliquid de voluptate largiretur, adjunxit.

Chron. 260[t], 1129 E: se kyng hem geaf ealle *leue* ham *to farene.*

Laws 483, Wilhelm I, c. 1[b]: habbe he fulle *leafe* swa *to donne.*

Wœrf. 10.2: Hu Æquitius onfeng *leafe to bodianne* = 0.

Bened. 21.17: *leaf* geseald sie *to sprecenne* = 42.17: *loquendi* concedatur *licentia.*

Ælf. L. S. XXXI. 384, 385: sealde him *leafe to siðigenne* forð and ðæt lic *to berenne.*

Ælf. Hept.: Gen. 42.34: ðæt ge . . . *leafe* habbon (*sic!*) *to bicgeanne* ðæt ðæt ge wyllað = *emendi* habeatis *licentiam.*

leafnes [**lef-**], *permission:*

Bede 112.6: heo . . . *lefnesse* sealdon deofolgyld *to bigongenne* ðam folcum = 91.9: idola *colendi* . . . dare *licentiam.* — *Ib.* 400.8[a, b]: *lefnes* . . . *to ærnenne 7 to flitenne* = 289.29: *certandi* . . . *copia.*

2. Nouns Denoting Power, Might, Capacity, etc.: —

andgi(e)t, *intelligence, ability:*

Ælf. Hom. I. 344[m]: men . . . ðe habbað lytel *andgit to understandenne* ða deopnysse Godes lare.

anweald, *power, authority:*

Ælf. L. S. XXXIV. 322[a, b]: me is geseald *anweald to ofsleanne* and *to edcucigenne.*

Mk. 3.15[a, b]: he him *anweald* sealde untrumnessa *to hælanne*, and deofolseocnessa ut *to adrifanne* = dedit illis potestatem *curandi* infirmitates et *ejiciendi* dæmonia.

gelæredness and **getydness**, *learning, skill:*

Bede 362.28[a, b]: wæs . . . Cuðbyrhte swa mycel *getydnes 7 gelærednes to sprecenne* = 269.32: Cudbercto tanta erat *dicendi peritia.*

geweald, *power, authority:*

Ermahnung 36: Ceapa ðe mid æhtum eces leohtes, ðy læs ðu forweorðe, ðænne ðu hyra *geweald* nafast *to syllanne.*

Gen. 281: ic hæbbe *geweald* micel *to gyrwanne* godlecran stol, hearran on heofne.

Pr. Gu. V. 227: ðæt ge min ahton *geweald* on ðas witu *to sendanne* = si *vestrae potentiae* sit istis me *tradere* poenis.

giefu, *gift, power:*

Bede 20.22: ðam . . . forgifen wæs seo *gyfu to singanne* = 258.25: cui *donum canendi* . . . sit . . . concessum.

gleawnes, *wisdom, intelligence:*

Bede 206.10[a, b]: He hæfde ða *gleawnesse* Godes bebodu *to healdanne 7 to læranne* = 161.20[a, b]: *industriam faciendi* simul et *docendi* mandata caelestia.

mægen, *strength, ability:*

Wærf. 244.1: he sealde me ðy dæge *mægn to fæstane* = 297 C[1]: eumque peterem quatenus mihi ut die illo *virtus ad jejunandum* daretur.

miht [**meaht**], *might, power:*

Bede 146.22: hæfde *meahte* oðerne biscop his stowe *to halgianne* = 120.20: habeat *potestatem* alterum *ordinandi* in loco eius.

Ælf. Hom. I. 560[t 1, 2]: Si ðe forgyfen *miht to gebindenne* and *to alysenne.*

J. 19.10[a, b] Nast ðu ðæt ic hæbbe *mihte* ðe *to honne*, and ic hæbbe *mihte* ðe *to forlætenne?* = nescis quia *potestatem* habeo *crucifigere* te, et *potestatem* habeo *dimittere* te?

3. Nouns Denoting Time and Place: —

mæl, *time:*

Beow. 316: *Mæl* is me *to feran* (*sic!*). [Cf. K. Köhler, *l. c.*, p. 48, and Kenyon, *l. c.*, p. 31.]

rum, *time, opportunity:*

Jud. 314: *rum* wæs *to nimanne* londbuendum on ðam laðestan, hyra ealdfeondum . . . heolfrig herereaf.

stow, *place:*

Bede 230.17: *stowe* geceas mynster *to getimbrigenne* = 175.13: elegit sibi *locum* monasterii *construendi.* — *Ib.* 238.24: ðæt he . . . forgefe *stowe* mynster on *to timbrenne* = 180.1: ut donaret . . . *locum* monasterio *construendo.* — *Ib.* 436.7, 8: ðæt he *stowe* hæfde in ðæm streame *to standenne* oððe hiene *to bisæncenne* = 310.23[a, b]: *locum standi* siue *inmergendi* in fluuio.

Wærf. 231.14: sohton maran *stowe* on *to sittanne* = 281 C: majora *sessionis loca* quærentibus dicit.

tid, *time:*

Bede 262.21[a, c]: ðætte *tid* wære stanas *to sendenne 7 tid to somnienne* = 207.19, 20: *tempus mittendi* lapides, et *tempus colligendi.*

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 478[a, b]: nu is seo *tid to gefyllenne* and *to gefremmane.*

tima, *time:*

Ælf. Hom. I. 602[t]: nu is *tima* us of slæpe *to arisenne.* — *Ib.* II. 360[b 1, 2, 3, 4]: He geceas him *timan to acennenne* on menniscnysse, *to ðrowigenne, to arisenne* of deaðe, *to astigenne* up to heofenan.

Ælf. Gr. 135.3: hit ys *tima to erigenne* = *tempus* est *arandi.* — *Ib.* 151.11: *tima* hyt ys *to tæcenne* = *tempus* est *docendi.*

4. Nouns Denoting Necessity:—

neod, *need, necessity:*

Laws 256, VI Æthelred, c. 42: ealswa us *neod* is gelome *to donne.*

Bened. 127.7[b]: ðæt nan *neod* ne sy munecum utan *to farenne* = 194.14: ut non sit *necessitas* Monachis *vagandi* foras.

Ælf. Hom. II. 372[m 1]: Ic bohte ænne tun, and me is *neod to farenne* and ðone geseon (*sic!*).

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 70: Nis me nan *neod* fæder ðe *to secgenne* hwanon ic come.

Napier's Ad. to Th. 102.35[b 3]: me is *neod to farenne* and ðone sceawian (*sic!*).

Mat. 14.16[a]: Nabbað hi *neode to farenne* = Non habent *necesse ire.*

niedðearf [**nyd-**], *need, necessity:*

Pr. Ps. 15.1: for ðam ðu me eall ða god sealdest ðe ic hæbbe, and ðe heora nan *nydðearf* nis eft on me *to nimenne* = 15.2: quoniam bonorum meorum non *eges.*

ðearf, *need, necessity:*

Gen. 279: Nis me wihtæ *ðearf* hearran *to habbanne.*

Greg. 67.4[b]: angiennað ðonne . . . mare secgean & smeagean suiðor ðonne him *ðearf* sie to *begonganne* = 40.26: sæpe se in quibusdam inquisitionibus plus, quam necesse est, exercentes, ex nimia subtilitate falluntur.

Laws 256, VI Æthelred, c. 42, § 2: ðæt mannum is mæst *ðearf* oftost *to gemunenne.*

Wærf. 79.6: he gebohte ðæt him nan *ðearf* næs *to habbenne* = 205 A: emit quod *necessarium* non *habebat.*

Bl. Hom. 63.5: us is mycel *ðearf to witenne.*

Wulf. 308.22: ðæt mannum is mæst *ðearf* oftost *to gemunanne.*

5. Nouns Denoting Will, Purpose, Inclination, etc.:—

geornfulnes, *eagerness, desire:*

Bede 206.11, 12: he hæfde ða *geornfulnesse* haligu gewritu *to rædanne 7* wæccean *to beganganne* = 161.21[a, b]: *solertiam lectionis* et *uigiliarum.*

gi(e)men, *care, concern:*

Bede 482.1: ða dæghwamlican *gimene to singanne* = 357.13: cotidianam *cantandi* in ecclesia *curam.*

intinga, *cause, occasion:*

Bede 120.7: *intinga to onfonne* Cristes geleafan = 97.21: *occasio . . . percipiendae* fidei.

lufu, *love:*

Bede 82.25: Mid ðy ðonne seo *lufu* ne bið tudres *to tilienne* = 58.29: Cum uero non *amor ortandi* subolis . . . dominatur.

lustbærnes, *desire:*

Boeth. 74.7: ne furðum nane *lustbærnesse* nabbað hi *to secanne* = 66.16: 0.

willa, *will, desire:*

Boeth. 107.13: habbað emnmicelne *willan* to *to cumenne* = 0.

Ælf. Hom. I. 394[t]: ðaða hi forleton ðone *willan to agenne.*

6. Nouns Denoting Help:—

fultum, *help, assistance:*

Solil. 39.15, 16: Ic hi lufige for freondscype and for geferædenne and ða

ðeah ofer ælle oðre ðe me mæstne *fultum* doð *to ongyttanne* and *to witanne* gesceadwisnesse and wisdom = 0.

7. Nouns Denoting Office and Work:—

ealdorlicnes, *authority:*

Bede 206.13: he hæfde . . . *ealdorlicnesse* ða ofermedan *to ðreageanne* = 161.22: *auctoritatem . . . redarguendi* superbos.

ðegnung [**ðenung**], *service, office:*

Bede 402.30[a, b]: he næfre . . . ða *ðenunge to cristienne* oððe *to fullwienne* . . . leornian meahte = 291.18[a, b]: *cathecizandi* uel *baptizandi ministerium.*

weorc, *work:*

Bede 418.27: ðæt willsume *weorc* . . . godspel *to læranne* = 301.23: *euangelizandi* gentibus *opus.*

8. Nouns Denoting Usage, Custom:—

æðelo, *habit* (?):

Boeth. 91.20: of ðære stowe ðe his eard and *æðelo* bið on *to wexanne* = 79.56:0.

ðeaw, *custom, habit:*

Beow. 1941: Ne bið swylc cwenlic *ðeaw* idese *to efnanne* ðeah ðe hio ænlicu sy (?).

Bede 258.31: se . . . regollicne *ðeaw to lifgenne* Ongolcynnes ciricum sægde *7* lærde = 205.18: catholicum *uiuendi morem* . . . didicit.

9. Nouns Denoting Example and Teaching:—

bisn [**bysn**], *example:*

Greg. 307.9: us salde *bisne* ur[ne] willan *to brecanne* = 234.27: ut *exemplum* nobis *frangendæ* nostræ voluntatis præbeat.

lar, *teaching:*

Bede 160.8: betwih oðre *lare* mannum *to lyfigeanne* = 135.21: inter alia *uiuendi documenta.*

2. Nouns Denoting Things.

I give only a few examples:—

drenc, *drink:*

Læce. 42.1: *Drenc* wið feondseocum men of ciricbellan *to drincanne.*

drinc, *drink:*

And. 23: næs ðær hlafes wist werum on ðam wonge ne wæteres *drync to bruconne.*

eage, *eye:*

Ælf. Hept.: Deut. 29.4[a]: drihten eow ne sealde undergitende heortan, ne *eagan to geseonne* ne earan to gehirenne = non dedit vobis dominus cor intelligens et *oculos videntes* et aures quæ possunt audire.

eare, *ear:*

Ælf. Hept.: Deut. 29.4[b], quoted under *eage.*

Napier's Ad. to Th. 102.32[t]: Se ðe hæbbe *earan to gehyrenne*, gehyre ðas word. [Cf. the following examples from the *Gospels.*]

Gosp.: Mat. 11.15: Se ðe *earan* hæbbe *to gehyrynne* (*sic!*), gehyre = Qui habet *aures audiendi*, audiat. So: *Mat.* 13.9, 43; *Mk.* 4.9, 23; *L.* 14.35.

fela, *much:*

Greg. 237.13: *Fela* ic hæbbe eow *to secganne* = 178.28: *Multa* habeo vobis *dicere* (or objective?).

gast, *spirit:*

Greg. 263.21: Ne underfengon ge no ðone *Gast* æt fulluhte *to ðeowigeanne* for ege = 198.22: Non accepistis *spiritum servitutis* iterum in timore.

gierd [**gyrd**], *rod:*

Greg. 127.1: Gif ðær ðonne sie *gierd* mid *to ðreageanne*, sie ðær eac stæf mid to wreðianne = 88.14: Si ergo est districtio virgæ, quæ *feriat*, sit et consolatio baculi, quæ sustentet.

Wærf. 20.27: he næfde *gyrde* hine mid *to sleanne* = 161 C: Et quia *virgam* qua eum *ferire posset.*

gryre, *horror:*

Bede 364.5: ða ðe . . . oðrum on *gryre* wæron *to neosienne* = 270.6: qui . . . aliis *horrori* erant *ad uisendum.*

mete, *meat:*

J. 4.32: Ic hæbbe ðone *mete to etanne* ðe ge nyton = Ego *cibum* habeo *manducare* quem vos nescitis.

son, *sound:*

Bede 258.24: Swylce eac *sonas to singenne* = 205.11: *sonos cantandi.*

stæf, *stick, staff:*

Greg. 127.2: quoted under *gierd.*

ðing, *thing:*

Ælf. Hom. I. 222[t]: ðeos dæd getacnað sum *ðing to donne* on Godes gelaðunge.

Ælf. Gr. 119.10[a, b]: verbum ys word . . . getacniende oððe sum *ðing to donne* oððe sum *ðing to ðrowigenne* oððe naðor = Verbum est pars orationis . . . aut *agere aliquid* aut *pati* aut neutrum significans.

Gosp.: L. 7.40: Symon, ic habbe ðe *to secgenne* sum *ðing* = Simon, habeo tibi *aliquid dicere* (or objective?). — *L.* 24.41: Hæbbe ge her ænig *ðing to etenne?* = Habetis hic aliquid quod *manducetur.* — *J.* 4.11: Leof, ne ðu næfst nan *ðing* mid *to hladanne* = Domine, neque in quo *haurias* habes.

wela, *wealth:*

And. 1160: *welan* ne benohton beornas *to brucanne.* [Dr. Reussner, *l. c.*, p. 27, and Dr. Kenyon, *l. c.*, p. 19, consider the infinitive to be a final modifier of the verb, not of the noun.]

wundor, *wonder:*

Bede 164.27: ðæt is *wundor to cweðanne* = 138.9: quod *mirum dictu* est.

Aside from the foregoing use of the inflected infinitive with nouns, which may be called the regular use, we have, as remarked by Dr. Wülfing,[2] *l. c.*, II, p. 225, a use of the inflected infinitive in which it is almost a pure adjective. Or perhaps it would be better to consider that we have, as it were, an elliptical gerundial periphrastic; in these examples, as usually in the predicative infinitive with *beon* (*wesan*), the infinitive is passive in sense, and translates a Latin gerundive. I note all of what seem to me the clearer cases: —

Bened. 134.4: Syx synt muneca cynerena, ðara synt ðreo ða selestan, ða oðere *ðreo* ða forcuðestan and eallum gemete *to forbugenne* = 0.

Bede 100.2: ðisses *geleafa 7 wyrcnis* seo lefed Gode onfenge *7* allum *to fylgenne* = 82.2: huius *fides* et *operatio* Deo deuota atque omnibus *sequenda* credatur.

Ælf. L. S. XXXIV. 67: *hwæt* bið æfre soðlicre oððe *to gelyfenne* ænigum lifigendum menn?

Pr. Ps. 47.1: Mycel ys se *Dryhten* ure God, and swyðe *to herianne* on ðære byrig ures Drihtnes = Magnus Dominus et *laudabile* nimis in civitate Dei nostri.

Wærf. 240.5: Petrus cwæð: 'is ðæt forwundorlic wise and in urum tidum *to wafienne*' = 293 A[2]: Res mira, et nostris *stupenda* temporibus. — *Ib.* 252.25: wundorlic wise ðæt wæs 7 in ðære bysne ðæs drihtenlican weorces swiðe *to wafienne* = 309 A[1]: Mira res, atque in exemplum Dominici operis vehementer omnibus *stupenda.*

Bede 448.8: wæs he ge on wordum hluttor 7 scinende ge eac on gelærednesse gewrito (*sic!*) ge freora ge cyriclicra *to wundrienne* = 321.10: nam et sermone nitidus, et scripturarum, ut dixi, tam liberalium quam ecclesiasticarum erat eruditione *mirandus.*

In the foregoing examples the adjectivized infinitive is in the predicate nominative;[1] in the following example it is used attributively:

Bede 472.3: ða com . . . se leofa fæder 7 sacerd 7 mid ealle are *to nemnenne* Ecgbyrht se halga = 346.23: cum uenisset . . . Deo amabilis, et cum omni honorificentia *nominandus* pater ac sacerdos, Ecgberct.

In the following passage it is difficult to decide whether the infinitive is adjectivized or substantivized: *Bede* 24.1: Ðæt sum on Norðanhymbra mægðe of deaðe arisende sume swiðe ondryslicu 7 eac *to gewilnienne*, ða ðe he geseah, secgende wæs = 303.25: Ut quidam in prouincia Nordanhymbrorum a mortuis resurgens multa et tremenda et *desideranda*, quae uiderat, narrauerit. Dr. Wülfing,[2] *l. c.*, II, p. 225, considers the infinitive adjectivized.

Differentiation of the Two Infinitives.

As already stated, out of a total of about 246 infinitives with nouns, only four are uninflected. The solitary example of the uninflected infinitive in the poems (*And.* 1538) may be due, as suggested by Dr. Riggert, to the peculiar sense of the noun modified, *myne;* or, as privately suggested by Professor J. W. Bright, it may be due to the exigencies of the meter. In the three examples from the prose, the lack of inflection is probably due to the remoteness of the infinitive from the noun that it modifies, for twice the uninflected infinitive is the second in a series of two infinitives the first of which is inflected, while in the third instance (*L.* 12.5) the single infinitive is appreciably removed from its noun. All four examples have been quoted in full at the beginning of this chapter.

B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

I have not found an example of the compound passive infinitive modifying a noun.*

For the Infinitive with Nouns in the other Germanic languages, see Chapter XVI, section xiii.

NOTES.

1. *The Infinitive in a Series with Nouns.* — In the following passages we have a series of two infinitives the first of which is inflected, but the second is not: *Ælf. Hom.* II. 372[m 1. 2] and *Napier's Ad. to Th.* 102.35[b 3. 4], both quoted on p. 174 above. Dr. Farrar, *l. c.*, pp. 28

[1] For the infinitive as the substantival predicate nominative, see Chapter III, pp. 73 ff.

and 34, declares that the inflected infinitive is used parallel with the simple infinitive as the complement of a noun in *L.* 1.72, 79, but the infinitives are, in my judgment, final, and modify the verb. In the following passages we have a series of inflected infinitives: *Bede* 62.8[a, b], 9; 86.13[a, b]; 206.10[a, b]; 206.11, 12; 400. 8[a, b]; 402.30[a, b]; 436.7, 8; — *Solil.* 39.15, 16; — *Wærf.* 211.20[a, b]; — *Mart.* 86.5[a, b]; — *Ælf. Hom.* I. 560[b 1, 2]; II. 360[b 1, 2, 3, 4]; — *Ælf. L. S.* XXIII B. 478[a, b]; XXXI. 384, 385; XXXIV. 322[a, b]; XXXIV. 328, 329; — *Mk.* 3.15[a, b]; — *Wulf.* 52.3[a, b]; 202.1[a, b]; — *Lacc.* 52.30, 31; 54.36[b], 37; — *Chad* 71, 72.

2. *The Inflected Infinitive Used as a Latin Gerundive.* — In sentences like the following, the Anglo-Saxon inflected infinitive closely approximates a Latin gerundive: *Bede* 82.19: seo gemengnes ðæs flæsces seo for *intingan* bearna (*sic!*) *to cennenne* = 58.22: carnis commixtio *creandorum* liberorum sit *gratia.* Clearly the genitive *bearna* is due to the too close following of the Latin idiom, for I do not find in Bosworth-Toller's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* any example of *cennan's* governing a genitive. This same influence of the Latin gerundive is seen in this passage: *Wærf.* 114.1: ðæt ðær næs eallunga nan *wen* ðæs geloman ofer ðæt *to secanne* = B. 144 C[2]: ut *spes requirendi ferramenti* nulla jam esset.

CHAPTER XIV.

ORIGIN OF THE CONSTRUCTIONS OF THE INFINITIVE IN ANGLO-SAXON.

I. THE SUBJECTIVE INFINITIVE.[1]

A. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

1. With an Active Finite Verb.

The active infinitive, whether uninflected or inflected, as the subject of active verbs was probably an idiom native to Anglo-Saxon. For we find: —

1. That about 34 examples occur of the subjective infinitive in the poems, of which 8 are uninflected and 26 are inflected. Of this total, several examples are found in *Beowulf*, all with *beon* plus an adjective except in one instance.

2. That while, in the prose translations, the Anglo-Saxon subjective infinitive corresponds nearly a fourth of the time to a Latin infinitive that is the subject of a finite verb, about half the time it corresponds to various other idioms; and in numerous cases the subjective infinitive is found without any Latin correspondent. It should be added, however, that, in the case of no Latin correspondents, the Anglo-Saxon subjective infinitive occasionally is identical with an infinitive that elsewhere has a Latin infinitive as its original; and that, in the case of some of the Latin correspondents other than a subjective infinitive (as, for example, with the other uses of the infinitive indicated below and with the uses of the gerund and the gerundive), some, though not, perhaps, a determining, influence is exercised by the Latin original. It is noteworthy, too, that the Latin expressions containing an adjective are usually rendered by an inflected infinitive in Anglo-Saxon. In a word, the Latin influence is probably stronger than a first glance at my statistics would lead one to suppose.

The Latin chief correspondents are: an infinitive that is the subject of a finite verb (U.[2]: 24, I.: 7) or of a finite verb + an adjective (U.: 1, I.: 13). About half the time it corresponds to various other idioms, as follows: an objective infinitive, U.: 4, I.: 2; an infinitive as predicate nominative, U.: 0, I.: 2; a predicative infinitive with an auxiliary verb, U.: 0, I.: 1; an accusative and infinitive as subject to a finite verb, U.: 9, I.: 5; an accusative and infinitive as subject to a finite verb + an adjective, U.: 0, I.: 5; an accusative and infinitive as object, U.: 8, I.: 3; a gerundial periphrastic, U.: 0, I.: 4; a gerund in the genitive, U.: 1, I.: 0; a gerund in the ablative, U.: 1, I.: 0; a gerund in the accusative, U.: 0, I.: 1; an adjective + an infinitive, U.: 0, I.: 1; an adjective + *ad* + a gerund in the accusative, U.: 0, I.: 1; an adjective + *est* + a supine in *-u*, U.: 0, I.: 3; an adjective + a noun in the ablative, U.: 0, I.: 2; an adjective + a supine in *-u*, U.: 0, I.: 1; an adjective + *est* without an infinitive, U.: 0, I.: 4; an indicative + the adverb *facile*, U.: 0, I.: 1; *opus est* + an *ut*-clause, U.: 0, I.: 1; a relative clause with *est* + an adjective, U.: 0, I.: 1; a passive indicative with an ablative phrase, U.: 0, I.: 1; an indicative active, U.: 2, I.: 1; an adhortative subjunctive, U.: 0, I.: 2; a noun in *-io*, U. 7, I.: 0; a noun in the genitive, U.: 1, I.: 1; a noun in the accusative, U.: 1, I.: 0; a noun in the ablative, U.: 2; I.: 1; a substantivized past participle + an indicative, U.: 0, I.: 1; a prepositional phrase + a verb, U.: 1, I.: 1; a loose paraphrase, U.: 0, I.: 5; no Latin, U.: 17, I.: 43.

[1] Cf. Chapter I, pp. 7 ff.

[2] U. = uninflected; I. = inflected.

3. That the construction occurs, though not frequently, in the more original prose: the *Chronicle*, the *Laws*, and Wulfstan.

2. With a Passive Finite Verb.

On the other hand, the active infinitive, whether uninflected or inflected, as the subject of a passive verb in Anglo-Saxon is probably due to Latin influence; or, at any rate, the influence of the Latin is stronger here than with the active infinitive as the subject of an active verb, for we find: —

1. That only one example, that inflected, occurs in the poetry, in *Guthlac*, and that as the subject of *aliefan*. *Guthlac*, it is well known, is based on a Latin original; moreover, as we shall see below, *aliefan* with a subject infinitive, in the prose translations, is usually due to Latin influence.

2. That, in the prose translations, the Anglo-Saxon subjective infinitive usually occurs in translation of a Latin infinitive that is the subject of a finite verb (active, U.: 6, I.: 9; passive, U.: 1, I.: 2), though occasionally in translation of other idioms (an accusative and infinitive as the object of an active verb, U.: 0, I.: 2; a gerund in the genitive, U.: 0, I.: 1; *ut* + a passive subjunctive as the object of an active verb, U.: 0, I.: 1), and very rarely without any Latin correspondent (U.: 0, I.: 2). It is noteworthy that the active infinitive occurs most frequently as the subject of the passive of *aliefan*, and that, in the prose translations, the Anglo-Saxon *aliefan* with a subject infinitive corresponds to the Latin *licere* with a subject infinitive.

3. That in only one of the more original prose monuments, Wulfstan, is the idiom found, then only a few times and only as the subject of the one verb, *aliefan*, which idiom, as we have above seen, is an imitation of the Latin in the Early West Saxon translations.

It should be added that, as subject to both active and passive verbs, the active infinitive is more frequently inflected than not, both in prose and in poetry, — a fact discussed in Chapter I; and that both infinitives are found as subjects from the outset, the differentiation resting upon the principles discussed in the conclusion of Chapter I.

B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

In all probability, the Anglo-Saxon passive infinitive as the subject of active verbs (of which only a few examples occur, all quoted above, Chapter I, pp. 26-27) is due to Latin influence. No example has been found in the poems. In the prose translations the idiom is found very rarely, and always in translations of a Latin passive infinitive, though the infinitive in Latin is occasionally used objectively, as in Wærferth, and occasionally predicatively with a subject accusative, as in *Bede* and in *Luke* 17.25. The idiom is not found in the more original prose, and is very rare even in Ælfric.

The situation is much the same in the other Germanic languages with reference both to the active and to the passive infinitive: see Chapter XVI, section i.

II. THE OBJECTIVE INFINITIVE.

A. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

1. With an Active Finite Verb.

I. THE INFINITIVE UNINFLECTED ONLY.

1. Verbs of Commanding.[1]

The objective infinitive after *hatan* is undoubtedly of native origin in Anglo-Saxon. (1) It occurs over a hundred times in Anglo-Saxon poetry, and nearly twenty times in *Beowulf*. (2) In the Early West Saxon translations, though it occasionally answers to a Latin objective infinitive (active or passive), it usually answers to some other idiom, most commonly to a Latin co-ordinated finite verb. (3) It is common in the *Chronicle*. (4) It is very common with Ælfric, who has nearly 500 examples. (5) The idiom is, we know, characteristic of the Germanic languages as a whole. — As to *abiddan* we cannot decide, as only one example occurs, in Ælfric.

The Latin correspondents are: a co-ordinated finite verb (usually active (63), but occasionally passive (13)) or a Latin accusative and infinitive (usually passive (58), but occasionally active (5)). Other correspondents are: the infinitive as retained object (active, 1; passive, 5); a subordinated finite verb (active, 15; passive, 1); an absolute participle (active, 2; passive, 7); an appositive participle (active, 2; passive, 8); *ad* + a gerund, 4; a gerundive in the accusative, 1; an indicative with an accusative + *ad* + a gerundive in the accusative, 1; an accusative and a gerundial infinitive passive, 2; an indicative with *ad* + a gerund, 1; an indicative with *ut* + a subjunctive clause as object, 2; an adhortative subjunctive, 1; a loose paraphrase, 4; no Latin, 35.

2. Verbs of Causing and Permitting.[2]

The objective infinitive after *lætan* is probably of native origin. (1) It occurs in the poems, though rarely. (2) In the Early West Saxon translations, it corresponds once to a Latin objective infinitive (active), but usually to a co-ordinated finite verb (active, 3; passive, 1) or to an accusative and infinitive (active, 1; passive, 2), but occasionally to other idioms (a passive final infinitive, 1; a passive subordinated finite verb, 1; a supine in *-um*, 1; no Latin, 3). (3) It is very common in the *Chronicle*, occurring over fifty times, though usually in the later years. (4) The idiom is common in the other Germanic languages. — As only two examples occur after *don* and one after *forgiefan* (the text of the former is in doubt), we cannot decide as to them, though the Anglo-Saxon infinitive after *forgiefan* corresponds to a Latin objective infinitive after *donare*.

3. Verbs of Sense Perception.[3]

The objective infinitive with each of the verbs of sense perception (*gehieran, geseon, hieran, ofseon,* and *seon*) is doubtless of native origin in Anglo-Saxon. *Seon* is found only in the poetry; *ofseon* only once, in Ælfric. As to the objective infinitive with the remaining three verbs: (1) it is found in the poems; (2) in the Early West Saxon translations it corresponds to various Latin idioms; and (3) it is found in the *Chronicle* except with *geseon*.

[1] Given in Chapter II, p. 31.
[2] Given in Chapter II, p. 31.
[3] Given in Chapter II, p. 31.

The Latin correspondents are: — for *gehieran:* objective active infinitive, 1; predicative passive infinitive with an auxiliary verb, 1; co-ordinated finite verb (active, 5; passive, 1); subordinated finite verb, active, 3; appositive participle (active, 5; passive, 1); no Latin, 6; — for *geseon:* objective active infinitive, 5; predicative accusative of the participle (active, 1; passive, 1); accusative and passive infinitive, 2; no Latin, 1; — for *hieran:* objective passive infinitive, 2; subordinated finite verb (active, 1; passive, 1); predicative accusative of the past participle, 1; accusative and infinitive (active), 1; no Latin, 2.

4. Verbs of Mental Perception.[1]

The objective infinitive occurs so seldom with verbs of mental perception that it is difficult to arrive at a positive conclusion concerning its origin in Anglo-Saxon. But what evidence we have seems to indicate that the idiom is, in the main, native. With two of the verbs concerned (*gefrignan* and *gehogian*), the objective infinitive is found only in the poetry, two out of three times in *Beowulf*. With *geteon*, on the other hand, the infinitive in Anglo-Saxon corresponds to a Latin objective infinitive active, and may have been suggested by the Latin. With *hogian*, the infinitive is found four times in the poetry and twice in the prose (in the *Soliloquies* and in Ælfric), in the former translating a Latin accusative and gerundial infinitive. With *tweogan* [*tweon*], the infinitive translates a Latin accusative and future active infinitive.

5. Verbs of Beginning, Delaying, and Ceasing.[2]

With each of the three verbs of beginning, delaying, and ceasing (*blinnan*, *forieldan*, and *ginnan*) the objective infinitive translates, in *Bede*, in which alone it occurs, a Latin objective infinitive active. Probably, therefore, the objective infinitive with these verbs is due to the Latin.

6. Verbs of Inclination and of Will.[3]

Of the verbs of inclination and of will, two (*behealdan* and *onmedan*) are found with the objective infinitive only in the poetry; two (*cunnian* and *gegiernian*) are found only in Ælfric; while with five (*forefon*, *ge-eaðmodi(g)an*, *geðyrsti(g)an*, *lystan*, and *wunian*) the Anglo-Saxon infinitive invariably translates a Latin objective infinitive active. Possibly the infinitive in the last group is due to the Latin.

To sum up the matter thus far: the uninflected infinitive as object is doubtless a native idiom with the first four classes of verbs enumerated above ((1) of Commanding, (2) of Causing and Permitting, (3) of Sense Perception, (4) of Mental Perception (except with *geteon*)); it is possibly due to Latin influence in the fifth class (verbs of Beginning, Delaying, and Ceasing); and it is partly of native origin and partly of foreign origin in the sixth class (verbs of Inclination and of Will).

II. THE INFINITIVE INFLECTED ONLY.

1. Verbs of Commanding.[4]

With only one verb of commanding (*gedihtan*) do we find the inflected objective infinitive, once, in Wulfstan. The infinitive seems to be a dative object, and the idiom here seems of native origin.

[1] Given in Chapter II, p. 31.
[2] Given in Chapter II, p. 31.
[3] Given in Chapter II, p. 31
[4] Given in Chapter II, p. 37.

2. Verbs of Permitting.[1]

With this group, only two verbs (*liefan* and *lofian* in the sense of 'allow') are found with the objective infinitive. *Liefan* is not found in the poetry; in the translations it corresponds once (*Mat.* 19.8) to a Latin objective infinitive active, once (*Ælf. Hept.*: *Num.* 21.22) to a subjective infinitive, and once (*Greg.* 451.29) it has no Latin correspondent; the other example is found in Wulfstan. *Lofian* is found once, in the *Chronicle*. The infinitive with these verbs is probably of native origin.

3. Verbs of Mental Perception.[2]

Of this group, only three verbs (*aðencan, mynnan*, and *witan* [*nytan*]) are found with the inflected objective infinitive in the poems. The following fifteen are found in the Anglo-Saxon translations: *behatan, gehyhtan, geliefan, geswutelian, geteohhian, geðencan, læran, sirwan, smeagan* [*smean*], *tæcan, teohhian* [*tioh-*], *ðeahti(g)an, understandan, weddian*, and *witan;* and have various Latin correspondents, as indicated below. The following occur in texts other than the poems or the translations: *æteowan, anbidian, bodian, cyðan, geceosan, tacan*, and *tellan*. In all probability, therefore, the inflected infinitive as object with the verbs of mental perception as a whole is a native idiom.

The Latin correspondents for the words above specified are: — for *behatan:* objective active infinitive, 1; accusative and future active infinitive as object, 1; *ut* + the subjunctive in an object clause, 1; — for *gehyhtan:* objective active infinitive, 1; — for *geliefan:* accusative and gerundial infinitive as object, 1; — for *geswutelian:* objective active infinitive, 1; — for *geteohhian:* objective active infinitive, 1; accusative and active infinitive as object, 1; co-ordinated finite verb, active, 1; subordinated finite verb, active, 1; substantivized past participle, 1; no Latin, 3; — for *geðencan:* objective active infinitive, 1; — for *læran:* gerundive in the genitive, 1; gerundive in the accusative, 1; no Latin, 1; — for *sirwan:* final active infinitive, 1; — for *smeagan* [*smean*]: accusative and future active infinitive, 1; no Latin, 1; — for *tæcan:* co-ordinated finite verb, passive, 1; — for *tecchian:* objective active infinitive, 1; complementary infinitive to an auxiliary verb, 1; *ut* + a subjunctive, 2; gerundive in the predicate nominative, 1; no Latin, 3; — for *ðeahti(g)an:* accusative and future active infinitive, 1; — for *understandan:* no Latin, 1; — for *weddian:* objective active infinitive, 1; — for *witan:* no Latin, 1.

4. Verbs of Beginning, Delaying, and Ceasing.[3]

The inflected infinitive as object with this group of verbs is not found in the poems. Except with three verbs found in this idiom only in Ælfric (*elcian, forwiernan*, and *gefon*), it is represented in the Anglo-Saxon translations; in which, as my statistics below show, it answers most frequently to a Latin objective infinitive active or to various locutions made up of the Latin gerund or gerundive, and occasionally to other idioms. As the simplex, *wiernan*, and other compounds of *fon* occur in the translations, it is probable that, in the main, the infinitive in this group of verbs was due to the influence of the Latin originals.

The Latin correspondents are: — for *anforlætan:* objective active infinitive, 1; — for *gælan:* co-ordinated finite verb, active, 1; — for *ieldan* [*eldan, yldan*]: objective active infinitive, 3; appositive participle, deponent, 1; — for *onfon:* gerundive in the accusative, 3; gerund in the genitive, 1; — for *underfon:* gerundive in the accusative, 2; *ad* + a gerund, 1; *ut* + a subjunctive of purpose, 1; no Latin, 2; — for *wiernan:* objective active infinitive, 1.

[1] Given in Chapter II, p. 37.
[2] Given in Chapter II, p. 37.
[3] Given in Chapter II, p. 37.

5. Verbs of Inclination and of Will.[1]

Of the verbs belonging to this group, none is found with an inflected objective infinitive in the poems. In the translations, the Anglo-Saxon infinitive corresponds oftenest to a Latin objective infinitive active, but occasionally to other idioms. A number of the verbs do not occur in the translations (*anðracian, forsacan, murnan, oferhogian, reccan, swerian, teon, wandian*), but with the exception of the first two (in Ælfric) they are found in the *Chronicle* or in the *Laws*, and with them all the infinitive is probably native. The verbs followed by an objective infinitive in the translations are so sparingly represented as to preclude confident conclusions, but to me the infinitive with these, as with the verbs above mentioned, seems in the main of native origin.

The Latin correspondents are: — for *adrædan:* objective active infinitive, 1; — for *beotigan: ad* + a gerund in the accusative, 1; — for *fleon:* objective active infinitive, 1; — for *forseon:* objective active infinitive, 1; — for *gedyrstlæcan:* objective active infinitive, 5; adhortative subjunctive, 2; — for *getilian:* accusative and gerundial infinitive, 1; — for *giernan:* objective active infinitive, 2; absolute passive participle, 1; — for *higian:* objective active infinitive (or final?), 1; *ad* + a gerundive in the accusative, 2; — for *onscunian:* loose paraphrase, 1; — for *warenian:* co-ordinated finite verb, active, 1; — for *wiðsacan:* accusative and active infinitive as object, 1.

6. "Habban," 'have.'

An inflected infinitive is not found with *habban* in the poems; in the translations, the infinitive corresponds to several Latin idioms (*ad* + an accusative, a gerundial periphrastic, a co-ordinated indicative active; and a periphrastic future indicative active). It is possible, perhaps probable, that the Latin exercised a slight influence in these instances.

In a word, the inflected infinitive as object seems of native origin in the first three groups of verbs above given ((1) of Commanding, (2) of Permitting, (3) of Mental Perception), also in group 5 (verbs of Inclination and of Will) in the main; but the idiom is more or less due to Latin influence in group 4 (verbs of Beginning, Delaying, and Ceasing) and in group 6 (*habban*).

III. THE INFINITIVE UNINFLECTED AND INFLECTED.

1. Verbs of Commanding.[2]

Of this group of verbs, *bebeodan, beodan,* and *biddan* are found with an objective infinitive in the poems. In the translations the Anglo-Saxon objective infinitive, both uninflected and inflected, corresponds to several different Latin idioms, and in all probability the idiom is native to Anglo-Saxon with this whole group of verbs.

The correspondents in Latin are: — for *bebeodan:* U.: accusative and passive infinitive as object, 3; — I.: gerundive in the accusative, 1; co-ordinated finite verb, active, 1; — for *beodan:* U.: 0; — I.: subjective active infinitive, 1; co-ordinated finite verb, active, 1; — for *bewerigan:* U.: subjective passive infinitive, 1; — I.: objective active infinitive, 1; — for *biddan:* U.: objective active infinitive, 1; accusative and passive infinitive as object, 2; appositive participle active, 1; no Latin, 1; — I.: 0; — for *forbeodan:* U.: objective active infinitive, 1; — I.: noun in the accusative, 1; no Latin, 1; — for *gehatan:* U.: absolute participle passive, 1; accusative and passive infinitive as object, 1; — I.: accusative and a future active infinitive, 1.

[1] Given in Chapter II, p. 37.

[2] Given in Chapter II, p. 44.

2. Verbs of Permitting.[1]

Of the three verbs in this group (*aliefan*, *geðafian*, and *sellan*), *sellan* is found with an objective infinitive (U.: 1, I.: 1) only in the poems. In the translations, *aliefan* is found with an infinitive, uninflected and inflected, that corresponds now to an objective infinitive, now to a predicative infinitive with accusative subject, now to a finite verb in the Latin original; and *geðafian* is found once with an inflected infinitive as object translating a Latin objective infinitive active. *Aliefan* and *geðafian* are each found, also, in works not known to be translations. The infinitive, both uninflected and inflected, with this whole group of verbs is probably of native origin.

3. Verbs of Mental Perception.[2]

Of this group of verbs, *findan*, *gemyntan*, *myntan*, *ðencan*, and *wenan* are found with the objective infinitive in the poems, *findan* and *ðencan* with the infinitive both uninflected and inflected, the other verbs named with the uninflected only. In the translations, the Anglo-Saxon infinitive, both uninflected and inflected, has various Latin correspondents. In all probability, therefore, the objective infinitive, both uninflected and inflected, is of native origin with this group of verbs, though no doubt the Latin original occasionally accounts (as in *geleornian*) for the infinitive's being inflected.

The Latin correspondents are: — for *geleornian:* U.: objective active infinitive, 1; — I.: gerundive in the accusative, 1; — for *gemyntan:* U.: 0; — I.: objective active infinitive, 1; — for *gestihhian:* U.: objective active infinitive, 1; — I.: no Latin, 1; — for *leornian:* U.: 0; — I.: objective active infinitive, 2; gerundive in the accusative, 1; — for *myntan:* U.: objective active infinitive, 1; no Latin, 2; — I.: 0; — for *ðencan:* U.: objective active infinitive, 11; *ad* + a gerundive in the accusative, 2; co-ordinated finite verb, active, 2; accusative and active infinitive as object, 1; accusative and passive infinitive as object, 1; noun in the accusative, 1; loose paraphrase, 1; no Latin, 9; — I.: objective active infinitive, 7; co-ordinated finite verb, active, 2; subordinated finite verb, active, 1; *ad* + a gerundive in the accusative, 1; noun in the ablative modified by a genitive, 1; indicative passive with a prepositional phrase, 1; no Latin, 5.

4. Verbs of Beginning, Delaying, and Ceasing.[3]

Of this group of verbs, only the following have the objective infinitive in Anglo-Saxon poetry, and that uninflected: *forlætan*, and *beginnan* and *onginnan*, the two most frequently recurring of the whole class. In the *Chronicle*, this idiom with these two last verbs occurs, though not frequently: in the translations, the Anglo-Saxon objective infinitive, whether uninflected or inflected, has various Latin originals, though the most frequent is an objective infinitive. That the objective infinitive, when uninflected, was a native idiom in Anglo-Saxon with these two verbs seems highly probable, therefore, though the frequency of the construction in the translations must be in no small part due to the frequency of *coepit* (and kindred verbs of beginning) followed by an objective infinitive in the Latin original. As to the inflected infinitive as object after these two verbs, I have spoken above, in Chapter II, pp. 67 ff.; where I have tried to show that the use of the inflected form was not due to foreign in-

[1] Given in Chapter II, p. 44.
[2] Given in Chapter II, p. 44.
[3] Given in Chapter II, p. 44.

fluence. The objective infinitive after the other verb of beginning (*aginnan*), when uninflected, is doubtless original, and on substantially the same grounds given for *beginnan* and *onginnan*. The inflected infinitive as object with *aginnan* is found only in the later *Chronicle* (1006 E^b) or in the early years in the late and imperfect MS. F.

The objective infinitive, whether uninflected or inflected, after *fon* is doubtless of native origin. The uninflected infinitive occurs only twice, in Wulfstan; the inflected is found in Wærferth, in Ælfric, and in Wulfstan, though the example in Wærferth, corresponding to a Latin gerundive in the accusative, may be considered final in sense.

As to the verbs of Ceasing (*ablinnan* and *geswican*), as the objective infinitive occurs only in Late West Saxon (Ælfric and the *Gospels*), we cannot decide as to its origin. *Forlætan*, as stated above, is found once in the poems uninflected (in *And.*), and once in the prose inflected (in *Greg.*), translating here an objective active infinitive; and the idiom with this verb may be partly due to Latin influence.

The Latin correspondents are: — for *aginnan:* U.: objective active infinitive, 13; co-ordinated finite verb, active, 2; appositive participle, active, 2; — I.: 0; — for *beginnan:* U.: objective active infinitive, 1; no Latin, 2; — I.: objective infinitive (active, 5; passive, 1); co-ordinated finite verb, active, 4; *ad* + a gerundive in the accusative, 1; appositive participle, active, 1; no Latin, 7; — for *fon:* U.: 0; — I.: gerundive in the accusative, 1; co-ordinative finite verb, active, 1; no Latin, 1; — for *forlætan:* U.: 0; — I.: objective active infinitive, 1; — for *geswican:* U.: objective active infinitive, 1; — I.: 0; — for *onginnan:* U.: objective infinitive (active, 333; passive, 5); subjective active infinitive, 1; active infinitive as retained object, 2; accusative and active infinitive as object, 1; complementary infinitive (active, 2; passive, 1); causal active infinitive + a predicate nominative, 1; co-ordinated finite verb (active, 31; passive, 2); subordinated finite verb, active, 20; gerund in the ablative, 2; *a* + a gerund in the ablative, 1; absolute participle (active, 4; passive, 6); appositive participle (active, 25; passive, 6); noun in the ablative, 5; loose paraphrase, 6; no Latin, 87; — I.: objective active infinitive, 4; subordinated finite verb, active, 1; appositive participle, active, 1; inchoative indicative, 3; loose paraphrase, 1.

5. Verbs of Inclination and of Will.[1]

Of this group, the following are found in this idiom in the poetry: *forhogian* (I.: 1), *gieman* (I.: 1), *secan* (U.: 2), *tilian* (U.: 2), *wil(l)nian* (U.: 1, I.: 1). Two of these (*tilian* and *wil(l)nian*) are the most frequently used of the whole group, the next most frequent being *gewil(l)nian*. Although only the first of the following verbs is found in either the *Chronicle* or the *Laws*, the objective infinitive, whether uninflected or inflected, with these three verbs (*gewil(l)nian*, *tilian*, *wil(l)nian*) is probably of native origin: as we have seen, two of the three are found in the poems; and in the translations, the objective infinitive, though often translating a Latin objective infinitive, often has other correspondents in the original. For substantially the same reasons, the objective infinitive, whether uninflected or inflected, is probably of native origin after *forhogian*, *gieman*, and *secan*.

With *forhycgan*, the objective infinitive occurs twice uninflected in *Bede* in translation of a Latin objective infinitive, and once inflected in the *Blickling Homilies*, but, as with the kindred *forhogian*, the infinitive with *forhycgan* may be native.

[1] Given in Chapter II, p. 44.

Twice the uninflected infinitive is found as object to *ge-earnian*, in *Bede*, each time answering to a Latin objective infinitive, and thrice in Ælfric; and once inflected in Ælfric. The examples are too few for a confident decision; but the sentences in *Bede* sound stiff and unnatural to me.

Similarly with the objective infinitive after *gemedemian*, occurring twice uninflected in the *Laws*, and once inflected in Ælfric, in each translating a Latin objective infinitive, decision is impossible, but my feeling is against the native origin.

The objective infinitive, both uninflected and inflected, after *geðristlæcan*, occurring as it does in the *Laws*, is probably of native origin, although in Wærferth it translates a Latin objective infinitive.

The objective infinitive, both uninflected and inflected, after *gewunian*, is probably due to Latin influence: the infinitive is not found in the poems; in the prose occurs chiefly in the translations, and usually renders a Latin objective infinitive with *consuescere* or with *solere*.

The objective infinitive after *ondrædan*, whether uninflected or inflected, is probably of native origin, for, while we find in the translations the Anglo-Saxon infinitive corresponding usually to a Latin objective infinitive, it at times (as in *Greg.* 49.18) corresponds to a Latin finite verb without an infinitive.

The Latin correspondents are: — for *forhogian:* U.: objective active infinitive, 2; — I.: objective active infinitive, 1; — for *forhycgan:* U.: objective active infinitive, 2; — I.: 0; — for *ge-earnian:* U.: objective active infinitive, 2; — I.: 0; — for *gemedemian:* objective active infinitive, 2; — I.: objective active infinitive, 1; — for *geðristlæcan:* U.: objective active infinitive, 1; — I.: 0; — for *gewilnian:* U.: objective active infinitive, 4; — I.: objective active infinitive, 2; — for *gewunian:* U.: objective active infinitive, 25; — I.: objective active infinitive, 3; loose paraphrase, 1; no Latin, 1; — for *gieman:* U.: objective active infinitive, 3; no Latin, 1; — I.: objective active infinitive, 2; — for *ondrædan:* U.: objective active infinitive, 2; — I.: objective active infinitive, 2; accusative and active infinitive as object, 1; co-ordinated finite verb, active, 1; — for *secan:* U.: objective active infinitive, 2; — I.: objective active infinitive, 10; appositive participle, active, 1; — for *tilian:* U.: objective active infinitive, 1; gerund in the ablative, 1; co-ordinated finite verb, active, 1; — I.: objective active infinitive, 11; co-ordinated finite verb (active, 3; passive, 2); subordinated finite verb, active, 1; loose paraphrase, 2; appositive participle, active, 1; no Latin, 3; — for *wil(l)nian:* U.: objective active infinitive, 22; accusative and active infinitive as object, 1; co-ordinated finite verb (active, 6; passive, 1); subordinated finite verb, active, 1; no Latin, 9; — I.: objective active infinitive, 19; complementary infinitive, active, 1; co-ordinated finite verb, active, 2; subordinated finite verb (active, 2; passive, 1); gerundial periphrastic, passive, 2; gerundive in the genitive, 2; *de* + a gerundive in the ablative, 1; noun in the accusative with a gerund in the genitive, 1; noun in the accusative, 1; noun in the accusative modified by an infinitive, 1; absolute participle, passive, 1; loose paraphrase, 2; no Latin, 30.

In brief, the objective infinitive, uninflected and inflected, is probably of native origin with group 1 (verbs of Commanding); group 2 (verbs of Permitting); group 3 (verbs of Mental Perception), though, no doubt, the Latin original occasionally accounts for the infinitive's being inflected (as with *geleornian*); with *fon* of group 4 (verbs of Beginning, Delaying, and Ceasing); and with all the verbs of group 5 (verbs of Inclination and of Will) except possibly *ge-earnian*, *gemedemian*, and *gewunian*. The infinitive, both uninflected and inflected, as the object of *aginnan*, *beginnan*, and *onginnan*, in group 4 (verbs of Beginning, Delaying, and Ceasing), is doubtless of native origin, though the frequency of the idiom is partly due to the Latin original. With the verbs of Ceasing (*ablinnan* and *geswican*) in group 4, the origin of the

objective infinitive, uninflected and inflected, is indeterminable, so few are the examples; with *forlætan*, the infinitive, whether uninflected or inflected, is partly due to Latin influence.

2. *With a Passive Finite Verb.*[1]

The active infinitive as "the retained object" of passive verbs is most probably of Latin[2] origin. The idiom is found only once, if at all, in Anglo-Saxon poetry (*Exod.* 44), and then in a poem based on a Latin original. In the Anglo-Saxon translations it is rare, and usually corresponds to the same construction in the Latin originals (8), though occasionally to other Latin idioms (an indicative active, 1; a gerundial periphrastic passive, 1; *ad*+a gerund in the accusative after a passive verb, 1). It is almost unknown in the more original Anglo-Saxon prose (the *Chronicle* and the *Laws*) and, strange to say, in Ælfric. The foregoing statement is substantially true whether the objective infinitive is uninflected or inflected, concerning which see Chapter II, p. 69 above.

As stated in Note 2 to Chapter II, owing to the Anglo-Saxon translator's mistaking a deponent verb for a passive verb, he occasionally gives an active infinitive (uninflected and inflected) after an Anglo-Saxon finite verb that is passive in form but active in sense.

Despite the statement of Dr. Kenyon, *l. c.*, p. 100, that "In O. E. [= A. S.] the simple infinitive seems to have been the original construction, but the prepositional came in early," it seems probable that, from the outset, both the uninflected infinitive and the inflected infinitive could be used as the object of active verbs, the differentiation between the two forms resting on the principles laid down in Chapter II, pp. 60–69.

B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.[3]

1. *With an Active Finite Verb.*

The passive infinitive as the object of active verbs is of Latin origin. The idiom is not found in the poetry. In the Anglo-Saxon translations it is rare, and almost invariably corresponds to the same construction in the Latin, though occasionally it corresponds to a Latin objective infinitive active (*Wærf.* 206.14, 24), occasionally to a Latin passive subjunctive (*Bede* 402.24), and once it has no Latin correspondent (*Mat.* 20.28[b]). It is unknown in the more original Anglo-Saxon prose (the *Chronicle*, the *Laws*, and Wulfstan) and, strange to say, in Ælfric.

2. *With a Passive Finite Verb.*

The passive infinitive as "the retained object" after passive verbs, found four times in *Bede*, each time translates the same idiom in the Latin original, as it does also in the one example in Wærferth.

In the other Germanic Languages we find matters surprisingly similar as regards the objective infinitive, both active and passive: see Chapter XVI, section ii.

[1] See Chapter II, p. 59.

[2] Cf. Erckmann, *l. c.*, p. 11: "This personal construction [= infinitive as retained object of a passive verb] is very rarely to be found in the former stages of the language, in Anglo-Saxon and Semi-Saxon. We may therefore ascribe the modern usage principally to the influence of the classic languages."

[3] See Chapter II, pp. 71 ff.

III. OTHER SUBSTANTIVAL USES OF THE INFINITIVE.[1]

A. AS A PREDICATE NOMINATIVE.

As to the origin of the infinitive as a predicate nominative, it is difficult to speak with any confidence. Only two examples occur in the poetry (*Beow.* 473: Sorh is me *to secganne*, and *ib.* 1724: Wundor is *to secganne*), both of which are doubtful, and only one in Early West Saxon (*Bede* 202.29: Ðæt eac swilce his ðeaw wæs on oðrum cyninges tune *to donne* = 160.1: quod ipsum et in aliis uillis regiis *facere* solebat), which is also doubtful. One example each occurs in the *Gosp.* (*J.* 19.40) and in the *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II.* (10.521); three, in *Wulf.* (214.22, 279.5[a, b]); and the remainder, constituting the majority, in Ælfric. It is possible that the infinitive as a predicate nominative is an extension of the inflected infinitive as subject of a verb + a noun or pronoun, or as the modifier of a noun, but the fact that the predicate infinitive does not occur, save sporadically, until Late West Saxon times, and that, in the example from the *Gospels*, the Anglo-Saxon infinitive corresponds to a Latin infinitive as predicate nominative, makes it probable that Latin influence contributed somewhat to the result. What is here written applies primarily to the inflected infinitive, which, as we have seen above, Chapter III, p. 74, is the normal form in this idiom. For the explanation of the few uninflected infinitives in this construction, see above, Chapter III, p. 75.

In the other Germanic languages the infinitive as predicate nominative is rare: see Chapter XVI, section iii.

B. AS AN APPOSITIVE.

The appositive infinitive, normally uninflected, is rare in Early West Saxon and in Late West Saxon, and only three examples, all uninflected, occur in the poetry (*Beow.* 76, *Maldon* 208[a, b]). In the translations it corresponds to an appositive infinitive (*Gosp.*: *Mk.* 2.9[a, b]; *L.* 5.23[a, b]; *Mat.* 9.5[a, b]); to a subjective infinitive (*Bede* 78.22[a, b, c, d, e]; *Greg.* 355.22[a, b]; *Oros.* 50.16; *Solil.* 16.16, 17; *Mk.* 12.33 (?)); to a subjunctive (*Greg.* 273.3 (?)); to an objective infinitive (*Boeth.* 53.20[a, b]; *Pr. Gu.* IV. 58, XVI. 14[a, b]); to an attributive adjective (*Bede* 458.24); to a prepositional phrase (*Bede* 56.24); and occasionally has no Latin correspondent (*Boeth.* 84.32; *Pr. Ps.* 39. Intr.; *Solil.* 2.16, 17; *Oros.* 44.9, 10[a, b]; 120.31[a, b]; 138.32[a, b]; 178.10,11). The construction is found occasionally, too, in the *Chronicle* and in the *Laws*. The idiom may be native, but it is probable that in a number of instances the construction is due to Latin influence: probably but not necessarily, in those in which the appositive infinitive occurs both in the Latin original and in the Anglo-Saxon translation, but also in a number of other instances in which there is no such correspondence in the specific sentences, but in which the Latin pattern (of other sentences) is followed. The occasional inflection of the appositive infinitive is due to its proximity to some word requiring a case other than the accusative, as explained in Chapter III.

In the other Germanic languages this use, also, is rare: see Chapter XVI, section iii.

[1] See Chapter III, p. 73.

IV. PREDICATIVE INFINITIVE WITH AUXILIARY VERBS.[1]

A. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

The predicative use of the active uninflected infinitive with auxiliary verbs is of native origin in Anglo-Saxon, for it is found innumerable times in poetry and in prose of all periods and authors in the Anglo-Saxon epoch. It has seemed unnecessary to gather statistics on this construction. The predicative use of the inflected infinitive active with auxiliaries occurs only sporadically except with *agan*, concerning which see Chapter IV, pp. 80–81, 82–83.

The construction with the uninflected infinitive active is likewise native in the other Germanic languages; with the inflected infinitive, only sporadic: concerning both see Chapter XVI, section iv.

B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

Contrary to my expectation, the passive infinitive as complement to the auxiliary verb is due to Latin influence. This use is almost unknown in the poetry, only 25 examples being found (1 with the infinitive made up of the past participle and *beon;* 7 with the infinitive made up of the past participle and *wesan;* and 17 with the infinitive made up of the past participle and *weorðan*), and all of these in poems known to be based on Latin originals (*Gen.*, *Dan.*, *Chr.*, *Gu.*, *Ju.*, *El.*, *And.*, *Ph.*, and *Met.*). In the prose translations, the passive infinitive regularly corresponds to a complementary passive infinitive in the Latin, though occasionally it has other correspondents.

The other correspondents in Latin are: the passive subjunctive, 45; the passive indicative, 32; the accusative and passive infinitive (as subject, 1; as object, 19); the passive infinitive as retained object, 1; the objective passive infinitive, 5; the appositive participle, passive, 8; the attributive participle, passive, 1; the complementary infinitive, active, 5; the objective active infinitive, 1; the accusative and active infinitive as object, 4; the active indicative, 4; the active subjunctive, 15; a noun, 3; a gerundive, 1; a gerund, 2; a loose paraphrase, 1; no Latin, 14.

V. PREDICATIVE INFINITIVE WITH VERBS OF MOTION AND OF REST.[2]

Of the nature and the origin of the predicative infinitive after verbs of motion and of rest in Anglo-Saxon, I have seen no thoroughly satisfactory explanation. But several helpful suggestions have been offered, and in the following pages I attempt a synthesis of these suggestions.

The more modern view seems to be that the infinitive in this construction at times denotes the manner of motion indicated by the chief verb, and at times expresses an action co-ordinate with that of the chief verb, which uses may be designated as modal and co-ordinate respectively.

C. F. Koch's[3] statement, in his *Englische Grammatik* (1865), II, p. 61, is brief and explicit. Speaking of the simple infinitive after verbs of motion, he says: "Hier erscheint der Infinitiv in doppelter Bedeutung. Er nennt aa) die Weise der Bewegung oder eine sie begleitende Handlung: Fleon gewat (er

[1] See Chapter IV, p. 79.
[2] See Chapter V, p. 89.
[3] Koch's first ed. of Vol. II appeared in 1865; my quotation is from the second ed. (1878).

gieng fliehen = floh), C. 136.23; . . . bb) den Zweck der Bewegung: Gewat se wilda fugel earce secan," etc. Clearly our idiom is referred to in Koch's first subdivision, which takes account of both the modal and the co-ordinate uses.

Since in his discussion of the infinitive after verbs of motion, especially in his paragraph on this construction in Anglo-Saxon, Mätzner[1] clumps together examples in which the infinitive is purely final (as in *Beow.* 396: *Nu ge moton gangan . . . Hroðgar geseon*) with examples of the dubious sort now under discussion (as in *Beow.* 234: *Gewat him ða to waroðe wicge ridan ðegn Hroðgares*), it is impossible for me to be sure of his view as to the ultimate nature of the infinitive in question. I quote, however, his introductory comment (p. 16): "Bei intransitiven Verben der Bewegung war in älterer Zeit der reine Infinitiv geläufig; gegenwärtig trifft man ihn noch bei *go*, früher auch bei *come*. In diesem Falle bezeichnet der Infinitiv theils eine zweite Thätigkeit, welche mit der Bewegung verbunden ist, theils eine solche, welche ihren Zweck ausmacht." Then follow examples of the sort indicated from Modern English and from Middle English. The paragraph on this infinitive in Anglo-Saxon is thus introduced (p. 17): "Wie im Französischen bei *aller*, *venir*, *courir* und bei denselben Begriffen in altgermanischen Mundarten, steht auch im Ags. bei *gangan*, *gewitan*, *cuman*, *faran*, *feran* häufig der reine Infinitiv." Then follow examples from Anglo-Saxon, specimens of which I have already quoted. Then comes this concluding paragraph concerning the infinitive after verbs of motion in English of the three epochs: "Dass in den angeführten Beispielen theils eine mit der Bewegung zeitlich zusammenfallende Bethätigung, theils eine der Bewegung folgende und durch sie erzielte Handlung dargestellt wird, ergiebt sich leicht; wie aber beide Verhältnisse oft thatsächlich nahe an einander grenzen und selbst in einander übergehen, so ist beiden syntaktisch dieselbe Form zu Theil geworden, worin die Bewegung gleichmässig als die Voraussetzung einer anderen Handlung erscheint. Wo der begriff des Zweckes hervorgehoben wird, tritt auch in frühester Zeit schon *to* zum Infinitiv, worüber beim präpositionalen Infinitiv gehandelt wird." (Cf. *ibidem*, p. 38.) He seems, also, to attribute to our infinitive both the modal and the co-ordinate uses.

Professor March, in his *A Comparative Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Language* (1869), § 448 (4), under "Direct Object," speaks of this use of the infinitive as follows: "General motion defined by specific motion: *fleon gewat*, 'he went to fly' = 'he flew away' (C. 136, 23); *com fleogan*, 'came flying' (89, 10); *com gongan* (B. 710); *com drifan*, 'came driving' = 'fell (on a rock)' (Bed., 5, 6); so with *faran*, *feran*, *glidan*, *ridan*, *scriðan*, *siðian*, *tredan*, etc. See further under Participles, § 458, 2." This section on the participle deserves quoting, as throwing some light on the statement just quoted concerning the infinitive. In § 458, under the heading "Objective," we read in (2): "Definitive after verbs of motion: *com ridende*, 'came riding' (Hom., 2, 134); *com gangende* (Matt., XIV, 25, and often); *cwom gefered* (Sal., 178; perhaps never exactly the Germ. *kam gegangen*); *wind wedende færeð* (El., 1274); *ðurhwunedon acsiende*, 'they continued asking' (John, VIII, 7)."[2] It may be, however, that Professor March, by his translation of *fleon gewat* as "he went to fly"

[1] *Englische Grammatik* (1865), Vol. III, pp. 16–17; my quotation is from the third ed. (1880).

[2] Of these examples only the first two seem to me strictly analogous in use with the infinitive under discussion. *Gefered* is excluded as being a past participle; *wedende* is more a participial adverb than an adverbial participle, as I have tried to show in my *The Appositive Participle in Anglo-Saxon*, p. 275; while *acsiende* is in sense utterly different from the infinitives like *gangan*, *fleogan*, etc.

intends to imply that ultimately *fleon* denotes purpose, though the probability of such an implication is somewhat weakened by his adding immediately " = he flew away," as also by his translation of the other infinitives above. In a word, he seems to consider the infinitive modal in use.

Quite similar to the statement of C. F. Koch is that of Theodor Müller, in his *Angelsächsische Grammatik* (1883), p. 247: " Der reine Inf. steht . . . c) nach Verben der Bewegung, um den Zweck der Bewegung auszudrücken; zuweilen auch um die Art und Weise der Bewegung näher zu bezeichnen, im letzteren Falle das Part. Praes. vertretend: Gewat ða neosian . . . hean huses, Beow. 115; he com gangan, Beow. 710 (cf. Koch, II, 55)."

The view of Dr. Steig is given in his discussion of *kuman*, in his article " Ueber den Gebrauch des Infinitivs im Altniederdeutschen " (1884): " Bei *kuman* scheint die Infinitiv-Construction besonders beliebt gewesen zu sein. Indess ist eine doppelte Gebrauchsweise wohl zu unterscheiden: Erstens wird nämlich dem Verbum *kuman* pleonastisch der Infinitiv eines Verbs der Bewegung beigefügt; ähnlich bei Homer, z. B. ἔβη ἴμεν, ἔβη θέειν u. dgl. m." [1] He then cites examples, of which I quote only one, *Heliand* 503: *tho quam en uuif gangan.* The second use of the infinitive after *kuman* is, as Steig indicates, purely final.

Quite similar is the view of Dr. Pratje, in his " Syntax des Heliand " (1885), § 142, which is headed " Einfacher Infinitiv, abhänging von Verben der Bewegung: " " Man kann zwischen dem phraseologischen, oder, wie Steig es ausdrückt, pleonastischen und dem finalen Gebrauch des Infinitiv unterscheiden." He then gives illustrations of these two uses of the infinitive with various verbs of motion. But neither he nor Steig expresses a definite opinion as to the origin of the phraseological (or pleonastic) infinitive.

Of the same import is the statement of Dr. Karl Köhler, who, in his dissertation, *Der Syntaktische Gebrauch des Infinitivs und Particips im " Beowulf "* (1886), p. 29, declares that the infinitive expresses " entweder die Weise der Bewegung oder eine sie begleitende Handlung."

Dr. B. Schrader, in his *Studien zur Ælfricshen Syntax* (1887), p. 70, attributes to the infinitive the modal use: "Um bei Verben der Bewegung die Art derselben zu bezeichnen, wird im älteren ae. [= A. S.] stets der einfache Inf. gebraucht (*he com gangan*)."

Dr. Sweet's statement, in his *Anglo-Saxon Reader* (1894), p. lxxxiv, is brief, and non-committal as to the origin of the idiom: " The infinitive is often used in poetry after a verb of motion where we should use the present participle: *ða com inn gan ealdor ðegna*, ' the prince of thanes came walking in ' (20.394)."

Professor C. A. Smith seems to think that the infinitive is primarily modal in sense. In his *Anglo-Saxon Grammar* (1898), p. 138, in commenting on *Beowulf*, 1. 651 (*scaduhelma gesceapu scriðan cwoman*), he expresses himself as follows: " The student will note that the infinitive (*scriðan*) is here employed as a present participle after a verb of motion (*cwoman*). This construction with *cuman* is frequent in prose and poetry. The infinitive expresses the kind of motion: *ic com drifan* = ' I came driving.' "

Dr. Wülfing's statement, in his *Syntax* (1900), II, p. 194, is as follows: " Der Infinitiv bezeichnet die Art und Weise der Bewegung oder eine gleichzeitige Handlung, als Vertreter eines Partizips. Diese in der Poesie so überaus häufige Redewendung habe ich bei Ælfred nur zweimal bei *cuman* gefunden."

[1] Steig, *l. c.*, p. 337.

He then quotes *Bede* 619.23 and *Boethius* 6.9, and refers to Mätzner, to Schrader, and to an article by himself in *Englische Studien*, Vol. XIX, 1894, pp. 118–119. In this last article, in reviewing A. Müller's *Der Syntaktische Gebrauch des Verbums in dem Angelsächsischen Gedichte von der Judith* (a Leipzig dissertation of 1892), Dr. Wülfing discusses the origin of the infinitive with *gehen* in such expressions as *essen gehen, sitzen gehen, stehen gehen, schlafen gehen, liegen gehen*, particularly in modern Niederdeutsch (*liggen gan* = 'sich legen;' *lopen gan* = 'weglaufen;' *stan gan* = 'sich stellen'), and concludes: "Sicher ist die Beziehung des Zweckes in diesen Infinitiven bei *gan* das ursprüngliche, später aber verwischte sich die Bezeichnung des Zweckes mit der der Gleichzeitigkeit, und das Ganze wurde zu einer pleonastischen Umschreibung; ob dies aber schon in ags. Zeit der Fall war, lässt sich bezweifeln."

In his *The Expression of Purpose in Old English Prose* (1903), p. 13, Professor Shearin thus comments on the idiom: "There is met four times, in the prose of the early period, the infinitive of a verb of motion after another verb of like kind, used pleonastically to express manner of motion."

Professor Strunk, in his *Juliana* (1904), thus comments on *cwom blican*, ll. 563–564: "A common idiom in O. E. poetry: a verb of motion followed by a complementary infinitive," a definition which seems to hark back to the statement of Grimm given below.

The most recent expressions of opinion as to the nature of the idiom that I have seen are by Dr. Kenyon, in his *The Syntax of the Infinitive in Chaucer* (1909), and by Dr. Riggert, in his *Der Syntaktische Gebrauch des Infinitivs in der Altenglischen Poesie* (1909). Says the former, *l. c.*, p. 6: "As in O. E., so sometimes in Chaucer, the simple infinitive with verbs of motion represents a simultaneous action, denoting the manner or specifying the nature of the governing verb. Cf. Beow. 711: ðа *com* of more under misthleoðum Grendel *gongan* (K[öhler], p. 31)." Dr. Riggert, *l. c.*, pp. 38 ff., lists the examples of our idiom under this heading: "Der Infinitiv bezeichnet die Art und Weise der Bewegung oder eine gleichzeitige Handlung." He adds: "Der Infinitiv, der die Art und Weise der Bewegung ausdrückt, enthält ein Verbum, das mit dem Verbum Finitum sinn-verwandt ist; in Ausdrücken wie *gewat him ða Andreas gangan* steht der Infinitiv rein pleonastisch."

But, while helpful, none of these more modern statements are so helpful as this brief statement by Grimm: "Ferner stehn die Verba *gehen, fahren, kommen* auxiliarisch mit dem blossen Inf."[1] Grimm then cites numerous examples of the uninflected infinitive after these and similar verbs of motion in the various Germanic languages, among the rest (p. 108) in Anglo-Saxon. In the last, as in the other Germanic languages illustrated by Grimm, sometimes the infinitive is clearly final (as in *Beow.* 1601 (Grimm's reading): *gewat him secan*) and sometimes predicative (as in *Gen.* 1471: *gewat fleogan*).

Personally I believe that the predicative infinitive after verbs of motion was originally final in sense in Anglo-Saxon, a use of the uninflected infinitive very common in the poems and not unknown in the prose. Later the principal verb of motion paled down to a mere auxiliary (whence Grimm speaks of the use of the finite verb of motion as auxiliary, as already stated), and the infinitive after this verb of motion came to complete the sense of this verb of incomplete sense when used as an auxiliary: thus, to take again the example cited by

[1] Grimm, *l. c.*, IV, p. 107.

Professor March, *fleon gewat* first meant "he went (in order) to fly," or "he tended to fly," and finally merely "he flew." How close the border line is between the final infinitive and the predicative infinitive after verbs of motion in Anglo-Saxon, and how easily the former may pass into the latter, may be made clear by a few illustrations, I believe. Take this sentence from the *Læceboc*, edited by Dr. Leonhardi, 68.29: *Sume alwan leaf sellaþ, þonne mon wile slapan gan;* or this from *Beowulf*, 239: *Þus hronine ceol ofer lagustræte lædan cwomon?* or these from *Genesis:* — 1774: *Þa com leof gode on þa eþelturf idesa lædan;* 1746: *Gewit þu nu feran 7 þine fare lædan, ceapas to cnosle;* 1767: *Him þa Abraham gewat æhte lædan on Egipta eþelmearce.* The infinitive in each of these sentences may be considered either as final or as predicative, though it now seems to me to lean slightly more to the former use in the passages in question. But, in most of the examples cited as predicative in Anglo-Saxon, the final sense has well nigh completely faded away from the infinitive; the infinitive seems to carry the chief idea in the verb phrase; and the principal verb seems to have become a mere auxiliary; for which reason it has seemed to me best to call this the predicative use of the uninflected infinitive after a verb of motion which has paled into an auxiliary, as has long been the habit in characterizing the infinitive after *(w)uton*. This seems more nearly in accord with the facts than to consider that the infinitive has paled, and that the finite verb carries the sense of the verbal phrase, as do those who call the infinitive pleonastic; or than to consider that neither finite verb nor infinitive has paled, as apparently do those who call the infinitive either modal or co-ordinate.

This development of the verb of motion into an auxiliary and of the final infinitive into a predicative infinitive, here postulated as a fact for the Anglo-Saxon, is supported by what we learn of similar constructions in the kindred languages, especially in the Germanic languages. Thus, the infinitives *θέειν* and *ἴμεν*, cited from Homer by Dr. Steig and by Dr. Shearin, are considered final by Goodwin, in his *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb*, § 772. Grimm's numerous examples prove that such may have been the evolution in High German with verbs of rest; and Dr. Wülfing holds that such has been the case in Low German as a whole after verbs of motion, a fact already illustrated in this section for Old Saxon. Again, this explanation is in line with Grimm's explanation of the High Germanic *kam gelaufen*.[1] For further details as to the idiom in the Germanic languages, see Chapter XVI, section v.

More than this: as we have tried to show, this theory comes nearest to explaining the numerous infinitives after verbs of motion in Anglo-Saxon poetry and prose, whether final or predicative. It corresponds to the well nigh universally accepted belief that the infinitive after *(w)uton* in Anglo-Saxon was originally final in sense, but early in Anglo-Saxon times became predicative, as will be seen in the chapter on this idiom. It tallies with the development of the infinitive with *to* in Modern English after verbs of motion, as in *I went to sleep* = 'I slept,' etc.

Finally, that the Latin had no influence in the development of this use, is evident from the fact that, in the very few examples of the predicative infinitive after verbs of motion in the Anglo-Saxon translations, no such infinitive occurs in the Latin original.

[1] See Grimm, *l. c.*, IV, p. 9.

This theory as to the origin of the predicative infinitive after verbs of motion seems applicable likewise to the predicative infinitive after verbs of rest, — a construction very rare in Anglo-Saxon (only four examples occur), but not uncommon in the High Germanic languages: see Chapter XVI, section v.

VI. PREDICATIVE INFINITIVE WITH "(W)UTON."[1]

A. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

As stated incidentally in the preceding section, the predicative infinitive after *(w)uton* was probably originally final in sense, as in the case of the predicative infinitive after verbs of motion in general. The purpose idea paled away, and the infinitive came to be complementary instead of final in sense. This view is generally accepted, and has been several times expressed by others, as by Professor C. A. Smith [2] and by Professor Shearin.[3] Not quite so definite is the statement of Professor Einenkel: "*gon* mit reinem Infinitiv ist entweder auxiliar und periphrastisch und zwar in den Fällen, in denen es dem AE. *wutan, utan* entspricht, also in der 1. Person Pluralis steht: *go we then soupe, quod he,* III, 16; . . . oder es ist Begriffsverbum und der abhängige Infinitiv hat, wie oben bei *gon to,* nur eine etwas schwächere, finale Bedeutung: *Go brynge hir forth and put hir in hir warde,* III, 81." [4]

The idea of motion pales away in *(w)uton,* and it becomes equal to the modern *let* as an exhortation.

The infrequency of the construction in Anglo-Saxon poetry, where less than fifty examples are found, and in Alfred, where about twenty-five examples are found, was noted above, Chapter VI, p. 93. No example occurs in the *Chronicle,* but the construction is frequent in Ælfric, and very frequent in Wulfstan.

In the Anglo-Saxon translations, *(w)uton* plus an infinitive usually [5] renders a Latin adhortative subjunctive corresponding in sense to the Anglo-Saxon infinitive. In a few instances, however, the Latin has an adhortative verb of motion in addition, as in *Ælf. Hept.: Gen.* 37.20[b]: *Uton* hine *ofslean* and *don* hine on ðone . . . pytt and *secgan* = *Venite, occidamus* eum et *mittamus* in cisternam veterem! *dicamus*que. All examples observed of this use of *veni* and of *venite* are given in a note to Chapter VI, p. 95; as are, also, the Anglo-Saxon imitations of the same. While, as indicated in the preceding paragraphs, I believe the *(w)uton* construction to be of native English origin, it is impossible to resist the belief that its great vogue in Anglo-Saxon is in no small measure due to Latin influence. This belief rests not only on the statement just given as to the Latin correspondents in the Anglo-Saxon prose translations, but on the further fact that only four examples of the infinitive with *wuton* have been found in *Beowulf,* and that most of the remaining examples in Anglo-Saxon poetry occur in poems known to be based on Latin originals (*Gen.,* 3; *Chr.,* 4; *And.,* 1; *Ps.,* 14; Minor Poems, 16).

Concerning the predicative infinitive in the other Germanic languages, see Chapter XVI, section vi.

[1] See Chapter VI, p. 93.

[2] In his explanation of *uton* in his *An Old English Grammar,* p. 184.

[3] Shearin,[1] *l. c.,* p. 12.

[4] Einenkel,[1] *l. c.,* p. 238.

[5] About 76 times out of a total of 94 examples. The other correspondents are: an appositive participle, 1; an imperative, 1; no Latin, 15.

B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

As to the origin of the passive infinitive as complement to *(w)uton*, I cannot speak with certainty, as only three examples occur, all in Ælfric.

VII. PREDICATIVE INFINITIVE WITH "BEON" ("WESAN").[1]

A. THE INFINITIVE DENOTES NECESSITY.

As to the inflected infinitive with *beon* (*wesan*) denoting necessity and passive in sense, it seems to me highly probable that, in Anglo-Saxon, the construction was first suggested by the Latin, because: —

1. Only ten examples in all have been found in the poems (*S. & S.* 54: *to begonganne; Seizure and Death of Alfred* 13: *to gelyfenne; Rid.* 42.8: *to geðencanne; Rid.* 29.12 and 32.23: *to hycganne; Met.* 21.42: *to metanne; Gu.* 502 and 510: *to secganne; And.* 1481: *to secganne;* and *Ps.* 77.10: *to wenanne*); of which examples the majority come from poems known to be based on Latin originals (*Met., And., Gu.,* and *Ps.*). Three examples come from a poem (the *Riddles*) believed [2] to be by an author, Cynewulf, some of whose works are known to be based on Latin originals. As to the other two poems concerned, *Salomo and Saturnus* and the *Seizure and Death of Alfred,* although the direct source of the former has not been discovered, the poem is believed to be based on Latin originals;[3] and the second poem occurs in the later part of the *Chronicle.* Again, in three of the ten examples the same infinitive, *to secganne,* occurs, while two others show *to hycganne;* and all of the words so used in the poems occur also in the prose, most of them in direct translation of the Latin periphrastic conjugation. In the face of these facts, no one, I think, will claim that this construction is organic in Anglo-Saxon poetry.

2. Although, as we have seen already, the construction is very common in Early West Saxon, still, in Alfred and in Wærferth, out of a total of about 552 examples, 478 correspond to the Latin periphrastic conjugation (either complete, 445; or elliptical, 33) made up of *sum* and the gerundive; while 29 others correspond to Latin locutions of similar form or meaning (*ad* + a gerund (1), *ad* + a gerundive (3), an adjective in *-bilis* (2), *debeo* + an infinitive (5), a gerundive in the genitive (1), *dignum* + an ablative (2), *possum* + a passive infinitive (1), *sum* + an infinitive (2); *licet* + an infinitive (1); — and less closely akin: an accusative and a passive infinitive (1), a passive indicative (8), or a passive subjunctive (2)). I believe, therefore, that the inflected infinitive of necessity or obligation in Anglo-Saxon was first suggested by, and was used normally in translation of, the Latin passive periphrastic conjugation, though it was occasionally suggested by the other Latin locutions of kindred signification above named.

3. Nor is the induction of 2 invalidated, I think, by the fact that we have about forty-five infinitives in Early West Saxon not yet accounted for by the Latin originals. Of these forty-five, seven (*Bede* 88.23: *cweðan*; 128.13: *don;*

[1] See Chapter VII, p. 97.

[2] The claims of Cynewulf to the authorship of the *Riddles* has been much strengthened by Dr. F. Tupper, Jr.'s recent article, "The Cynewulfian Runes of the First Riddle," in *Modern Language Notes* for December, 1910.

[3] See Vincenti, *l. c.*, pp. 122 ff.

234.13: *geliefan;* 334.30: *secgan; Boeth.* 16.19: *ðencan; Greg.* 249.7: *habban;* 377.22: *ongietan*) correspond to an active subjunctive, which may suggest obligation or necessity.[1] While four (*Bede* 230.21: *ongietan; Boeth.* 64.18: *tælan; Boeth.* 64.19: *herian; Greg.* 455.28: *gieman*) correspond to a present indicative, each infinitive except *tælan* is one that has elsewhere occurred in translation of a Latin periphrastic conjugation; besides, such differences naturally arise owing to the difference in point of view of translator and of author. Two (*Boeth.* 113.14: *lufian;* 127.25 (?): *læran*) are loose periphrases of the Latin text. Of the 32 infinitives occurring without any Latin correspondent (*arian: Boeth.* 72.25, 27ª; — *biddan: Solil.* 30.8; — *cyðan: Greg.* 287.3, 311.14; — *don: Bede* 72.26; — *geðencan: Boeth.* 52.2, 76.1; *Greg.* 29.6; — *girnan: Boeth.* 90.13; — *herian: Boeth.* 69.3; — *læran: Greg.* 341.15; — *lufian: Boeth.* 108.21; — *manian: Greg.* 265.14; — *metan: Boeth.* 72.12; — *ondrædan: Greg.* 383.26; — *ongietan: Wærf.* 66.26, 245.21, 295.22, 322.25ᵇ; — *onscunian: Boeth.* 41.9; — *secgan: Boeth.* 41.3; — *sprecan: Wærf.* 263.6; — *tellan: Boeth.* 111.2; — *wenan: Boeth.* 37.30, 148.27; — *weorðian: Boeth.* 72.27ᵃ, 75.14; *Oros.* 126.32; — *wundrian: Boeth.* 72.27ᵇ; *Oros.* 34.31, 134.24), all, except *biddan, girnan,* and *onscunian,* occur in Alfred and in Wærferth, in other places, in translations of the regular Latin correspondent, the periphrastic passive.

4. The construction is relatively rare in the more original Anglo-Saxon prose (*Chron.,* 4; *Laws,* 20; *Wulf.,* 34).

5. Save in this use with *beon* (*wesan*), the inflected infinitive is habitually active in sense.

6. The Latin gerundial periphrastic is often rendered otherwise than by the infinitive with *beon* (*wesan*).

7. Originally, no doubt, the inflected infinitive with the verb *beon* (*wesan*) denoted purpose, and the purpose idea passed into that of necessity, as has several times been conjectured. The most detailed statement of this view is that by Dr. Tanger, in his interesting article, "Englisch *to be to* im Vergleich mit *I shall:*" "Was bedeutet nun *to be* mit folgendem Infinitiv eigentlich? An eine Ergänzung von *obliged* (*to be obliged to do a thing*), wie sie früher öfters (so noch in Rauchs Rep. Gr., § 148) angenommen wurde, ist nicht zu denken, denn *to be obliged* heisst *müssen* und nicht *sollen,* und ferner schliessen ja auch die ae. Beispiele, die schon vorhanden waren, ehe *oblige* ins Englische aufgenommen wurde, eine solche Erklärung aus. Wir haben es hier vielmehr wohl mit der grundbegrifflichen Bedeutung von *to be* = 'da sein, existieren' zu thun. Die darauf folgende Präposition *to* deutet für die Verbindung auf einen Grundbegriff des Zweckes hin (vgl. Koch-Zup. II, § 78ᵇᵇ), wie wenn wir sagen: wir sind da oder existieren zum Arbeiten und zum Kämpfen. Aus diesem Zweckbegriff ergeben sich unschwer die anderen Schattierungen des Geeignetseins (es ist zum Lachen, zum Weinen, est ist zu bedauern, zu bewundern) und des Bestimmtseins (das ist zum Aufbewahren, zum Wegwerfen). Von hier gelangen wir leicht zu den weiteren Bedeutungen der Obliegenheit, Verpflichtung, Nötigung, d. h. zur Notwendigkeit, zum Sollen: *I am to stay at home.* Unsere Konstruktion bedeutet also ursprünglich: jemand oder etwas ist vorhanden (geeignet, bestimmt) zur Ausführung einer Thätigkeit (resp. zum Befinden in einem Zustande)."[2] This view of Dr. Tanger's is substantially the one held

[1] See Hale and Buck, *l. c.,* pp. 270–271; and Hale, *l. c.,* pp. 424–425. [2] Tanger, *l. c.,* pp. 312–313.

by Dr. Shearin,[1] *l. c.*, p. 26, and by Dr. Kenyon, *l. c.*, p. 133. No opinion as to the origin of the idiom is expressed by Dr. Farrar, Dr. K. Köhler, Dr. Jost, or Dr. Riggert.

In the kindred Germanic languages the origin was probably the same as in Anglo-Saxon: see Chapter XVI, section vii.

The inflected infinitive with *beon* (*wesan*) denoting necessity or obligation and active in sense is, likewise, in all probability due to the Latin periphrastic passive conjugation, and for substantially the same reasons as those given in the discussion of the Anglo-Saxon inflected infinitive passive in sense. No example of this infinitive used in an active sense occurs in the poems; with one exception (*Boeth.* 44.20: Forðæm hit *nis* no *to metanne* ðæt geendodlice wiþ ðæt ungeendodlice = 46.57: infiniti uero atque finiti nulla umquam poterit esse collatio) the infinitive in Alfred [1] corresponds each time to the Latin passive periphrastic (complete or elliptical), while the single example in Wærferth (340.29: *warnian*) corresponds to *ad* + a gerundive. If it should seem odd that the Latin passive periphrastic should suggest the active as well as the passive use of the inflected infinitive in Anglo-Saxon, the explanation seems to be this: in one instance (*Bede* 224.19, quoted in Chapter VII, p. 103) the active use comes from a too close following of the Latin accusative and periphrastic infinitive (*Deum potius intellegendum*); in some instances (as in *Greg.* 125.13, 187.15; *Pr. Gu.* III. 63), the fact that the Latin gerundive precedes the verb *sum* in the periphrastic conjugation has led the Anglo-Saxon translator to put the infiected infinitive first in his translation, to consider it active in sense, and consequently to put what is the subject nominative in Latin into the objective case (accusative, genitive, or dative) in Anglo-Saxon; in a word, in these latter cases the precedence of the infinitive (or occasionally of the finite verb, as in *Læce.* 68.30) seems to lead to the objectifying of the noun. This same principle of precedence may in part account for the active use in the examples from Ælfric, from the prose *Guthlac*, and from the *Læceboc*. But occasionally (as in *Mart.* 72.25 and *Læce.* 76.33 — with which latter, however, compare *Læce.* 63.37, in which the infinitive has precedence —) the infinitive is active in sense though it follows its object. — That *ad* + a gerundive should be translated actively (as in *Wærf.* 340.29) is what we should expect; but this is the only instance in which it is so translated: normally it is rendered by an inflected infinitive passive in sense. — The fact that the same form, *-ndus*, in Latin could be used actively or passively in all probability contributed to the double use of the infinitive in Anglo-Saxon; as may, also, the fact that in other uses than with *beon* (*wesan*) the inflected infinitive is habitually active in sense in Anglo-Saxon.

B. THE INFINITIVE DENOTES FUTURITY.

The inflected infinitive with *beon* (*wesan*) denoting futurity corresponds regularly to the Latin periphrastic conjugation made up of *sum* + the future active participle in all the examples from the Anglo-Saxon translations from the Latin given in Chapter VII, pp. 104 ff. above. The construction occurs but once in Alfred (*Bede* 224.26), and translates the Latin active periphrastic; is unknown in the poems, in the *Chronicle*, in the *Laws*, and in Wulfstan; is relatively frequent in the *Gospels*, where every occurrence corresponds to the

[1] The same is true of *Pr. Gu.* III, 63, but not of *Pr. Gu.* V, 58; for both of which, see Chapter VII, pp. 104 and 102 above.

Latin active periphrastic; and is very rare in Ælfric. I think, therefore, that we are justified in concluding that in Anglo-Saxon the inflected infinitive denoting futurity is due to Latin influence. I wish to add, however, that, as said earlier, there is at times room for difference of opinion as to whether an infinitive with *beon* (*wesan*) is present or future in sense; but that, in Chapter VII, pp. 104 f. above, I have given all the instances in which the infinitive seemed to me clearly to denote futurity.

The inflected infinitive of futurity in the other Germanic languages, likewise, is probably due to Latin infiuence: see Chapter XVI, section vii.

C. THE INFINITIVE DENOTES PURPOSE.

The inflected infinitive with *beon* (*wesan*) denoting purpose, in all of the few examples occurring in the Anglo-Saxon translations from the Latin (given in Chapter VII, pp. 105 f.), corresponds to *ad* + a gerundive (or occasionally *ad* + a gerund) except in *Greg.* 131.21, in which it corresponds to a Latin complementary infinitive. One example only is found in the poems (*Gen.* 703), which is doubtful because of a defective text. It seems probable, therefore, that these inflected infinitives of purpose are here due to the Latin.

Concerning the infinitive of purpose with *be* in the other Germanic languages, see Chapter XVI, section vii.

VIII. PREDICATIVE INFINITIVE WITH ACCUSATIVE SUBJECT.[1]

AS OBJECT.

A. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

I. UNINFLECTED.

It is not my purpose to give a survey of the various theories concerning the ultimate origin of the predicative infinitive with accusative subject in the Indo-Germanic languages; for an excellent survey has recently been given by Dr. Jacob Zeitlin in his dissertation, *The Accusative with Infinitive and Some Kindred Constructions in English* (1908), pp. 1–12. I merely wish to state that, with Dr. Zeitlin, I have long thought that the theory first suggested by Curtius and later amplified by Professors Brugmann and Delbrück comes nearest to solving the problem. Professor Brugmann,[1] *l. c.*, § 807, thus states the theory:—

"Ein bestimmtes Subjekt der Inf.-Handlung brauchte nicht vorhanden zu sein, ihr Subjekt konnte aber das Subjekt des regierenden Verbums sein oder ein zu diesem gehöriger Dat. oder Akk.

"Der letzte Fall, z. B. ai. *tvám indra srávitavá apás kah*, 'du, I., hast die Wasser fliessen machen,' gr. *θωρῆξαί ἑ κέλευε . . . Ἀχαιούς*, 'heiss ihn wappnen die A.,' gab die Grundlage für die Konstruktion des Acc. c. Inf. ab, wie sie das Griech., Ital., und teilweise das Germ. aufweisen. Der ursprünglich zu dem transit. Verbum gehörige Akk. wurde als Subjekt zum Inf. gezogen, eine Verschiebung der syntaktischen Gliederung, die zumteil sicher durch die Analogie zu abhängigen Sätzen mit selbständigem Subjekt hervorgerufen worden ist (vgl. etwa *ich sah ihn fliehen* = *ich* sah, [*dass*] *er floh*). Alsdann eigneten sich auch Verba, die einen Objektsakk. nicht zu sich nahmen, diese Konstruktion an, z. B. hom. *οὔ σε ἔοικε κακὸν ὧς δειδίσσεσθαι*, 'nicht ziemt es sich, dass du versagst,' lat. *gaudeo te valere*, got. *jah warþ afslauþnan allans*, '*καὶ ἐγένετο θάμβος ἐπὶ πάντας*.' Vgl. § 815 über die absoluten Partizipialkonstruktionen."

[1] Cf. Chapter VIII, pp. 107 ff.

If, for the moment, we assume that the Anglo-Saxon developed the predicative infinitive with accusative subject for itself instead of merely inheriting it or borrowing it, it is easy to see a development parallel to that indicated by Professor Brugmann in the older Indo-Germanic languages going on in Anglo-Saxon itself, or, rather, to see what appear to be traces of such a development. For instance, despite the frequency of the infinitive with accusative subject in Anglo-Saxon after verbs of commanding (*hatan*, etc.) and of causing and permitting (*lætan*, etc.), the infinitive without a subject accusative was far more frequent after *hatan* than the infinitive with a subject accusative, and was quite frequent with *lætan*. Moreover, when the infinitives following these two groups of verbs have an accusative with them in the Germanic languages, the relation between accusative and infinitive, to many Germanic grammarians (among them the great Grimm [1]), seems so loose that they hold that the accusative is to be considered, not as the subject of the infinitive, but solely as the object of the finite verb, — a view that, though in my opinion not tenable, is enlightening in calling attention as it does to the looser [2] union between infinitive and accusative after these two groups of verbs than after other groups, as after verbs of mental perception. Moreover, in Anglo-Saxon the infinitive without subject accusative is more common after *hieran*, 'hear,' than with subject. In a word, it seems to me that a careful study of the two constructions after these three groups of verbs in Anglo-Saxon lends considerable strength to the Brugmann theory as to the origin of the infinitive with accusative subject; and that we may consider that this theory likewise applies to Anglo-Saxon as a whole unless it can be shown that this idiom is merely an importation, say, from the Latin.

Is the infinitive with accusative subject in Anglo-Saxon borrowed from the Latin, either in part or in whole? In attempting to answer this question, first purely from a consideration of the idiom in Anglo-Saxon, it will be best to consider group by group the verbs followed by an infinitive with accusative subject.

1. Verbs of Commanding.[3]

To begin with the most frequently used group, verbs of commanding (*bebeodan*, *biddan*, *forbeodan*, and *hatan*), it seems to me that, with the exception of *forbeodan* (of which we have only one example [4] followed by the infinitive with accusative subject, that in direct translation of the Latin), we are precluded from assuming that the predicative infinitive is due to the influence of the Latin originals, and for the following reasons: —

1. With each of the three remaining verbs the infinitive with accusative subject is found freely in the poetical as well as in the prose texts, with two of the verbs (*bebeodan* and *biddan*) more freely in the poetry than in the prose, though not in *Beowulf*.

2. That, while a goodly number of the examples in the Anglo-Saxon prose translations are in direct translation of the accusative and infinitive in the Latin originals, a not inconsiderable number are not, but correspond to various other constructions in the Latin.

[1] *L. c.*, IV, pp. 129 ff. Among those that have adopted this view of Grimm's I may mention T. Müller and Dr. Riggert.

[2] Cf. Zeitlin,[1] *l. c.*, pp. 36–37.

[3] Cf. Chapter VIII, p. 107.

[4] Cited in Chapter VIII, p. 109.

The Latin correspondents are: — for *bebeodan:* a noun in the accusative, 2; — for *biddan:* an accusative and active infinitive, 1; — for *hatan:* an accusative and infinitive (active, 30; passive, 5); a dative and infinitive, 3; an active infinitive as retained object, 3; a co-ordinated finite verb, active, 15; a subordinated finite verb, active, 4; an appositive participle (active present, in the nominative, 3; passive in the accusative, 1); an absolute participle, passive, 1; a gerund in the ablative, 1; *ad* + a gerund, 1; a noun in the accusative, 1; two nouns, 1; an adverb, 1; no Latin, 16.

2. Verbs of Causing and of Permitting.[1]

In verbs of causing and of permitting (*alætan, biegan* [*began*], *don, forlætan, gedon, geðafian, geðolian, geunnan, lætan,* and *niedan*), all, except *lætan* and its compound, *forlætan,* occur with a predicative infinitive so seldom as to make trustworthy conclusions concerning any of the words except *lætan* and *forlætan* difficult, if not impossible.

The probability seems to be, however, that *alætan,* occurring only twice, in the poems, is in no wise due to Latin influence.

Began [*biegan*] is followed by the accusative and infinitive only once (*Ps.* 143.14), and there the infinitive corresponds to a Latin appositive participle. See the statements concerning *don* and *niedan.*

The only instance in Early West Saxon (*Bede* 98.27[b]) of *don* followed by the accusative and infinitive is in translation of the same idiom in Latin, as is also true of the one example in the *Laws;* the only example in poetry is from the metrical *Psalms;* while the remaining examples are from Late West Saxon (Ælfric and Wulfstan). Latin influence is, therefore, highly probable in the case of *don.*

Gedon occurs only twice (once each in *Bl. Hom.* and in *Ælf. L. S.*), and, like *don,* is doubtless ultimately due to Latin influence.

Geðafian, occurring only four times (*Bl. Hom.,* 1 doubtful example; Ælfric, 3), is possibly indirectly due to Latin influence.

Geðolian is clearly due to Latin influence in the only example found (in the *Laws*), the Latin occurring by the side of the Anglo-Saxon.

Geunnan occurs only once (*Ælf. Æthelw.*), and is followed by what may indifferently be considered an accusative with predicative infinitive or a dative with objective infinitive. In either case, Latin influence is probable, the Latin having *concedas* followed by a dative and objective infinitive.

In the one example found of *niedan* (*Mk.* 6.45), the Anglo-Saxon accusative and infinitive translate the same idiom of the Latin.

As to both *lætan* and its compound, *forlætan,* Latin influence is out of the question; for, as our examples given above (pp. 110 ff.) show, the accusative-and-infinitive construction with each occurs frequently in the poetry, and in the prose translations often occurs when the accusative with infinitive is not found in the Latin original.

The correspondents in Latin are: — for *forlætan:* an accusative and infinitive (active, 2; passive, 1); an active infinitive as retained object, 1; a co-ordinated finite verb, active, 2; a predicative participle, passive, accusative, 1; no Latin, 1; — for *lætan:* an accusative and active infinitive, 38; a dative and active infinitive, 1; a complementary infinitive, active, to an auxiliary verb, 1; an active infinitive as retained object, 1; a subjective infinitive, active, 1; an active infinitive as predicate nominative, 1; a co-ordinated finite verb (active, 23;

[1] Cf. Chapter VIII, p. 108.

passive, 1); a subordinated finite verb (active, 9; passive, 1); a gerundive in the accusative, 1; an appositive participle, passive, nominative, 1; a loose paraphrase, 1; doubtful, 1; no Latin, 16.

To sum up this group, the predicative infinitive with *lætan* and its compounds, *alætan* and *forlætan*, shows no trace of Latin influence; with all the other verbs of the group it shows appreciable traces of such influence.

3. Verbs of Sense Perception.[1]

As to the verbs of sense perception (*behealdan, gefelan, gehawian, gehieran, geseon, hieran, ofseon, sceawian,* and *seon*), with the exception of *hieran* and *seon* and their compounds, we have too few examples of them followed by the accusative-with-infinitive construction to draw confident conclusions.

Behealdan is found but once, in Ælfric, followed by an accusative and infinitive.

Gefelan is in each of its two occurrences (*Bede*, 1; *Wærf.*, 1) due to Latin influence.

Gehawian, occurring once, in *Wærf.*, is due to the Latin original.

Sceawian, occurring twice, in *Wærf.*, is likewise due to Latin influence.

On the contrary, *hieran* and its compound (*gehieran*) and *seon* and its compound [2] (*geseon*) show little or no trace of Latin influence, occurring with the accusative and infinitive frequently in poetry, and in the prose translations often not having the accusative and infinitive in the Latin originals.

The Latin correspondents are: — for *gehieran:* an accusative and infinitive (active, 11; passive, 1); a predicative present participle, accusative, 3; a loose paraphrase, 1; — for *geseon:* an accusative and infinitive (active, 51; passive, 2); an active infinitive as retained object, 6; a subjective infinitive, active, 1; a predicative participle (nominative: active, 3; accusative: active, 29; passive, 4); an appositive participle, passive, nominative, 1; an absolute participle (active, 1; passive, 1); a co-ordinated finite verb, active, 3; a subordinated finite verb, active, 4; a predicate noun in the accusative, 1; a prepositional phrase, 1; a gerundive in the nominative, 1; no Latin, 8; — for *hieran:* an accusative and active infinitive, 1; — for *ofseon:* 0; — for *seon:* 0.

In all probability, therefore, the accusative with infinitive after *hieran* and *seon* and their compounds is not due to Latin infiuence; but this idiom after all other verbs of sense perception in Anglo-Saxon (except *behealdan*) is probably due to Latin influence.

4. Verbs of Mental Perception.[3]

In the verbs of mental perception (*æteawan, afindan, eowan, findan, geacsian, gecyðan, gefrignan, gehatan, gehyhtan, geliefan, gemetan, gemittan, gemunan, getriewan, gewitan, læran, onfindan, ongietan, tali(g)an, tellan, wenan,* and *witan*), again, a number of words occur so seldom with the predicative infinitive as to make deductions difficult concerning them.

Æteawan, found only once, in *Bede*, has an accusative and an infinitive that are clearly due to the Latin original.

Of *afindan* all we can say with certainty is that the idiom occurs with it once only, in *A. S. Hom. & L. S.* In all probability, what is said below of the simplex, *findan*, is true of the compound, *afindan*.

[1] Cf. Chapter VIII, p. 108.

[2] Cf. Chapter VIII, p. 108.

[3] *Ofseon* occurs only once in this construction (in *Ælf. Hom.*).

Eowan, occurring once, in *Wærf.*, is due to the Latin original.

The predicative infinitive with *findan* is not due to Latin influence, for in the translations it corresponds to another idiom of the original (a predicative past participle, accusative, once), and is more frequent in poetry (7 examples, 5 in *Beowulf*) than in prose (3 examples).

Geacsian with accusative and infinitive is found twice each in the *Blickling Homilies* and in Wulfstan. Whether or not the idiom is due to Latin influence, cannot be decided.

In the single example of *gecyðan*, in *Wærf.*, the accusative and infinitive translate the same idiom of the Latin original.

The idiom with *gefrignan* is undoubtedly native, occurring only in poetry, there forty-one times, and being widely distributed.

With *gehatan* the idiom is probably due to Latin influence, two examples occurring in direct translation of the Latin, and a third example, though itself corresponding to a Latin ablative absolute, is perhaps suggested by a neighboring accusative and infinitive of the Latin.

As to *gehyhtan*, occurring only once, in *Ælf. L. S.*, there is no need of supposing direct Latin influence, as by Ælfric's time the idiom had become common.

With *geliefan*, occurring only once, in *Wærf.*, the accusative and infinitive correspond to the same idiom in the Latin.

With *gemetan* and *gemittan* the idiom is doubtless native: both are found in poetry, the latter in poetry only; and the former has, in the Anglo-Saxon translations, various Latin correspondents (an accusative and infinitive (active, 3; passive, 1); a predicative present participle, accusative, 6; a predicative adjective, accusative, 1; an appositive participle, passive, accusative, 1).

With *gemunan* the idiom is doubtless due to Latin[1] influence: the verb is not found with this construction in the poetry; and in *Bede* and in Wærferth the accusative and infinitive correspond to the same idiom in Latin.

With *getriewan*, the idiom occurs only once, in *Bede*, and in direct translation of the Latin.

With *gewitan*, found only once, in *Andreas*, the construction is doubtless native, as with the simplex, *witan*, which see below.

As to *læran*, the examples (only four in all, in prose, given in Chapter VIII, p. 116) are too few to be decisive, but Latin influence is clear in two of the examples (*Bede*[2] and *Gospels*), in each of which we have the accusative and infinitive in the original. The other two examples occur in *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II.*

With *onfindan*, found only once (in *Beow.*), the idiom is doubtless of native origin, as with the simplex, *findan*, which see.

With *ongietan*, found once in poetry (*Beow.*) and 6 times in prose, the idiom is probably due to Latin influence, translating, as it does, a Latin accusative and infinitive in each of the examples in *Bede* and in Wærferth.[3]

As to *tali(g)an*, found twice with this construction, in *Alexander*, I dare not venture an opinion.

With *tellan*, the sole example of the idiom, in *Bede*, is in direct translation of the Latin.

With *wenan*, the idiom is doubtless due to Latin influence, the single ex-

[1] Cf. Gorrell, *l. c.*, pp. 369, 475.

[2] Cf. Gorrell, *l. c.*, p. 375.

[3] Except that once in the latter (*Wærf.* 285.1) it translates a noun in the accusative modified by a substantivised present participle in the genitive.

ample each in *Bede* and in Wærferth corresponding to the Latin accusative and infinitive.

With *witan*, the idiom is possibly native, as with the compound, *gewitan:* the accusative with infinitive after *witan* is more common in poetry (7 examples) than in prose (3 examples). It should be observed, however, that, in the two examples from *Bede*, the accusative with infinitive translates the same idiom in Latin; and that several of the poetic examples occur in poems based on Latin originals (*Ju.*, 1; *Gu.*, 1; *And.*, 1).

To sum up the matter: the predicative infinitive is probably native after these verbs: *afindan, findan, gefrignan, gehyhtan, gemetan, gemittan, gewitan, onfindan,* and *witan;* but the idiom is probably due to Latin influence after these verbs: *æteawan, eowan, gecyðan, gehatan, geliefan, gemunan, getriewan, læran, tellan,* and *wenan.* The data are insufficient to decide about the idiom after these verbs: *geacsian* and *tali(g)an.*

5. Verbs of Declaring.[1]

With verbs of declaring (*cweðan, foresecgan, ondettan,* and *secgan*) the accusative with infinitive in Anglo-Saxon is clearly due to Latin influence, translating, as it does, in each of the few examples the same construction in the Latin.

6. Other Verbs: "habban" and "todælan."

The origin of the idiom is indeterminable with *habban,* found only once, in *Ælf. Hom.*, and with *todælan,* found only twice, in *Oros.* Concerning the latter, see Chapter VIII, p. 118, and Chapter XII, p. 169.

To sum up the matter as a whole, the predicative infinitive with accusative subject is probably native with: (1) certain verbs of Commanding (*bebeodan, biddan,* and *hatan*); (2) certain verbs of Causing and Permitting (*lætan* and its compounds, *alætan* and *forlætan*); (3) certain verbs of Sense Perception (*hieran* and *seon,* and their compounds); (4) certain verbs of Mental Perception (*afindan, findan, gefrignan, gehyhtan, gemetan, gemittan, gewitan, onfindan,* and *witan*).

It is probably due more or less to foreign (Latin) influence with: (1) this verb of Commanding, *forbeodan;* (2) certain verbs of Causing and Permitting (*biegan* [*began*], *don, gedon, geðafian, geðolian, geunnan,* and *niedan*); (3) certain verbs of Sense Perception (*gefelan, gehawian, sceawian*); (4) certain verbs of Mental Perception (*æteawan, eowan, gecyðan, gehatan, geliefan, gemunan, getriewan, læran, ongietan, tellan,* and *wenan*); (5) all the verbs of Declaring represented (*cweðan, foresecgan, ondettan,* and *secgan*).

Its origin is indeterminable with: (1) this verb of Sense Perception, *behealdan;* (2) certain verbs of Mental Perception (*geacsian* and *tali(g)an*); (3) with certain Other Verbs (*habban* and *todælan*).

In the large, the foregoing result tallies with the conclusion reached by previous students of the construction. No investigation of the idiom covering the whole of Anglo-Saxon literature has hitherto been made so far as I am aware; and, in the limited investigations that have been published, for the most part little direct consideration of the question as to the origin of the con-

[1] Cf. Chapter VIII, p. 108.

struction has been given. Still, a few noteworthy deliverances have been made.

One of the earliest statements is that by Dr. Ludwig Erckmann, in his *Infinitive and Gerund as a Means of Abbreviating Substantive Sentences in the English Language* (1875), p. 21: "The Gothic followed upon the whole the Greek use of the accusative c. inf., whilst the Anglo-Saxon seems to prefer the substantive sentence."

Dr. Carl Krickau, whose work deals primarily with the construction in Elizabethan times, in 1877 declared (p. 4) "dass diejenigen Anwendungen, welche beiden [1] verwandten Sprachgruppen gemeinsam sind, als die ältesten und ursprünglichsten zu betrachten sind. Als solche ergeben sich sein Gebrauch nach den Verben, welche 1) ein Bewirken, eine Bitte oder einen Befehl, 2) eine sinnliche Wahrnehmung ausdrücken. Das Angelsächsische, Altsächsische und Althochdeutsche zeigen nämlich, soweit ihre Quellen nicht durch das Lateinische beeinflusst sind, unsere Construction nur nach jenen beiden Classen von Verben. Was das Angelsächsische betrifft, so kommt sie nach folgenden Verben vor: *lætan, don, biddan, beodan, bebeodan, hatan; seon, geseon, heran, hyran, gehyran, findan, gemetan, gemittan, fandian, afandian.*"

In Theodor Müller's *Angelsächsische Grammatik* (1883), p. 248, we read: "Es wird der reine Inf. auch in der Konstruktion des Acc. mit dem Inf. angewandt. Dieselbe findet sich aber im guten Ags. nur selten, eigentlich nur nach den Verben, *gefrignan* und *gehyran*, wahrnehmen, erfahren . . . Wenn nach den Verben *hatan*, heissen, *letan*, lassen, und Verben des Wahrnehmens ein Acc. mit dem Inf. folgt (ic hate hine cuman) so ist das nicht die eigentliche Konstruktion des Acc. mit dem Inf., worin ja der Acc. und der Inf. zu einer Begriffseinheit verschmolzen sind, sondern es hängt der Acc. und der Inf. und zwar jeder besonders vom Verbum ab, jener als persönliches, dieser als sächliches Objekt. In ags. Uebersetzungen lat. Werke findet sich der eigentliche Acc. mit dem Inf. in ausgedehnterem Masse in folge willkürlicher Uebertragung lat. Konstruktionen auf das Ags."

Less definite is Dr. Karl Köhler, who, in his *Der Syntaktische Gebrauch des Infinitivs und Particips im "Beowulf"* (1886), p. 52, declares: "Für das Ags. ist bislang auch die Untersuchung über die mehr oder weniger geringe Abhängigkeit der Acc. c. Inf.-Konstruktion vom Lateinischen noch nicht geführt worden.[2] Denn dass ein solcher Einfluss sich geltend gemacht hat, darf man von vornherein annehmen; hat doch wohl kein Volk des frühen Mittelalters sich so eifrig mit der Uebersetzung lateinischer Schriften befasst wie die Angelsachsen."

In his *Streifzüge durch die Mittelenglische Syntax* (1887), p. 252, Professor Eugen Einenkel thus delimits the construction in Anglo-Saxon: "Im AE. hält sich der Accusativ-mit-Infinitiv im wesentlichen innerhalb der bei uns im NHD. beobachteten Grenzen. Er steht vornehmlich nach den Verben des Veranlassens und Zulassens, sowie nach denen der geistigen Wahrnehmung. Doch finden sich schon im AE. nicht selten Belege freierer Verwendung," which statement is repeated in substance in his treatment of English Syntax in Paul's *Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie*, 2nd ed., 1899, p. 1076.

[1] That is, the Classical and the Germanic.

[2] "Die einzige mir bekannte Specialschrift über den Acc. c. Inf. im Englischen von Karl Krickau (Gött. Dis., 1877) behandelt besonders die Elisabethanische Periode und giebt nur einen Gesammtüberblick über die vorhergehende Zeit."

Brief is the statement of Dr. Leon Kellner, in his *Historical Outlines of English Syntax* (1892), p. 253: "The accusative + inf. as object of verbs like *biddan* (ask), *hatan* (bid), *seon* (see), *gehyran* (hear), *findan* (find), is quite common in Old English."

In his "Indirect Discourse in Anglo-Saxon" (1895), p. 485, Professor J. H. Gorrell reaches this conclusion: "The infinitive clause is mostly used after *hatan*, with less frequency after other verbs of command. The subject-accusative construction is in general use only after verbs of perception in the picturesque language of poetry; its occurrence after verbs of saying or thinking is very rare, and is mostly confined to direct copyings of the corresponding Latin construction; this method of rendering the Latin prevails, however, to no great extent even in the closest translations." On pp. 476–477 we read: "There are in *Bede* 331 Latin infinitives following verbs which act as introductions to indirect discourse; in 263 instances the Latin infinitive is rendered by the regular Anglo-Saxon construction with the subordinate clause; in 68 cases only does the Anglo-Saxon agree in construction with the Latin: 28 of these are found after *hatan* (its usual native sequence), 8 follow *geseon*, 6 occur after *gehatan*, 4 after *gehyran; witan, twygean, gelyfan, gelimpan*, and *secgan* are each followed twice by the infinitive; while *bebeodan, biddan, bewerian, ætiewan, gemunan, geleornian, læran, oncnawan, ongytan, tellan, ðyncan*, and *wenan* are followed once by this construction. Since the infinitive clause is quite frequent after *hatan* and verbs of perception, we may conclude from the above statistics that the influence of the Latin infinitive construction upon the Anglo-Saxon is very slight even in the closest translations." For reasons given below, in the discussion of the view of Dr. Zeitlin, it seems to me that Dr. Gorrell somewhat underestimates the influence of the Latin.

Dr. Wülfing, in his *Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Grossen* (1900), II, p. 182, merely quotes with approbation the statement of T. Müller, given above.

In his *Studies in the Language of Pecock* (1900), p. 119, Dr. Fredrik Schmidt incidentally expresses his view concerning the construction in Anglo-Saxon: "Pecock's extensive use of the accusative and infinitive after this third group of verbs is characteristic of his style. Krickau (Acc. mit dem Inf., p. 17) calls him the writer 'welcher mit der Einführung des Acc. mit dem Inf. nach den Verben des Sagens und Denkens in Originalwerken begonnen hat.' And thus much is certain that before Pecock this construction is very sporadically to be found. Einenkel (Anglia XIII, 94 sqq.) gives a few examples from Chaucer (after *conferme, deeme, holde, wite*) and two from O. E. (after *weene*)." [1] In substantial agreement with Dr. Schmidt are the views expressed by the following investigators of the idiom in Middle English and in Modern English, the title of whose works are given in my bibliography: Rohs, 1889; Zickner, 1900; De Reul, 1901; Ortmann, 1902; and Gärtner, 1904.

General but pronounced is the statement of Professor Otto Jespersen, in his *Growth and Structure of the English Language* (1905), p. 127: "The extensive use of the accusative with the infinitive is another permanent feature of English syntax which is largely due to Latin influence." [2]

[1] See, further, Schmidt, F., *l. c.*, p. 112.

[2] As this statement is omitted in the second edition (1912) of this work, Professor Jespersen has probably changed his opinion with reference thereto.

One of the most recent as well as one of the most stimulating discussions of our idiom is that by Dr. Jacob Zeitlin, in his above mentioned dissertation (1908). On p. 108 we read: "From the very earliest times English, in common with other Indo-Germanic languages, employed, after certain verbs of express or implied causation (*lætan, forlætan, hatan, biddan*), an accusative with an infinitive. . . . Verbs like *beodan, don, macian, tæcan,* and *læran,* though found very rarely with an accusative and infinitive in late Old English, began to employ the construction more and more frequently in early Middle English, and by the opening of the fourteenth century that was the prevailing locution and practically the only one employed." Concerning the idiom after verbs of sense perception, on p. 109 we are told: "This construction is regular in all periods of the English language with verbs expressing an immediate sense perception, and therefore requires no extensive comment." Of the idiom after verbs of mental perception, we read on p. 78: "The dividing line between verbs of sense and mental perception is not one which can be precisely marked. It will be noted that in a number of the citations grouped under *sense perception* the verbs have a derivative force which tends to place them in the other class. The fact that the same verbs assume the two significations naturally involves the extension of the construction in vogue after the primary class to the derivative class. But, further than this, there are in Old English a number of verbs which are not associated with any idea of sensation and which admit after them an accusative with infinitive of a more developed type than any thus far noticed." Finally, concerning the idiom after verbs of declaring, this statement is given, p. 99: "The accusative with infinitive after verbs of declaration is found in Old English only in translated documents in imitation of the Latin original." My own view of the construction with this last class of verbs could not be better expressed than by the sentence just quoted; and I was delighted to find my own view confirmed by the investigation of Dr. Zeitlin, for, although his study was published four years ago, my own statistics had been gathered and tabulated before the publication of his work. But Dr. Zeitlin's statement on page 99 seems to me to be considerably modified by that on page 110: "After verbs of declaration the early language, in its original literature, shows only the faintest beginnings of the construction in the form of an accusative followed by a predicate noun, adjective, or participle. The importance of the use of the latter forms as predicates is fundamental in the development of the accusative with infinitive. The frequency with which these predicate forms occur in Old English after verbs of mental perception, and their employment after verbs of declaration previous to any similar use of the infinitive, may be treated as a confirmation of the view that they preceded the accusative with infinitive in time, and, in fact, afforded the model [1] by analogy to which the latter construction was more fully developed. The relation between the accusative and the predicate, whatever form that predicate may take, — whether infinitive, substantive, adjective, or participle, — is the same. The practical identity of the two locutions is illustrated by the fact that it is possible to convert every non-infinitive predicate into an infinitive by the introduction of the copula *to be.*"

[1] More guarded is the statement of Professor Gorrell, *l. c.*, p. 475: "After verbs of saying there is a near approach to this construction [infinitive-with-accusative] by the use of the accusative of the substantive and the predicate adjective, as Gu., 90, ðas eorðan *ealle* sægde *lane* under lyfte; similarly *BH.*, 165, 3; *Cr.*, 136." See too, Einenkel,[2] *l. c.*, p. 1077.

To this last statement there seem to me to be at least two cogent objections. First, the theory of the priority of the participle predicate (at least of the present participle) to the infinitive predicate, credited by Dr. Zeitlin on page 66 to Grimberg [1] and here indorsed by himself, is contrary to the facts in Anglo-Saxon, as I believe and try to show in Chapter XVI. As to the predicative accusative of nouns, of adjectives, and of past participles after verbs of perception and of declaring, which Dr. Zeitlin thinks has, also, contributed to the development of the accusative-with-infinitive construction, I do not know of any extensive collection [2] of data as to these uses. But, should the predicative use of nouns, of adjectives, and of the past participle be found frequent in Anglo-Saxon and in the Germanic languages as a whole, this fact would not substantiate the theory advocated by Drs. Becker, Primer, Grimberg, and Zeitlin, I think. It is in no small degree the fact that the present participle is more verbal and less adjectival in nature than a past participle (and, of course, than a predicate adjective or noun in the accusative) that in Anglo-Saxon and in High German precluded the use of the present participle in the predicative accusative except in translation of Latin participles with full verbal power, precisely as the more verbal present participle could not be used appositively except in imitation of the same idiom in Latin.[3]

Secondly, the statement unduly minimizes the influence of the Latin in the development of the accusative with an infinitive after verbs of declaring in Anglo-Saxon, so patly stated by Dr. Zeitlin on p. 99. That I am not misinterpreting the force intended to be conveyed in the passage just quoted, appears clear, I think, from the paragraph immediately following it: "The question of Latin influence in this period can be disposed of without difficulty. As is manifest from the Bede citations, the translator on a number of occasions imitates the Latin construction in rendering an accusative with infinitive after verbs of mental perception and declaration. But very seldom does he do violence to the English idiom in so translating. He refrains from imitating the construction after neuter and impersonal verbs, confining his translation within the same limitations that bound the native locution. That it should be found more frequently in translations than in original works is to be expected from the extensive use of this construction in Latin; and it is not surprising to find sporadical examples bearing the distinct stamp of foreign importation. But in expanding the great mass of Latin accusatives and infinitives into English clauses the translator has shown that his feeling for the native idiom has not been corrupted by the foreign language. Since Latin exerted so slight an influence on Old English translations, it may readily be inferred that it had no effect at all on original literature or spoken language." In support of my claim that these two statements unduly minimize the Latin influence upon the accusative-with-infinitive construction in Anglo-Saxon, I call attention to these additional facts: (1) Though rarely, the accusative with infinitive is found after impersonal verbs in Anglo-Saxon, — a matter treated below under the accusative with infinitive in subject clauses. (2) In imitation of the Latin

[1] Grimberg's article appeared in 1905, but this theory was proposed long before that time, as early as 1836, by K. F. Becker in his *Ausführliche Deutsche Grammatik*, Vol. I, pp. 193–194. See, further, Chapter XV and Chapter XVI, section viii.

[2] The fullest known to me is that by Grimm, *l. c.*, IV, pp. 732 ff., but in this collection very few examples are given from Anglo-Saxon. Dr. Wülfing's *Syntax* has not as yet reached the predicative use of the accusative.

[3] See the writer's *The Appositive Participle in Anglo-Saxon*, pp. 142, 307 ff.

original, Alfred and other Anglo-Saxon writers not a few times use the accusative with passive infinitive, — a construction thoroughly un-English. (3) The history of this construction in the other Germanic languages tends to show that Dr. Zeitlin unduly minimizes the influence of the Latin upon the Anglo-Saxon. It is only fair to add, however, that what he says as to the infiuence of the Latin upon the Anglo-Saxon is more or less bound up with what he says as to the influence of the classical languages upon the Germanic languages, — a topic discussed by me in Chapter XVI, section viii.

Perhaps I should add that Dr. Kenyon does not discuss the origin of this idiom in Anglo-Saxon in his *The Syntax of the Infinitive in Chaucer* (1909); and that Dr. Riggert, in his *Der Syntaktische Gebrauch des Infinitivs in der Altenglischen Poesie* (1909), p. 52, adopts the view of T. Müller, which was given above.

II. INFLECTED.

As we saw in Chapter VIII, the inflected infinitive with accusative subject occurs only sporadically in Anglo-Saxon, the less doubtful cases only in the later *Chronicle* and in Ælfric, after the differentiation between the two infinitives had been appreciably weakened. A few of the remaining examples are due to the presence of a Latin gerund, gerundive, or future participle in the original; while in a few other instances the infinitive hovers between an adverbial (final or consecutive) use on the one hand and a predicative on the other. In a word, in Early West Saxon, most of the examples are doubtful, and are due partly to the Latin influences specified and partly to the natural tendency of the inflected infinitive after certain verbs of tendency (*tæcan*, etc.) to pass over from a final-consecutive to a predicative use.

For the accusative with an infinitive in the other Germanic languages, see Chapter XVI, section viii.

B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.[1]

That the passive infinitive with accusative subject, when the object of a transitive verb, is due to Latin influence, is highly probable, as was long ago declared by Dr. Kellner.[2] As we have seen above, only two examples of the construction have been found in Anglo-Saxon poetry, one each in *Genesis* and in *Guthlac*, each a poem based on Latin originals. In the prose translations, in each of the groups of verbs, the construction in question is in most cases in direct translation of the same idiom in Latin, though occasionally it corresponds to other constructions in Latin (an objective passive infinitive, 1; a predicative active infinitive, 3; a predicative past participle[3] in the accusative, 8; no Latin, 1; all of which have been illustrated above, pp. 120 ff.). Moreover, we find the Latin passive infinitive with accusative subject often rendered by an active infinitive (with or without an accusative subject). The passive construction is very rare in the more original Anglo-Saxon prose (no example is found in the *Chronicle* or the *Laws*, and only one example occurs in Wulfstan) and in Ælfric (only three examples) despite his known proclivities for Latin

[1] Cf. Chapter VIII, p. 120.

[2] See Kellner,[2] *l. c.*, p. 306.

[3] Most of these may be considered passive infinitives with esse understood.

idioms. It is evident, therefore, not only that the idiom was not native to Anglo-Saxon, but also that it was never naturalized therein.

The situation is substantially the same in the other Germanic languages: see Chapter XVI, section viii.

AS SUBJECT.

Whether containing an active or a passive infinitive as predicate to an accusative, the infinitive phrase as subject is manifestly of Latin origin,[1] occurring only [2] in the Anglo-Saxon translations and each time corresponding to the same idiom in the Latin originals (except in one instance, *Bede* 70.32, where it corresponds to a complementary passive infinitive after a passive verb), as will appear from an examination of the examples, already quoted on pp. 124 f. above.

In the other Germanic languages, the accusative with infinitive, as subject, is rare in subject clauses, and is an importation: see Chapter XVI, section viii.

IX. PREDICATIVE INFINITIVE WITH DATIVE SUBJECT.[3]

In Chapter IX, I have tried to give grounds for the belief there stated that in Anglo-Saxon we have no genuine predicative infinitive, whether uninflected or inflected, with dative subject; that the infinitives sometimes cited as predicative are either subjective or objective; and that the dative noun or pronoun depends on the finite verb instead of being subject to the infinitive. The origin of these so-called predicative infinitives with dative subject has been discussed in sections i and ii of the present chapter.

In Chapter IX, however, were given several sporadic examples of an apparent, if not a real, predicative use of an uninflected infinitive with a subject dative in form after *don* and *lætan*, but these occur almost exclusively in the later *Chronicle*, by which time the dative and accusative forms of the personal pronoun of the third person may have become interchangeable. The solitary example cited of an inflected infinitive used predicatively with a dative subject (after *hieran*) occurs in a doubtful passage, but the inflection of the infinitive is probably due to the presence of a gerundive in the Latin original. In a word, the following statement of Professor Einenkel [4] as to the interrelation of the infinitive-with-dative to the predicative infinitive-with-accusative construction is correct, but, as implied by him, the assumption of predicative force by the former did not occur until Middle English times: "Die gesamte altenglische so beliebte Konstruktion, Subjekts-Inf. + Dat. com. ist in diese Acc. mit Inf.-Bewegung hineingezogen worden [ae. *Micele swiðor gedafenaþ ðam mædenum to ðencanne*, Ags. Pr.]."

For the so-called predicative infinitive with dative subject in the other Germanic languages, see Chapter XVI, section ix.

[1] De Reul, *l. c.*, p. 135, says of this idiom in Middle English: "The construction is a Latinism which was introduced either directly or through the French."

[2] Except that once we have an inflected infinitive with accusative subject as subject of a passive verb in the late *Chronicle:* see p. 124 above.

[3] See Chapter IX, p. 127.

[4] Einenkel,[3] *l. c.*, p. 1076. See, too, De Reul, *l. c.*, pp. 136 ff.

X. THE FINAL INFINITIVE.[1]

A. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

1. With Active Verbs.

In all probability, the uninflected infinitive of purpose after verbs of motion was a native idiom in Anglo-Saxon, for it is habitual in the poems, occurs several times in Early West Saxon prose, and is not infrequent in Late West Saxon prose, especially in the *Gospels*. The relative frequency of the idiom in the *Gospels* is due in part to the frequent presence of the final infinitive in the Latin vulgate. In Ælfric's *Grammar*, it may be added, the uninflected final infinitive several times translates the Latin supine in *-um*.

The infrequency of the uninflected final infinitive after verbs of rest makes it difficult to draw confident conclusions; but the idiom is probably of native origin, occurring as it does chiefly in the poems. In the one instance in the prose translations (*Ælf. Hept.: Judges* 4.18^{b}), the Latin has no infinitive. This probability of native origin is further enhanced by the fact that we have the uninflected predicative infinitive after verbs of rest.

The uninflected infinitive of purpose after verbs of commanding and requesting is probably due to Latin influence, as no example occurs in the poetry, and in the three examples from the prose (*Bede* 392.32, *Ælf. Hept.: Judges* 4.19, and *J.* 4.9) the infinitive translates a Latin final infinitive (*petamus bibere, dedit . . . bibere, bibere . . . poscis*).

Probably, too, the uninflected final infinitive after verbs of giving was first suggested by the Latin *da bibere* and similar locutions. The idiom is very rare in the poetry: of the three examples, one occurs in the metrical *Psalms*, and two in the *Riddles*. When found in the translations, it is about two-thirds of the time in direct translation of a Latin final infinitive. The Latin correspondents are: a final infinitive, 18; a gerundive in the accusative, 2; a co-ordinated finite verb, active, 1; a subordinated finite verb, active, 1; a prepositional phrase, 1; a noun (dative, 1; accusative, 5); no Latin, 2.

The uninflected infinitive of purpose after "other verbs" occurs twice in the poetry (*Gifts* 66: *gewyrceð . . . gefegan; Gnomic Sayings* 129: *scop . . . healdan*), each doubtful, and once in prose (*L.* 1.72^{b}: *alysde . . .* to wyrcenne . . . and *gemunan*), in which last the uninflected infinitive is preceded by a co-ordinate inflected infinitive, and is appreciably separated from its principal verb. But the inflected infinitive and the uninflected infinitive in this verse may each be due to the Latin original: see p. 143 above.

The inflected infinitive of purpose, after verbs of whatever kind, was probably first suggested by the Latin; for we find:—

1. That, of the fifteen examples occurring in Anglo-Saxon poetry, all but two (*Beow.* 1731 and *Wids.* 134) occur in poems known to be based on Latin originals, and in the two exceptional examples the infinitive may modify the noun rather than the verb.

2. That while, in the Early West Saxon translations, the inflected infinitive of purpose occasionally[2] translates a Latin final infinitive, it usually translates

[1] Cf. Chapter X, p. 132.

[2] In the Late West Saxon *Gospels*, the Latin final infinitive after verbs of motion is often translated by an inflected infinitive instead of an uninflected, there being 18 inflected to 24 uninflected infinitives in that text corresponding to a Latin final infinitive.

a Latin gerund or gerundive, each with and without a preposition, which Latin idioms doubtless first led to the use of the inflected infinitive to denote purpose in Anglo-Saxon, although the Latin prepositional phrase made up of a preposition and a noun instead of a gerund or a gerundive, and the Latin subordinated verb introduced by *ut* may have contributed somewhat thereto.

The Latin correspondents are approximately as follows: *ad* + a gerundive in the accusative, 38; *ad* + a gerund in the accusative, 31; *pro* + a gerundive in the ablative, 2; a gerund in the accusative, 4; a gerundive (nominative, 1; dative, 2; accusative, 13); an infinitive (final, 24 (18 in *Gosp.*); as predicate nominative, 1); a subordinated finite verb (active, 5; passive, 2); a co-ordinated finite verb, active, 3; an appositive participle, active, 6; an absolute participle, passive, 1; a prepositional phrase, 3; a noun (nominative, 1; accusative, 3; ablative, 2); a loose paraphrase, 2; no Latin, 13. Of the thirteen examples without a Latin correspondent, eleven occur in Alfred, but, in six of these examples, the inflected infinitive occurs elsewhere in Alfred corresponding to a Latin gerund or gerundive; while, in five examples (*Bede* 16.9: *onfindan; Boeth.* 19.22, 23: *onlænan;* and *Oros.* 292.28[a]: *betæcan*, 64.26: *geunnan*), no such equivalent is found. Finally, it should be stated that it is possible that the Anglo-Saxon prepositional phrase of purpose, made up of a preposition + a noun or a pronoun, may have contributed somewhat to the development of the inflected infinitive of purpose.

3. That, according to Ælfric's *Grammar*, the Latin gerund and the Latin future active participle are properly rendered by the Anglo-Saxon inflected infinitive; for on p. 134 he has "*amandi = to lufigenne;*" on p. 135, "*amandum = to lufigenne;*" and on p. 167, "*ruiturus = to hreosenne.*"

It seems likely that, because of its superior clarity,[1] the inflected infinitive became, in prose, the normal form of the final infinitive, though not to the total exclusion of the uninflected infinitive.

2. *With Passive Verbs.*

The preceding applies to the active infinitive of purpose with active verbs. As to the active infinitive with passive verbs, it is habitually inflected; has substantially the same Latin correspondents as with the active infinitive except that the final infinitive is not found; and was probably suggested by the Latin substantially as when used with active verbs.

The correspondents in Latin are: *ad* + a gerundive in the accusative, 10; *ad* + a gerund in the accusative, 6; a gerundive (nominative, 4; accusative, 1); an infinitive (subjective, 3; as a retained objective, 1; predicative with an auxiliary, 1); a co-ordinated finite verb, passive, 4; a predicative participle, accusative, passive, 1; a prepositional phrase, 2; a noun in the accusative, 1; no Latin, 3. Of these last three examples, all except one (*Greg.* 347.6: *gadrina*) are elsewhere found in Alfred corresponding to a Latin gerund or gerundive.

B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

As already stated, I have not found in Anglo-Saxon a clear example of the passive infinitive denoting purpose.

I have found few suggestions as to the origin of the final infinitive in Anglo-Saxon. The most direct and the most helpful single statement is that of Professor Shearin, who, in discussing "the Prepositional Infinitive after *Sellan*," declares: "The prepositional infinitive seems to be preferred in translating the Latin gerund or gerundive constructions of purpose. As already seen (v. p. 13), the simple form is usual in translating the Latin infinitive and supine."[2]

[1] Cf. Chapter X, p. 146 above.

[2] Shearin,[1] *l. c.*, p. 27.

He then quotes a few examples of the inflected infinitive translating a Latin gerund or gerundive after *sellan*, and adds this note: "The presence or absence of *ad* may have been to some extent a determinant of the use or omission of *to*." These statements by Professor Shearin, however, are, as is evident from our statistics just given, far too restricted, being made solely with reference to the inflected infinitive after *sellan*, whereas the former statement is true of all verbs. As to the second statement, the absence of *ad*, in gerund or gerundive constructions, has next to no weight in bringing about the omission of *to*, as an inspection of our statistics will show. Dr. Shearin does not express any opinion as to the origin of the final infinitive in Anglo-Saxon after the other groups of verbs further than to cite (p. 17) with approbation Grimm's statement as to the origin of the inflected infinitive in general: "Anfangs verstärkte die präp. in gewissen fällen den infinitivischen ausdruck: *iddja du saian* sagt etwas mehr als das blosse *iddja saian*." [1] Dr. T. J. Farrar, in his *The Gerund in Old English*, p. 36, explicitly declines to discuss the origin of the construction in Anglo-Saxon; nor have I found any helpful comment in any of the other treatises on Anglo-Saxon syntax accessible to me.

In the other Germanic languages the origin of the final infinitive was probably the same as in Anglo-Saxon: see Chapter XVI, section x.

XI. THE INFINITIVE WITH ADJECTIVES.[2]

The inflected infinitive with adjectives seems to be a construction of native origin in Anglo-Saxon, because: —

1. It is found not infrequently in the poetry, occurring in *Beowulf* (4 times) as well as in the poems known to be based on Latin originals.

2. In the translations it corresponds to various Latin idioms, and not a few times occurs without any Latin correspondents.

The Latin correspondents are: an adjective with a preposition + a gerund in the accusative (11) or + a gerundive in the accusative (15); an adjective with a gerund (genitive, 4; dative, 1); an adjective with a preposition + a gerund in the ablative, 1; a verb + a gerund in the dative, 2; an adverb + a gerund in the ablative, 1; an adjective with a prepositional phrase (6), or a supine in *-u* (2), or a noun in the ablative (3), or an infinitive (8); an infinitive (subjective, 1; objective, 4; predicative with an auxiliary, 3; as a predicate nominative, 1); an accusative and passive infinitive as subject, 3; an indicative (active, 3; passive, 3); a subjunctive (active, 1; passive, 2); an imperative, 2; a noun in the nominative, 1; an adjective (attributive, 1; predicative, 8); a participle (attributive, passive, 1; appositive, active, 4); a gerundial periphrastic, passive, 1; a loose paraphrase, 3; no Latin, 21.

3. It occurs, though not frequently, in the *Chronicle*, in the *Laws*, and in Wulfstan.

But, while the construction is doubtless of native origin, and is analogous to the modification of an adjective by any other prepositional-adverbial phrase, the use of the idiom has doubtless been somewhat increased by the Latin original, especially by the frequency of the construction made up of gerund and gerundive just mentioned. And it is possible that, in the few examples in which the inflected infinitive is clearly genitival in function (as in *Boeth.* 50.10, 24[a, b]; 51.9), the idiom is an imitation of the Latin gerund in the genitive.

The construction of the adjective with an uninflected infinitive occurs only

[1] Grimm, *l. c.*, IV, p. 121.

[2] See Chapter XI, p. 149.

sporadically, and is probably due to the distance of the infinitive from the governing adjective: see Chapter XI, p. 158 above.

The passive infinitive with adjectives is probably, like the passive infinitive in other uses, due to Latin influence, though this cannot be demonstrated in the solitary example found, in Ælfric.

For the infinitive with adjectives in the other Germanic languages, see Chapter XVI, section xi.

XII. OTHER ADVERBIAL USES OF THE INFINITIVE.

A. THE CAUSAL INFINITIVE.[1]

So few examples of the causal infinitive, whether uninflected or inflected, occur in Anglo-Saxon (only about a dozen in all) that a confident conclusion as to its origin is impossible. Still the fact that only three examples occur in the poetry (*Gen.* 2279 and 2733, after *cearian; Chr.* 1555, after *bisorgian*), each of which is doubtful; that, of the three examples in Early West Saxon, two (*Bede* 478.32, 484.15, after *gefeon*) are in translation of Latin infinitives of cause; and that most of the remaining examples occur in Ælfric or in Wulfstan, renders it probable that the construction in Anglo-Saxon was due in part to Latin influence. This seems the more probable to me in view of the fact that cause in Anglo-Saxon was from the beginning usually expressed by an oblique case of *ðæt* (with or without a preposition) plus a finite verb or plus a dependent clause in apposition to the oblique (adverbial) case of *ðæt*. It is possible, however, that the causal use in Anglo-Saxon may be in part merely an extension of the objective use of the infinitive.

The causal infinitive is rare in the other Germanic languages: see Chapter XVI, section xii.

B. THE INFINITIVE OF SPECIFICATION WITH VERBS.[2]

In this use the infinitive is always inflected. No example has been found in the poetry. In the two examples from Wærferth (88.18 and 180.26), each after a passive verb, and in the solitary example from *Bede* (82.22), the infinitive corresponds in the Latin to a phrase made up of a preposition plus gerundive and noun. Only three other examples occur, in Ælfric. All of the examples are doubtful except *Wærf.* 180.26. It seems probable, therefore, that this use of the infinitive was first suggested by the Latin.

In the other Germanic languages, likewise, this use is of foreign importation: see Chapter XVI, section xii.

C. THE CONSECUTIVE INFINITIVE.[3]

The consecutive use of the infinitive, always inflected, with adjectives is probably a native extension of the infinitive of specification with adjectives: this consecutive use is occasionally found in the Anglo-Saxon poems; though more frequent in the translations from the Latin, yet in only two of these examples (*Wærf.* 63.19 and *Ælf. Hept.: Ex.* 16.16, in each of which the Anglo-Saxon infinitive corresponds to a Latin phrase made up of *ad* + a gerund or a gerundive) does the Latin seem to have had any appreciable effect, for in the other examples the Latin equivalent is varied.

[1] See Chapter XII, p. 160. [2] See Chapter XII, p. 161. [3] See Chapter XII, p. 162.

The consecutive infinitive with active verbs is found in the poetry only once (*Seafarer* 38). In the Anglo-Saxon translations it corresponds most frequently to a Latin prepositional phrase made up of *ad* plus a gerund or gerundive, though occasionally to other idioms (an imperative; no Latin; a noun in the accusative; a noun in the dative; *in* + a noun in the ablative; a noun in the nominative; a noun in the accusative; *ut* + a subjunctive). It occurs a few times in the *Martyrology* and in the *Læceboc*, and relatively frequently in Ælfric. It seems probable, therefore, that the Latin influence, if appreciable, was very slight and indirect; more probably we have the native development of the idiom from the inflected infinitive after verbs naturally calling for an inflected infinitive or for a prepositional phrase (*to* plus a noun).

In the other Germanic languages the situation concerning the consecutive infinitive, both with adjectives and with verbs, is much the same as in Anglo-Saxon: see Chapter XVI, section xii.

The Latin influence is somewhat stronger in the consecutive use of the infinitive after passive verbs, the Anglo-Saxon infinitive oftener corresponding to a Latin gerund or gerundive here than with active verbs. But, on the other hand, two examples are found in the poems. On the whole, therefore, the situation is substantially the same as with the consecutive infinitive after active verbs: the construction is chiefly a native extension of the idiom with verbs calling for an inflected infinitive or for a prepositional phrase, somewhat influenced by the Latin idiom in gerund and gerundive constructions.

D. THE ABSOLUTE INFINITIVE.[1]

As was intimated in the citing of the examples of the absolute use of the infinitive above, pp. 169 ff., it is probable that, in the two examples of such use with the uninflected infinitive (*Oros.* 46.16, 17[b]), we have merely an accusative and infinitive loosely connected with the remainder of the sentence. In the examples of the absolute inflected infinitive, in the clearer cases (*hrædest to secganne, hrædest to cweðenne,* and *to metanne wið*), the absolute use has arisen from the shortening of fuller expressions (such as *Boeth.* 39.10: Swa hit *is* nu *hraðost to secganne* be eallum etc.; *Wulf.* 158.16: godcunde hadas wæron nu lange swiðe forsawene . . . and *hrædest is to cweðenne* etc.; see further examples in Chapter VII), in which we have the inflected infinitive of necessity after *beon*, in which latter idiom, as we have seen, the infinitive was originally final in sense. In the less clear cases, quoted in Chapter XII, section D, we seem to have the abridgment of a final clause into a phrase. I think, therefore, that the absolute infinitive is of native origin in Anglo-Saxon, sparing though its use is. This statement of the origin of the absolute use of the infinitive is, I think, in substantial accord with that of Professor Einenkel, who, in discussing the prepositional infinitive of purpose, writes "Hierher gehören auch die Fälle, wo ein Verbum (*don so, sayn so*) unterdrückt ist; und wo in Folge dessen die präpositionalen Infinitive elliptisch verwendet werden;"[2] and with that of Dr. Kenyon, *l. c.*, p. 79: "The purpose infinitive becomes stereotyped, sometimes by an ellipsis that can be more or less definitely supplied." Each of these scholars is writing of Middle English only.

The absolute infinitive probably arose in the same way in the other Germanic languages: see Chapter XVI, section xii.

[1] See Chapter XII, p. 169.

[2] Einenkel,[1] *l. c.*, p. 240.

To sum up these adverbial uses: the causal is partly due to Latin influence, and is partly of native origin; the specificatory use with verbs is certainly due to the Latin original; the consecutive use, with adjectives is of native origin, and with verbs is largely native but partly foreign; and the absolute use is wholly native.

XIII. THE INFINITIVE WITH NOUNS.[1]

The inflected infinitive with nouns is probably, in the main, of native origin in Anglo-Saxon, because: —

1. Though rare in the poems, eight clear examples occur, one of which is in *Beowulf* (316; *Beow.* 1941 is doubtful).

2. It is frequent in Alfred; and while, in the majority of instances (in about 48 examples out of a total of 81), it corresponds to a gerund or gerundive, which may partly have suggested the inflected infinitive in the Anglo-Saxon translation, in twelve of the examples there is no Latin, and in the remaining cases the Latin correspondents are too varied for the Latin to have had a determining influence in the choice of the Anglo-Saxon method of translation.

The Latin correspondents to this idiom in the Anglo-Saxon translations as a whole are: a noun (or a pronoun) with a gerund in the genitive (63); or with a gerundive in the genitive (9) or in the dative (1); or with *ad* + a gerund in the accusative (6) or with *ad* + a gerundive in the accusative (3); or with an infinitive modifying it (14); or with a noun in the genitive (5); an adjective with a supine in *-u* (1) or with a prepositional phrase (1); an infinitive (objective, 1; predicative with an auxiliary (4) or with an accusative subject (1)); a subjunctive (active, 5; passive, 2); an indicative, active (3); an attributive participle, active (1); a loose paraphrase (13); no Latin (15).

3. Though rare in the *Chronicle* and in the *Laws*, six clear examples occur in the former, and four in the latter.

I believe, therefore, that the idiom in Anglo-Saxon is probably in the main of native origin, and that the infinitive phrase modifying the noun is analogous to other prepositional adjectival phrases modifying a noun. I think, however, that it is highly probable that the frequency of the idiom in the Anglo-Saxon translations (especially in Alfred and in the *Gospels*) is partly due to the frequency of the constructions with gerund or gerundive in the Latin originals. Moreover, it seems likely that the use of the inflected infinitive as a *genitive* modifier of the noun is in no small measure due to the influence of the Latin genitive of gerund or of gerundive of the original, since (1) the clear cases of the genitive function of the inflected infinitive are restricted largely to those passages translating such Latin constructions; and since (2) we have next to no prepositional adjectival phrases of genitive function in Early West Saxon aside from those in which the inflected infinitive occurs.

As stated in Chapter XIII, p. 181, in the four instances of a noun modified by an uninflected infinitive, the lack of inflection is probably due to the remoteness of the infinitive from the noun in all cases except one (*And.* 1538), and in this instance it may be due to the peculiar significance of the noun modified (*myne*) or to the exigencies of the meter.

In the other Germanic languages the situation is much the same: see Chapter XVI, section xiii.

[1] See Chapter XIII, p. 173.

CHAPTER XV.

SOME SUBSTITUTES FOR THE INFINITIVE IN ANGLO-SAXON.

I. THE PREDICATE NOMINATIVE OF THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE FOR THE PREDICATIVE INFINITIVE AFTER VERBS OF MOTION.

Though not correct in saying that in Late West Saxon the present participle had completely supplanted the present infinitive after verbs of motion, Dr. Schrader [1] was undoubtedly pointing out, though by no means for the first time, a tendency of Anglo-Saxon that made large headway in Late West Saxon, and became the law in succeeding epochs. What led to this partial supplanting of the predicative infinitive of motion after verbs of motion by the present [2] participle in Anglo-Saxon? What led, for example, *He com fleogan, He com gangan, He com iernan,* and *He com ridan* to become *He com fleogende, He com gangende, He com iernende,* and *He com ridende?* If any adequate explanation of the fact has been offered either for Anglo-Saxon or for the Germanic languages as a whole, it has escaped me. Personally I think the chief causes of the substitution to be these:—

First, the relative rareness of the predicative infinitive of motion [3] even in Anglo-Saxon poetry and its still greater infrequency in Anglo-Saxon prose, would tend to bring about the disuse of the idiom, especially in prose.

Secondly, I doubt not that the well established, perhaps native, Anglo-Saxon use of an appositive participle to denote manner [4] with other verbs than those signifying motion (as in *Boeth.* 8.15: Ða ic ða ðis leoð, cwæð B., *geomriende* asungen hæfde, ða com etc.; *Gen.* 1582: ac he *hlihende* broðrum sægde) and its occasional use to denote what looks like manner with verbs of motion (as in *Ælf. Hom.* I. 566[1]: *com* seo sæ færlice *swegende; Az.* 144: heofonfuglas, ða ðe *lacende* geond lyft *farað; Met.* 20.216: hwilum eft smeað ymb ðone ecan god sceppend hire, *scriðende færð* hweole gelicost, hwærfð ymb hi selfe) tended to the gradual extension of the use of the participle.

Potent, too, was the influence of the periphrastic tenses made up of the verb *to be* plus a present participle, an idiom common in all stages of Anglo-Saxon, as shown by Dr. Constance Pessels, in his *The Present and Past Periphrastic Tenses in Anglo-Saxon.* Slight, if not inappreciable at first, this influence would become the stronger as the principal verb of motion paled more and more into a mere auxiliary.

Noteworthy, also, was the influence of the appositive participle of words not denoting motion used in connection with verbs of motion, as in *L.* 3.3: he *com* into eall Iordanes rice, *bodiende* dædbote fulluht on synna forgyfenesse = *venit* in omnem regionem Jordanis, *prædicans* baptismum poenitentiæ in remissionem peccatorum.

[1] *L. c.*, p. 70: see Chapter V, p. 89 above.

[2] Though Professor Einenkel,[1] *l. c.*, p. 238, considers that the past participle is similarly used in *Salomon and Saturn*, l. 178 (hwæðre wæs on sælum, se ðe of siðe *cwom* feorran *gefered*), and that *cwom . . . gefered* = the German *kam gegangen*, I must hold with Professor March, *l. c.*, p. 201, that the Anglo-Saxon phrase is not the equivalent of the German: *gefered* is used appositively, not predicatively, I think.

[3] See Chapter V, p. 89.

[4] See the writer's *The Appositive Participle in Anglo-Saxon*, pp. 274–278.

Strong, too, was the influence of the appositive participle of words denoting motion used with verbs of motion, as in *L.* 2.16: And hig *efstende comon* = Et *venerunt festinantes; Mat.* 14.25: Ða *com* se Hælend embe ðone feorðan hancred to him, ofer ða sæ *gangende* = *venit* ad eos *ambulans* super mare; *Chron.* 204[m], 1069 D[b]: *7* heom *com* ðær togenes Eadgar cild . . . *7* ealle ða landleoden *ridende 7 gangende* mid unmætan here swiðe fægengende. How easily these appositive participles of motion may become predicative in function is easily seen by comparing with the sentence just quoted from the *Chronicle* such sentences as the following, in which the participle is clearly predicative: *Ælf. L. S.* 396.206: Ða *com him gangende* to se godes witega helias; *ibid.* 408.412: him *com gangende* to godes witega isaias; — *Ælf. Hom.* II. 134[b 1]: him *com* ða *ridende* to sum arwurðe ridda; *Ælf. Hom.* I. 466[t]: ðær *com* ða *fleogende* Godes engel scinende swa swa sunne; — *Ælf. L. S.* XXXI. 1043: Heo *com* ða *yrnende* mid egeslicum eagum, with which compare *Ælf. L. S.* XXXI. 1039: ða *com* ðær færlice *yrnan* an ðearle wod cu.

Of no small weight, finally, was the predicative use of present participles not denoting motion after verbs of motion, as in *Mat.* 11.18[a, b]: Soðlice Iohannes com ne *etende* ne *drincende* = Venit enim Joannes neque *manducans* neque *bibens*, — a locution almost invariably borrowed from the Latin of the *Gospels*; — *J.* 9.7: He for and ðwoh hine, and *com geseonde* = Abiit ergo, et lavit, et *venit videns.*

Substantially the same evolution from infinitive to participle has taken place in the other Germanic languages. Examples of the predicative use of the infinitive after verbs of motion and of rest will be given in Chapter XVI. Here I merely give a few examples of the predicative participle in the nominative after verbs of motion: —

Gothic: I have found no examples in Gering or in Grimm; and Dr. A. Köhler declares that the idiom is not found in Gothic.

Scandinavian: Messrs. Falk and Torp, *l. c.*, p. 218, write as follows: "Til *koma* og *fara* føies i oldnorsk præsens particip for at betegne bevægelsens art: *þa komu þar fljugandi hrafnar tveir.* Ligedan i det senere sprog ved 'komme': kommæ løbendiss (Mand.); komme ridende, roende. Ogsaa perfektum participium synes i ældre tid — vistnok efter tysk mønster (er kam gegangen) — at kunne anvendes saaledes: tha kom the in gongen (K. Magn.); oc Roland kom standen paa iorden (ib.)." — See, too, Grimm, *l. c.*, IV, p. 9.

Old High German: Notker, I. 75.22: Tanne *cham* der uictor fone uige *ritende* in curru; *Rol.* 7129: Ther kuninc Marsilie *kom fliehende* etc.[1]

Middle High German: *Eneide* 4219: *Vliende skiet* he dannen met den bloden mannen; *Engelhard* 5345: Der brunne luter und kalt *gienc ruschende* unde *klingende.*[2]

Old Saxon: *Hel.* 4965: *huarbondi geng* forth. — *Ib.* 5962: thuo *quam* im thar thie helago tuo *gangandi* godes suno (or appositive?).[3]

Be the cause of this substitution of the predicative participle of motion after verbs of motion for the predicative infinitive of motion after verbs of motion what it may, that such an evolution actually took place in Anglo-Saxon is conclusively proved by a brief survey of the statistics of the construction of the predicative participle of motion with verbs of motion.

[1] From Crenshaw, *l. c.*, p. 36. Cf. Göcking, *l. c.*, p. 8; Rick, *l. c.*, pp. 28–31; K. Meyer, *l. c.*, pp. 29, 43.
[2] From Crenshaw, *l. c.*, p. 37.
[3] From Pratje, *l. c.*, p. 76.

In Anglo-Saxon poetry clear examples are seldom if ever found. In the following I give all the apparent examples that I have observed in the poems; but, as is evident, in most instances the participle hovers between the predicative use on the one hand and the attributive or the appositive on the other: —

Maldon 65: *com flowende* flod æfter ebban (or attributive?).

Az. 144: heofonfuglas, ða ðe *lacende* geond lyft *farað* (or appositive?).

Met. XX. 216: Swa deð monnes saul hweole gelicost; hwærfeð ymbe hy selfe, . . . hwilum eft smeað ymb ðone ecan God sceppend hire, *scriðende fœrð* hweole gelicost, hwærfð ymb hi selfe = no exact Latin equivalent, but the corresponding passage of the Latin *Boethius* (III, metre 9) has numerous appositive participles (or appositive?).

Met. XXXI. 11: sume fotum twam foldan peððað, sume fierfete; sume *fleogende windað* under wolcnum = 138.5: Et liquido longi spatia aetheris enatet *uolatu* (or appositive?).

Wids. 127: Ful oft of ðam heape *hwinende fleag* giellende gar on grome ðeode (or attributive?).

Wids. 135: Swa *scriðende* gesceapum *hweorfað* gleomen gumena geond grunda fela, ðearfe secgað, ðoncword sprecað, etc. (or appositive?).

Ps. 103.24: His is mycel sæ 7 on gemærum wid: ðær is unrim on ealra cwycra mycelra 7 mætra, ofer ðæne mægene oft scipu *scriðende* scrinde *fleotað* = 103.26: Illic naves *pertranseunt* (or appositive?).

Gen. 2557: Strudende fyr steapes 7 geapes *swogende forswealh* eall eador, ðæt on Sodoma byrig secgas ahton 7 on Gomorra (or appositive?).

Beow. 2832: ðæt se widfloga wundum stille hreas on hrusan, hordærne neah, nalles æfter lyfte *lacende hwearf* middelnihtum, maðm-æhta wlonc ansyn ywde: ac he eorðan gefeoll for ðæs hildefruman hondgeweorce (or appositive?). [Dr. K. Köhler, *l. c.*, p. 70, considers the participle predicative.]

In Early West Saxon, likewise, it is difficult, if not impossible, to find clear examples. A few examples occur in the *Chronicle* (265[t], 1137 E[d]: Gif twa men oðer ðreo *coman ridend* (*sic!*) to an tun; — 47[t], 744 E: steorran *foran* swyðe *scotienda;* — 244[m], 1143[b, e]: on ðis ylcan geare wæs swa mycel ebba . . . swa ðæt man *ferde ridende* 7 *gangende* ofer Tæmese), but only in the late MS. E (written from 1121 to 1154[1]) and, with one exception, in the later entries (years) of that manuscript. Only one example have I found in Alfred, viz., in *Greg.* 415.21: Ðonne gæð Dine ut sceawian ða elðiodigan wif, ðonne hwelces monnes mod forlæt his ægne tilunga, & sorgað ymb oðerra monna wisan, ðe [him] nauht to ne limpð, & *fœrð* swa *wandriende* from his hade & of his endebyrdnesse = 336.21: Dina quippe ut mulieres videat extraneæ regionis egreditur, quando unaquæque mens sua studia negligens, actiones alienas curans, extra habitum atque extra ordinem proprium *vagatur*. Here the complementary participle translates a finite verb, but the participle in Anglo-Saxon is doubtless due to the influence of the two Latin appositive participles immediately preceding *vagatur*. In Wærferth's translation of Gregory's *Dialogues*, also, one example occurs, 98.18: ða se halga man *ferde* ðider *fleonde*, hine gemette sum munuc = B. 128 C: Quo dum *fugiens pergeret*, monachus quidam Romanus nomine, hunc euntem reperit, quo tenderet requisivit.

[1] Plummer, *l. c.*, II, p. xxxv.

But in Late West Saxon the predicative participle is quite frequent, as may be seen from this list [1] of the clearer examples observed by me, arranged according to the words, not the authors: —

becuman, ' come ' (3): —

— *iernende* [*y*-], ' running ' (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXIII B. 196.

— *rowende*, ' rowing ' (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXXII. 36.

— *swymmende*, ' swimming ' (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 162^{m}.

cuman, ' come ' (20): —

— *creopende*, ' creeping ' (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 488^{b}.

— *fleogende*, ' flying ' (6): *Ælf. Hom.* (6): I. 466^{t}; II. 14^{t}, 144^{b}, 342^{m}, 504^{b}, 510^{m}.

— *gangende*, ' going,' ' walking ' (7): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 388^{b}. — *Ælf. L. S.* (4): 206.199; 302.263; 396.206; 408.412. — *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Judges* 13.3. — *Napier's Ad. to Th.* (1): 102.37^{m} [1] (but may be appositive).

— *iernende* [*y*-], ' running ' (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXXI. 1043 (cf. xxxi. 1039: *com . . . yrnan*).

— *ridende*, ' riding ' (4): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 134^{b} [1]. — *Ælf. L. S.* (3): XXV. 491, 773; XXVII. 84.

— *stæppende*, ' stepping ' (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 452^{m}.

faran, ' go,' ' travel ' (1): —

— *worigende*, ' wandering ' (1): *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Gen.* 4.11.

feran, ' go,' ' travel ' (8): —

— *forðsiðigende*, ' journeying ' (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 140^{t}.

— *ridende*, ' riding ' (1): *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Num.* 22.21 (or appositive?).

— *siðigende*, ' journeying ' (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 136^{b}.

— *worigende*, ' wandering ' (5): *Ælf. Hom.* (4): I. 148^{t}, 168^{t}; II. 30^{b}, 188^{m}. — *Ælf. Int.* (1): 154.

gan [**gangan**], ' go,' ' move ' (1): —

— *worigende*, ' wandering ' (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 160^{m}.

iernan [**y**-], ' run ' (1): —

— *dwoligende*, ' straying ' (1): *Chad.* (1): 224.

To the foregoing verbs of motion followed by a predicative participle of motion, I add a few examples of the predicative present participle after verbs of rest: —

licgan, ' lie,' ' recline ' (2): —

— *anbidiende*, ' awaiting ' (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 260^{b}.

— *bemænende*, ' lamenting ' (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 312^{b}.

sittan, ' sit ' (4): —

— *æteowiende*, ' showing ' (1): *Wulf.* (1): 198.3 (or appositive?).

— *biddende*, ' begging ' (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 156^{t}.

— *hleowinde*, ' warming ' (1): *Neot* (1): 161.

— *wepende*, ' weeping ' (1): *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Gen.* 21.16.

standan, ' stand ' (5): —

— *byuigende*, ' trembling ' (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 206.176.

— *cwacigende*, ' trembling ' (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 32^{b} [2].

— *geanbidiende*, ' awaiting ' (1): *Gosp.* (1): *L.* 23.35.

— *starigende*, ' gazing ' (2): *Ælf. Hom.* (2): I. 296^{t} [1, 2].

[1] I do not here repeat the examples, above given, from the later *Chronicle*.

II. THE PREDICATE ACCUSATIVE OF THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE FOR THE PREDICATIVE INFINITIVE WITH ACCUSATIVE SUBJECT.

It is interesting to trace the gradual springing up of the predicate accusative of the present participle as a partial substitute for the predicative infinitive with accusative subject. True, Dr. Zeitlin, as stated in Chapter XIV, section viii, p. 212, claims that in Anglo-Saxon the infinitive was substituted for the participle, a claim earlier made for the Germanic languages as a whole by Becker and after him by other scholars, as is shown below. But the claim is untenable, I believe, either for Anglo-Saxon alone or for the Germanic languages as a whole.

To begin with Anglo-Saxon: as our statistics show, the predicate accusative of the present participle is practically unknown in Anglo-Saxon poetry, only four examples being found therein, each in a poem believed to have a Latin original, as follows: —

Chr. 536: Gewitan him ðа gongan to Hierusalem hæleð hygerofe in ðа halgan burg geomormode, ðonan hy God nyhst up *stigende* eagum *segun*, hyra Wilgifan.

Chr. 891: Ðær mon mæg sorgende folc *gehyran*, hygegeomor, hearde gefysed, cearum *cwiðende* cwicra gewyrhtu forhte afærde.

Gu. 1120: Ongon ðа snottor hæle ar onbehtðegn æðeles neosan to ðam halgan hofe, *fond* ðа *hlingendne* fusne on forðsið frean unwenne gæsthaligne godes temple, soden sarwylmum.

Charms IV. 55 (really prose): Ic ana *wat* ea *rinnende* ond ðа nygon nædran behealdað.

In Early West Saxon, the predicate participle is rare, and, in the translations, usually is traceable either directly or indirectly to a Latin predicate participle, though occasionally the Anglo-Saxon participle, especially if of slight verbal power, has other correspondents in the Latin (an accusative and infinitive, 2; a gerund in the ablative, 1; a predicate adjective, 3; an appositive adjective, 1; a noun in the accusative, 1; an ablative absolute (passive), 1; no Latin, 1). The examples in full are: —

ALFRED (20): —

Bede (8): —

gefelan, 'feel,' 'perceive' (2):

— *batiende*, 'convalescing' (1): 404.1[a]: ðа sona instepe *gefelde* ic *mec batiende* 7 werpende = confestim *me* melius *habere sentirem*.

— *werpende* [*-ie-*], 'recovering from illness' (1): 404.1[b]: quoted in preceding.

gemetan, '*find*' (2): —

— *sittende*, 'sitting' (1): 402.20[a]: Ða *gemette* he *mec sittende*, 7 ic sprecan meahte = 291.8: *me* reuisens, *inuenit sedentem*, et iam loqui ualentem.

— *slæpende*, 'sleeping' (1): 244.3: ðа *gemette* ðone his *geðoftan slæpende* = 193.17: *invenit sodalem dormientem*.

geseon, 'see' (4): —

— *fleogende*, 'flying' (1): 214.16: *Geseah* he eac swylce ða wergan *gastas* ðurh ðæt fyr *fleogende* = 166.9: *Uidit* autem et *dæmones* per ignem *uolantes* incendia bellorum contra iustos struere.

— *standende*, 'standing' (1): 444.15: *geseah* he . . . ðone *Hælend standende* Godes on ða swiðran = 314.31: *uidit* . . . *Iesum stantem* a dextris Dei.

— *utgangende* [*-o-*], 'going out' (1): 386.5: ða *gesegon* we . . . ðone leofan *fæder* . . . of his deagolnissum *utgongende* = 282.6: *uidimus* . . . *egressum* de latibulis suis . . . *patrem*.

— *wiðfeohtende*, 'fighting' (1): 88.18: Ic *geseo* oðere *æ* in minum leomum *wiðfeohtende* ðære æ mines modes = 61.26: *Uideo* aliam *legem* in membris meis *repugnantem* legi mentis meae.

BOETHIUS (7):—

forlætan, 'leave' (1):

— *sorgiende*, 'sorrowing' (1): 20.31: Hwæðer ðe ðu hi forseo, *7* ðines agnes ðonces hi forlete buton sare, ðe ðu gebide hwonne hi ðe *sorgiendne forlæten?* = 31.48: Quid igitur referre putas, tune illam moriendo deseras an te illa *fugiendo?*

gedon, 'make,' 'cause' (3):—

— *wealdende*[1] [*-a-*], 'controlling' (3): 5.16: *mæge* ænigne *mon* weligne *7 waldendne gedon* = 0. — *Ib.* 38.16: ne se anweald ne *mæg gedon* his *waldend wealdendne* = 42.55: nec potestas sui *compotem fecerit* quem uitiosae libidines insolubilibus adstrictum retinent catenis. — *Ib.* 38.30: oððe se anweald, ðonne he ne *mæg* his *waldend waldendne* gedon = 0, but cf. 42.55 in preceding.

gehealdan, 'hold,' 'keep' (1):—

— *wuniende*, 'continuing' (1): 27.12: Forðamðe God *hine gehelt* æghwonan singallice *wuniendne* on his modes gesælðum = 35.21: Tu conditus quieti felix robore ualli, duces *serenus* aeuum.

geseon, 'see' (2):

— *murciende*, 'complaining' (1): 11.3: Sona swa ic ðe ærest on ðisse unrotnesse *geseah* ðus *murciende* = 18.3: Cum *te* . . . mœstum *lacrimantem*que *uidissem*.

— *sweltende*, 'dying' (1): 23.1[a]: mænegum men is leofre ðæt he ær self swelte ær he *gesio* his *wif 7* his *bearn sweltende* = 0.

GREGORY (3):—

findan, 'find' (2):—

— *frinende*, 'interrogating' (1): 385.23[b]: ða *fundon* hie *hiene* tomiddes ðara wietena ðe ðær wisoste wæron in Hierusalem, hlystende hiora worda & *frinende* hiora lara = 300.29[b]: Invenerunt illum in templo sedentem in medio doctorum, audientem illos et *interrogantem*. [Cf. *L.* 2.46.]

— *hlystende*, 'listening' (1): 385.23[a]: quoted in preceding.

geseon, 'see' (1):—

— *eaciende*, 'increasing' (1): 231.19: ðonne hie *geseoð* ðara oðer[r]a *gesælða eaciende*, ðonne ðyncð him ðæt hie wiellen acuelan etc. = 174.27: dumque *augmenta* alienæ prosperitatis *aspiciunt*.

OROSIUS (2):—

geseon, 'see' (1):—

— *feohtende*, 'fighting' (1). 92.10: ða *gesawan* hie Romana *ærendracan* on hie *feohtende* = 93.7: *legatos* . . . adversum se *videre pugnantes*.

metan, 'find' (1):—

[1] As is evident from the three examples, *wealdende* is more an adjective than a participle here.

— *sittende*, 'sitting' (1): 134.31: ðeh ðe hie *hiene* meðigne on cneowum *sittende metten* = 135.18: *fixo genu* eatenus pugnavit.

In Wærferth, however, the construction is somewhat more frequent than in Alfred, Wærferth having, in his one book (*The Dialogues of Gregory*), 27 examples; of which number, 25 are in direct translation of Latin predicate accusatives of the present participle; 1 (169.7), of a Latin predicate past participle; and 1 (335.26), of a Latin accusative and infinitive.

No examples have been found in the early part of the *Chronicle*, the earliest occurring in the year 1107, in the late manuscript E. Only three examples occur in all, and these belong, therefore, to Late West Saxon.

Moreover, not only is the predicate accusative of the present participle with real verbal power rare in Anglo-Saxon poetry and in Early West Saxon prose, and, when occurring in either, is traceable to Latin influence, but we have unmistakable evidence that the Early West Saxon translators constantly shunned rendering the Latin predicate accusative of the present participle by the corresponding construction in Anglo-Saxon. A reference to the Latin correspondents to the predicative infinitive with accusative subject after verbs of perception (sense and mental), given on pp. 206 f., shows that often the predicate participle is translated by a predicate infinitive.

Once more: we find the idiom only sparingly used in the more original Anglo-Saxon prose, whether early or late; for the *Chronicle* has only three examples, all after the year 1100; and Wulfstan, only four; while the *Laws* and the *Læceboc* have no example.

As to other relatively early West Saxon works, the *Prose Psalms* shows only two examples, in one of which (34.14[c]) an Anglo-Saxon predicate participle = a Latin appositive participle, and in the other (41.10) a slightly verbal participle = a Latin genitive phrase; *Benedict*, three examples, in each of which the Anglo-Saxon predicate participle translates a Latin predicate participle; the *Blickling Homilies*, 17 examples; the prose *Guthlac*, two examples, in one of which (VI.9) the Anglo-Saxon predicate participle = a Latin appositive participle, and in the other (I.16) the Anglo-Saxon predicate participle in the accusative = a Latin predicate participle in the nominative with a passive verb; the *Martyrology*, five examples; the *A. S. Homilies and Lives of Saints II* (non-Ælfrician), three examples; *Apollonius*, no example; and the Minor Prose, ten examples, distributed as follows: *Nicodemus*, 1; Napier's *Additions to Thorpe* (really, therefore, to be credited to Ælfric), 4; *Benediktiner-Offizium*, 1; *Chad*, 2; *Alexander*, 2.

But in Late West Saxon times the idiom is quite common, about 75 examples occurring in Ælfric and 80 in the *Gospels*. Of these 80 examples, all except two[1] are in direct translation of a Latin predicate participle. Of Ælfric's familiarity with and his addiction to Latin idioms, especially those concerned with the participle, abundant evidence has been given in the present writer's discussion of Ælfric's frequent use of the absolute[2] participle and of the appositive participle,[3] in which discussion were pointed out the chief Latin sources of

[1] The two exceptions are: *Mat.* 15.32: ic *hig* nelle *fæstende forlætan* = *dimittere eos jejunos* nolo, in which a slightly verbal participle = a Latin adjective; *Mat.* 27.32: ða *gemetton* hig mnne Cyrenisene *mann cumende* heom togenes = *Exeuntes* autem invenerunt hominem Cyrenæum nomine Simonem, in which a predicate accusative participle is suggested by a Latin appositive participle.

[2] See *The Absolute Participle in Anglo-Saxon*, p. 28.

[3] See *The Appositive Participle in Anglo-Saxon*, pp. 297 ff.

Ælfric's works. Here it needs only to be said that Ælfric is likewise strongly influenced by the Latin, especially by ecclesiastical Latin, in his use of the predicate accusative of the present participle, a construction that, as shown above, is very frequent in the vulgate *Gospels*. It is likewise not uncommon in the vulgate *Old Testament*. Ælfric several times translates the Latin predicate participle by an Anglo-Saxon predicate infinitive (about four times in all). And, while occasionally Ælfric, in his *Heptateuch*, has a predicate accusative of the participle where another construction is found in the original Latin,[1] the participles so occurring are such as are not infrequent elsewhere in Ælfric and in other Anglo-Saxon prose (especially the *Gospels*); and such as are frequent in ecclesiastical Latin. I believe, therefore, that no one who examines my statistics as a whole will question the statement that Ælfric's use of the predicate accusative of the participle is due to Latin influence.

When we consider, then, that the predicative use of the present participle with full verbal power is practically unknown in Anglo-Saxon poetry; that it very rarely occurs in Early West Saxon, and then usually in translating a Latin predicate participle; that it is very rare also in the more original prose; but that it is frequent in Late West Saxon, especially in the *Gospels* and in Ælfric, and that of the 80 examples in the *Gospels* all but two are in direct translation of Latin predicate participles; — when we consider all this, the conclusion seems irresistible that this predicative use of the present participle was not a native Anglo-Saxon idiom, but was imported from the Latin, chiefly through the instrumentality of Ælfric and of the translator(s) of the *Gospels*.

As to this theory of the Latin origin of this idiom in Anglo-Saxon, I have seen no statement favoring it except this of Dr. Axel Erdmann,[2] which statement, it will be noted, ascribes the frequency, not the origin, of the idiom to Latin influence: "In the ancient period, the infinitive [*i. e.*, the infinitive with accusative subject] prevailed instead of the Participle [*i. e.*, the predicative participle in the accusative]. In *Beowulf*, Cædmon's *Genesis*, and even in the *Enigmas* it is employed exclusively, and in the whole A. S. poetical literature in by far the majority of cases. The Part. seems to owe very much of its frequency at a later time to Latin influence. In the *Gospels* it is decidedly preponderant. The infin. for inst. *Lucas*, XIX.32, XXI.1, 2. Cf. March, § 449."

But we are told by scholars of the highest distinction that, on the contrary, in the Germanic languages as a whole, the infinitive has been substituted for the participle. As already incidentally stated, this latter theory was proposed at least as early as 1836, by K. F. Becker, who, in his *Ausführliche Deutsche Grammatik*, Vol. I, pp. 193–194, expressed himself as follows: "Der Gebrauch eines objectiven Infinitivs nach den Verben: *sehen, hören, fühlen, finden*, z. B., 'Ich sehe ihn laufen,' 'Ich höre ihn singen,' ist uralt und findet sich auch in dem Angelsächsischen.[3] Statt dieses Infinitivs finden wir aber nicht nur im Griechischen und Lateinischen, sondern auch im Gothischen das Partizip des

[1] The divergent examples are: *Deut.* 11.25: *gehirdon* his word ðus *cweðende* = et *locutus est* vobis; *Judges*, Epilogue, p. 264, 1.22: hi *gemetton* . . . godes *engel* him togeanes *gangende* mid him = 0; *Exod.* 23.19: ða *geseah* he . . . ðæt *folc* eall *singende* = *vidit* . . . *choros*; *Gen.* 18.2: And Abraham beseah upp and *geseah* ðri *weras standende* him gehende = Cumque elevasset oculos, *apparuerunt* ei tres viri *stantes* prope eum. The remaining four examples of the predicate accusative in the Anglo-Saxon *Heptateuch* (*Gen.* 28.12ᵇ, ᶜ, 29.1; *Num.* 22.23) translate Latin predicate participles.

[2] *L. c.*, p. 32.

[3] "S. Otfrid, I, 4.21; 15.47; 25.15, 23; — *Nibelungenlied*, 5365; — Hickes, a. a. O., p. 93."

Präsens, z. B., L. *vidit jacentem*, G. *gasahw ligandein*.[1] Auch im Alt- und Mitteldeutschen Kommt nicht selten das Partizip vor;[2] und im Englischen wird gewöhnlich das Partizip und nicht der Infinitiv gebraucht, z. B., *I heard him singing*. Obgleich wir im Neuhochdeutschen nur den Infinitiv gebrauchen, und auch die romanischen Sprachen diesen Gebrauch angenommen haben; so hat sich doch der Gebrauch des Partizips im Allgemeinen weiter verbreitet; und wir müssen schon darum das Partizip als die ursprüngliche Form dieses Verhältnisses ansehen und den Gebrauch des Infinitivs aus dem leichten Wechsel der Partizipialformen herleiten (§ 98). Aber noch bestimmter spricht für diese Annahme das Beziehungsverhältniss selbst. So ist zwar in: 'Ich höre den Vogel singen' das Mittelwort *singen* Objekt des Verbs *hören;* aber es wird vermittelst des Prädikats *hören* als ein Attribut von Vogel ausgesagt, und fordert daher die adjektivische Form des Partizips, an welchem auch in den alten Sprachen — auch im Gothischen — die attributive Beziehung durch die Flexion bezeichnet wird." Substantially this same view was taken by Grimm, in 1837, in the fourth volume of his *Deutsche Grammatik*, p. 740; and by Theodor Vernaleken, in 1861, in his *Deutsche Syntax*, Vol. I, p. 125. In more recent times, too, this theory has not lacked advocates. It was espoused in 1885, by Professor Sylvester Primer, in his "The Factitive in German," pp. 47 ff.; in 1905, by Dr. C. Grimberg, in his "Undersökningar om Konstruktionen Accusativ med Infinitiv i den Äldre Fornsvenskan," pp. 226–227; and in 1908, by Dr. Jacob Zeitlin, in his dissertation referred to above.

But, despite the contention of these scholars, I must hold that, as in Anglo-Saxon, so in the Germanic languages as a whole, the predicative participle was a borrowed, not a native idiom, — a view that is held by several Germanic grammarians of note, as will be seen below. True, in Gothic we find the predicative participle far more frequently than the predicative infinitive after verbs of sense perception, but this comes, as I believe, merely of the translator's slavish following of the Greek original; for Professor Gering, *l. c.*, p. 428, and Professor Streitberg,[3] *l. c.*, p. 216, tell us that only twice after this group of verbs does Ulfilas fail to render the predicative participle of the Greek by the same idiom in the Gothic.

Dr. Grimberg, *l. c.*, p. 226, holds that in the Scandinavian the use of the predicate participle preceded that of the predicate infinitive after verbs of sense perception, — a view adopted apparently by Dr. Zeitlin.[3] But Messrs. Falk and Torp, *l. c.*, p. 218, seem to think that the predicative present participle was substituted for an original predicative infinitive: "Participiet betegner objektets tilstand under handlingen (se § 68, 1, b, γ): *þeir drapu hann sofanda; hann fann þa drepna.* Ved 'finde' er den gamle infinitiv (§ 127) nu erstattet af nutidsparticip (undtagen i overført betydning): han fandt samme Trold siddende ved en Høy at græde (Holb, for: og græde); ved indflydelse heraf ogsaa: hvor jeg ofte saa ham siddende at flikke gamle Skoe (ib., for: sidde og flikke). Ved assimilation staar i ældre tid efter perfektum undertiden fortidsfor nutidsparticip: hvor tidt har jeg funden dig sprungen herom (Dass.)."

For the High Germanic languages, the evolution of the predicative infinitive from the predicative participle was denied by Dr. Arthur Denecke, *l. c.*, p. 26, who, in 1880, declared: "Die Ansicht Koch's (*Deutsche Gramm.*, § 269), dass

[1] "S. Ulfila, *Matth.*, 6.16, 18; 8.14; 9.9."
[2] "S. Isidor, 4.1; *Parzival*, 516.23; *Iwein*, 283."
[3] *L. c.*, pp. 66 and 110.

der Inf. bei den Verbis der Wahrnehmung aus Particip entstanden zu sein scheine, ist aus historischen Gründen falsch." That the predicative use of the accusative of the present participle was not native to the High Germanic languages in general, but was with them, as with Anglo-Saxon, an importation from the Latin, was demonstrated by Professor J. B. Crenshaw, in his doctor's dissertation, *The Present Participle in Old High German and Middle High German*, Baltimore, 1901,[1] pp. 14–20: "Present Participle after Verbs of Perception." His general statement is given on p. 14: "In Old High German and in Middle High German the Infinitive was the regular construction after Verbs of this class; the Participle was the exception, and the instances, cited from the works examined, will show that the usage was borrowed from the Latin. In Middle High German the Infinitive alone[2] is used, and the Participle has been dropped entirely." The general results of Professor Crenshaw's investigation have been confirmed, so far as Old High German is concerned, by the investigation of Dr. Karl Rick, in his dissertation, *Das Prädikative Participium Praesentis im Althochdeutschen*, Bonn, 1905, pp. 34–37; and by the less specialized investigations by Dr. Göcking and by Dr. K. Meyer cited in my bibliography. How closely the Old High German parallels the Anglo-Saxon may be gathered from these few examples taken from Rick: — Tatian 19.3: *gisah*[3] zuene bruoder *rihtenti* iro nezi = *vidit* fratres *reficientes retia; ib.* 16.2: tho *gihortun inan* thie iungiron *sprechantan* = *audierunt eum* discipuli *loquentem; ib.* 181.3: *fant sie slafente* = *invenit* eos *dormientes.*

Finally, in Old Saxon the predicative participle is very rare, Pratje, *l. c.*, p. 77, giving only four examples for the whole of the *Heliand:* — 4024: that sia im uualdand *Crist* tuo . . . *farandian uuissun;* 4356: that hie *in* . . . *slapandia* . . . ne *bifahe;* 4797: *fand sia slapandia;* 5731: thar hie *uuissa* that godes barn, *hreo hangondi* herren sines.

What Professor Wilmanns, professedly following Dr. Rick, says (*l. c.*, p. 109) of Old High German, is true in my judgment of the Germanic languages as a whole: "Prädikativ gebrauchte Part. Präs. waren in der älteren Sprache offenbar wenig beliebt, wenn auch die Übersetzer sie nach dem Muster ihrer Vorlagen oft genug zulassen."

[1] Though 1893 appears on the title-page, the monograph was not printed until 1901.

[2] According to Professor Crenshaw himself, *alone* is too strong, for he cites on p. 15 sixteen examples of the predicate participle in Middle High German after the verb *sehen.*

[3] Wilmanns, *l. c.*, p. 110, tells us that after *sehan* Tatian uses the infinitive only 6 times, the participle 40 times, in strict accord with the Latin original; and that Otfrid uses the participle only once.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE INFINITIVE IN THE OTHER GERMANIC LANGUAGES.

In this chapter I attempt to give a very brief conspectus of the Infinitive in the Germanic Languages other than Anglo-Saxon, primarily for the light thus to be derived for the Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon. I trust, however, that the preceding detailed discussion of the uses of the infinitive in Anglo-Saxon may enable me to throw some light on the construction in the kindred Germanic languages. The main authorities, aside from the standard grammars by Grimm and by Wilmanns (the latter still unfinished), are for Gothic: the *Elementarbuch* by Streitberg and the special articles by Arthur Köhler and Otto Apelt; for the Scandinavian languages: the treatises of Falk and Torp, of Holthausen, of Kahle, of Lund, of Nygaard, and of Grimberg; for Old High German: the works of Apelt, Crenshaw, Denecke, Dietz, O. Erdmann, Göcking, K. Meyer, Mourek, Rannow, Rick, Seedorf, Seiler, and Wunderlich; for Middle High German: those of Paul, of Michels, and of Monsterberg-Münckenau; for New High German: those of Blatz, Curme, Herford, Thomas, Von Jageman, and Whitney; and for Old Saxon: those of Behaghel, Holthausen, Pratje, and Steig. It will not be considered improper, I trust, to add that, while the examples given below are borrowed from the aforementioned authorities, the interpretation thereof is my own.

I. THE SUBJECTIVE INFINITIVE.

In Gothic we find as subject both the simple infinitive and the prepositional infinitive (with *du*): — *Mk.* 7.27: unte ni *goþ ist niman* hlaif barne jah *wairpan* hundam = οὐ γάρ ἐστιν καλὸν λαβεῖν τὸν ἄρτον τῶν τέκνων καὶ βαλεῖν τοῖς κυναρίοις;[1] *Rom.* 7.18: unte *wiljan atligiþ* mis = τὸ γὰρ θέλειν παράκειταί μοι;[2] *Mk.* 10.24: hvaiwa *aglu ist* þaim hugjandam afar faihau in þiudangardja guþs *galeiþan* = πῶς δύσκολόν ἐστι τοὺς πεποιθότας ἐπὶ τοῖς χρήμασιν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσελθεῖν;[3] *I. Cor.* 11.6: iþ jabai *agl ist* qinon *du kapillon* aiþþau *skaban* = εἰ δὲ αἰσχρὸν γυναικὶ τὸ κείρασθαι ἢ ξυρᾶσθαι.[3] As is evident from the preceding examples, the Greek articular infinitive is represented by both the simple infinitive and the prepositional infinitive in Gothic. In Gothic itself the infinitive is at times preceded by the article, as in *Philip.* 1.29: izwis *fragiban ist* faur Xristu ni þatainei du imma galaubjan, ak jah *þata* faur ina *winnan* = ὅτι ὑμῖν ἐχαρίσθη τὸ ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ, οὐ μόνον τὸ εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πάσχειν.[4] Worthy of note, too, is the tendency to use the prepositional infinitive instead of the simple infinitive after the verb *to be* plus an adjective, but the tendency is not so strong as in Anglo-Saxon. Finally, it should be mentioned that Professor Streitberg,[2] *l. c.*, § 318, considers as predicative infin-

[1] From Wright,[2] *l. c.*, § 435.
[2] From Köhler,[2] A., *l. c.*, p. 421.
[3] *Ibidem*, *l. c.*, p. 434.
[4] From Bernhardt,[2] *l. c.*, p. 111.

itive with dative subject what to me seems a subjective infinitive, a topic discussed in section ix of the present chapter.

In Old Norse, likewise, we find, as subject, both the simple infinitive and the prepositional infinitive (with *at*), but the latter the oftener, as we learn from Drs. Falk and Torp, *l. c.*, p. 195: "Som subjekt staar infinitiven særlig hyppig ved upersonlige udtryk: *mik fara tiðir; lysti hann at kyssa hana;* samt i udtryk med *vera: lett er lauss at fara.* Modsat af hvad man skulde vente, staar her allerede i oldnorsk mest *at.* Sagen er den, at i de fleste tilfælde var en dobbelt opfatning mulig: i *mik fara tiðir* er infinitiven ligefrem subjekt for verbet (at fare udgjør min lyst); men verbet kan ogsaa tages rent upersonligt: jeg har en lyst som gaar i retning af at reise = *mik tiðir at fara.* Den af denne dobbelte opfatning fremkaldte vaklen i brugen af *at* ophørte efterhaanden, og 'at' blev det herskende." See, further, Lund, *l. c.*, pp. 357 ff.; Nygaard, *l. c.*, p. 220.

In Old High German we find the same fluctuation between the uninflected infinitive and the inflected infinitive as subject that we have found in Anglo-Saxon: — uninflected: *Tatian* 148.11: oba *iz arloubit* si wola *tuon,* heila *tuon* oda *furliosan* = si *licet* bene *facere,* salvam *facere* an *perdere;*[1] — *B. R.* 35.3: *pezzira ist swigeen* denne *kisprehhan wesan* = *melius est silire,* quam *loqui;*[2] — *Tatian* 191.26: *guot ist* thir einougen *richison,* thanna habenten *gisentit werden* = *bonum* tibi *est* luscum *regnare* quam habentem *mitti;*[3] — inflected: *Hom. de voc.* 29.14: iu *garisit* gotes wort *za quedanne* = vobis *oportebat loqui* verbum dei;[4] — *Tatian* 100.30: *gilimphit* mir *zi gotspellone* = *oportet* me *evangelizare;*[4] — *Is.* 9.9: so *zi chilaubanne* mihhil wootnissa *ist* = ita *existimare* magnae dementiae *est;*[5] — *Tatian* 171.7: *nist guot zi nemenne* . . . brot inti *zi werfenna* = non *est bonum sumere* panem . . . et *mittere.*[6] And the chief cause of this fluctuation appears to be the same as in Anglo-Saxon, namely, the disturbing influence of the dativel verbs and verbal phrases; though a slight factor may be that suggested by Denecke with reference to the uninflected infinitive with *guot ist* in *Tatian* 191.18, 26: "In beiden Stellen scheint theils das Pass. *gisentit werden,* theils der vom Uebersetzer dem Lat. nachgeahmte Acc. das Eintreten von *zi* verhindert zu haben."[7]

In his elaborate treatise, *Der Infinitiv in den Epen Hartmanns von Aue,* Dr. Monsterberg-Münckenau gives a unique classification of the uses of the infinitive, and on page 7 declares that "nie ist der blosse Infinitiv bei Hartmann Subject." Despite this statement, he gives examples from Hartmann of what others consider the subjective use of the infinitive; and all recent authorities[8] tell us that the infinitive is found as subject in Middle High German. But the usage, especially as to the presence or omission of the preposition with the subjective infinitive in both Middle High German and in New High German, has diverged so far from the earlier status represented in Old High German and in Anglo-Saxon that it seems useless for our purpose to cite examples. Suffice it to say that the confusion between uninflected infinitive and inflected infinitive grows in Middle High German, and becomes almost hopeless in New High German.

In Old Saxon we have clear examples of the inflected infinitive as subject,

[1] From Denecke, *l. c.*, p. 20.
[2] *Ibidem, l. c.*, p. 22.
[3] *Ibidem, l. c.*, p. 23.
[4] *Ibidem, l. c.*, p. 66.
[5] *Ibidem, l. c.*, p. 70.
[6] *Ibidem, l. c.*, p. 71.
[7] Denecke, *l. c.*, p. 23.
[8] See Michels, *l. c.*, § 245.

with dativel verbs and verbal phrases: — *Hel.* 975: uuest thu, that us so *girisid* allaro rehto gihuuilig *te gifulleanne;* [1] *ib.* 3138: *god is* it her *te uuesanne.*[2] In the following the uninflected infinitive may be considered as subject or as predicate nominative: *Hel.* 5825: ik uuet that is iu ist niud *sehan* an theson stene innan.[3]

It seems probable, therefore, that the use of the infinitive, whether uninflected or inflected, as the subject of active verbs, is of native origin in the Germanic languages; and that the differentiation between the two infinitives is much the same as in Anglo-Saxon: often the dativel verbs or verbal phrases cause the inflected (or in Gothic the prepositional) infinitive to be used as subject instead of the uninflected.

The passive infinitive as subject, as, indeed, the passive infinitive in any use, is very rare in the earlier Germanic languages. Concerning the passive infinitive in general, we know that in Gothic the passive infinitive of the Greek is usually rendered by an active infinitive; that, while the passive infinitive is not infrequent in some Old High German translations, as in the *Benedictiner-Regel*, in the better translations it is often avoided, and that in the more original prose it is almost unknown, only two examples (with an auxiliary) occurring in Otfrid; that the passive infinitive is not frequent in Old Saxon or in Old Norse. The situation, therefore, in the Germanic languages as a whole as regards the passive infinitive is strikingly similar to that found in Anglo-Saxon. See Denecke, *l. c.*, p. 5; Pratje, *l. c.*, pp. 78, 80; Streitberg,[2] *l. c.*, § 312; Wilmanns, *l. c.*, p. 165; Falk and Torp, *l. c.*, p. 194; Kahle, *l. c.*, § 432; Löffler, *l. c.*, pp. 10–11; Öberg, *l. c.*, pp. 24–25.

II. THE OBJECTIVE INFINITIVE.

It is clearly out of the question at this place to do much more than call attention to a few of the most striking instances of the interchange of uninflected infinitive and of inflected infinitive as object in the Germanic languages other than Anglo-Saxon.

As in Anglo-Saxon, so in the other Germanic languages the object infinitive is very common with verbs (1) of commanding, (2) of causing and permitting, and (3) of sense perception, as may be seen by a brief inspection of the treatises named for the respective languages at the beginning of this chapter. It is far less common with other groups of verbs.

According to the statistics of Dr. A. Köhler, there is next to no interchange of simple infinitive and of prepositional infinitive as object in Gothic. True, a few verbs that he discusses under the objective use [4] (*giban, saihvan, meljan, anabiudan, sokjan*) are followed by both the simple infinitive and the prepositional infinitive, but each time he holds that the prepositional infinitive is final, not objective, in which supposition he is usually correct As, however, we saw the same sort of wavering between the two infinitives in the Anglo-Saxon cognates, *beodan* and *secan*, I cite an example each of *anabiudan* and of *sokjan* followed by the prepositional infinitive: *L.* 4.10: þatei aggilum seinaim

[1] From Steig, *l. c.*, p. 493. [2] *Ibidem*, *l. c.*, p. 496.
[3] *Ibidem*, *l. c.*, p. 344. Steig, however, considers that *sehan* modifies *niud*. See p. 264 below.
[4] Köhler,[2] A., *l. c.*, pp. 435–450.



High German;[1] ***forhten***, an accusative of the thing or
itive of cause;[2] ***gibiotan***, a dative of the person and an
;[3] and ***beginnan***, an accusative or a genitive.[4] In the
after ***gibot*** in ***Tatian*** 196.34, quoted above, as already
e absence of inflection is due to its remoteness from the
n 83.6, the inflected infinitive may be due in part to the
d in the Latin original.

, I ignore the objective infinitive in Middle High German
Dr. Monsterberg-Münckenau,[1] *l. c.*, p. 11, denies this use to
what others consider such infinitives are abundant therein;
e High German the confusion between uninflected and in-
nfinitives grows rapidly.
German the differentiation between the two is as difficult as
sh.
n a similar interchange between the uninflected infinitive and
nfinitive is found after ***giuualdan:*** ***Hel.*** 5345, 5346: that ik
so thik *te spildianne* an speres orde, so *ti quellianne* an crucium,
an.[5] In Old Saxon, ***uualdan*** governs the instrumental or the
the exchange of uninflected for inflected infinitive in the pre-
ple is probably due, not only to the double regimen of ***uualdan***,
the remoteness of the third infinitive from the chief verb. In all
the original construction was with the inflected infinitive.

llowing verbs have only the inflected infinitive as object in the Old
man texts discussed by Denecke: ***luston*** and ***lusten***, 'desiderare';
'studere'; *wizzan*, 'cognoscere'; ***argezzan***, 'oblivisci'; ***sich bichnaan*** (?),
re'; *leren*, 'docere'; ***gizeihhanon***, 'demonstrare'; ***farbiotan***, 'pro-
; and the following in Old Saxon, according to Steig, *l. c.*, pp. 491–494:
, 'recommend'; *gemanagfeldian* (?), 'multiply'; ***linon***, 'learn'; ***menian***
d'; *thenkan*, 'think,' 'think of'; ***ruokan***, 'hope,' 'care'; ***biodan***, 'com-
.' Even a cursory examination of the examples in which these words
, will show that in the main the inflected infinitive represents an 'indirect
' in the sense in which that term was defined above, in Chapter II, p. 61.

As in the case of the subjective infinitive, so with the objective infinitive
e statistics accessible to me are too incomplete to warrant speaking with con-
lence concerning the origin of this use in the Germanic languages other than
nglo-Saxon. But so far as it goes, the evidence seems to me to tend to show
that the idiom is native in the languages considered, both with the uninflected
infinitive and with the inflected infinitive, and for the same kinds of reason
that were given in the discussion of the idiom in Anglo-Saxon. Moreover, the
grounds of differentiation between the uninflected infinitive and the inflected
infinitive, in the objective use, appear to be substantially the same in the Ger-
manic languages in general as in Anglo-Saxon: in the main, the simple infini-
tive only is u verbs governing an accusative; the inflected infinitive
only, w ning an indirect case; both infinitives, with verbs of
double

as object is very rare in the Germanic languages, and

[1] *Ibidem*, p. 34.
[2] *Ibidem*, p. 12.
[3] From Pratje, *l. c.*, p. 73.
[4] Delbrück,[1] *l. c.*, p. 112.

usually, when it occurs, is due to foreign influence, as in the Old High German *Tatian* 145.1: thanne thisu ellu *biginnent gientot wesan* = cum haec omnia *incipient consummari.*[1] See the note on the passive infinitive as subject in section i of this chapter and the references there given.

"The retained object" with passive verbs is rare in the Germanic languages. Grimm, *l. c.*, IV, p. 143, records no example from the Gothic and only one example from the Old Norse (hann *kvadhst vera* brautingi einn ok utlendr, fornm. sög. 2, 73); and only two from Old High German (N. Cap. 318[a]: dannan *wirt* er sie *gesaget zunden;* N. Arist. 386[b]: *ist* er *gesaget* ouch *wesen* homo). Dr. Rannow, *l. c.*, p. 99, tells us that, of the 14 examples of the infinitive as retained object in the Latin original of Isidor, only two are kept in the Old High German. Professors Falk and Torp, *l. c.*, p. 196, declare that "En 'nominativ med infinitiv' i strengere forstand (som passiv of 'akkusativ med infinitiv,' hvorom se § 128) findes saaledes ikke i oldnorsk;" but they give several examples that in my judgment belong here: see my quotation from them in section iii of this chapter.

III. OTHER SUBSTANTIVAL USES OF THE INFINITIVE.

In my reading I have found only a few examples of other substantival uses of the infinitive in the kindred Germanic languages. They are as follows: —

A. AS A PREDICATE NOMINATIVE.

In Gothic: *Rom.* 10.6: þat-*ist* Xristu dalaþ *attiuhan* = τοῦτ' ἔστι Χριστὸν καταγαγεῖν; similarly *Rom.* 10.7; *Rom.* 7.10, in which latter the Gothic infinitive translates a Greek pronoun; with article: *Mk.* 9.10: hva *ist* þata us dauþaim *usstandan?* = τί ἐστι τὸ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστῆναι;[2]

Of this use in the Scandinavian languages, Professors Falk and Torp, *l. c.*, p. 196, speak as follows: "Som rent prædikatsord kan infinitiven kun sjelden forekomme: sligt er at friste Gud; dette maa kaldes at komme fra asken i ilden. Derimod staar det oftere som del af prædikatet. Saaledes i oldnorsk ved *þykkja: þeim þotti hann vera katr.* Videre ved de refleksive verber som betyder 'sige sig at være:' *hon lezk vera læknir.* Endelig undertiden, men yderst sjelden, ved passiv af de i § 126 nævnte verber: *rytningar eru fyrirboðnir at bera* (det er forbudt at bære dolke); samt ved passiv af verbet *sja* (§ 127): *varu senar storar eldingar fljuga or norðri; var þa seinn eldligr stǫpull falla af himni.* Ellers anvendes ved passive verber en sætning med *at: Helgi ok Svafa, er sagt, at væri endrborin* = siges at være gjenfødt. En 'nominativ med infinitiv' i strengere forstand (som passiv af 'akkusativ med infinitiv,' hvorom se § 28) findes saaledes ikke i oldnorsk." See, too, Lund, *l. c.*, pp. 376–378.

In Old High German: *Tatian* 327.13: wisa ist *zi bigrabanne* = mos est *sepelire.*[3]

In Old Saxon: *Hel.* 5825: see p. 233 above.

Clearly my examples are too few to warrant any conclusion as to the origin of this idiom in the Germanic languages.

[1] From Wilmanns, *l. c.*, p. 165.

[2] From Köhler,[2] A., *l. c.*, pp. 421–422. In *Mk.* 9.10, the infinitive may be subjective, as is claimed by Bernhardt,[2] *l. c.*, p. 111.

[3] From Denecke, *l. c.*, p. 70.

B. AS AN APPOSITIVE.

In Gothic: *II. Cor.* 7.11: saihv auk silbo þata bi guþ *saurgan* izwis hvelauda gatawida izwis usdaudein = *ἰδοὺ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο, τὸ κατὰ θεόν λυπηθῆναι ὑμᾶς πόσην κατειργάσατο ὑμῖν σπουδήν*;[1] *Mk.* 2.9: Hvaþar ist azetizo, *du qiþan* þamma usliþin: afletanda þus frawaurhteis þeinos, þau *quiþan:* urreis etc. = *τί ἐστιν εὐκοπώτερον, εἰπεῖν τῷ παραλυτικῷ, Ἀφέωνταί σοι αἱ ἁμαρτίαι, ἢ εἰπεῖν· Ἔγειρε*, etc.

In the Scandinavian languages: *S. E.* 32.1: helzt vill hann þat taka til *at þreyta* drykkju við einhvern mann; *S. E.* 75.5: hon hafði þess heit strengt *at eiga* þann einn mann.[2]

In Old High German: *Otfrid* IV, 17.29: sie sahun ungimacha, egeslicha sacha, druhtin iro *bintan;*[3] — *B. R.* 39.7: hweo unsenfta racha intfianc *zekerihtanne* . . . indi *deonoon* = quam dificilem rem suscepit, *regere* . . . et *servire;*[4] — *Ev. Matth.* 1.14: Hwedar ist gazelira *za quedanne* . . . odo *za quhedanne?* = Quid est facilius *dicere* . . . aut *dicere?*[5]

Again, the collection of examples is too small to warrant any confident deductions as to the origin of the infinitive as an appositive in the Germanic languages.

C. AS THE OBJECT OF A PREPOSITION.

It seems unnecessary to give illustrations here of the well known use of the infinitive as the object of various prepositions other than those representing the Anglo-Saxon *to* in the kindred Germanic languages, — a topic treated well in Grimm, in Erdmann, and in Denecke.

IV. PREDICATIVE INFINITIVE WITH AUXILIARY VERBS.

The predicative use of the uninflected infinitive with auxiliary verbs is so common in the Germanic languages other than Anglo-Saxon as not to call for illustration here. Of the inflected infinitive in this use I cite a few illustrations: —

In Gothic: no instance of the prepositional infinitive is found with the auxiliaries, according to A. Köhler,[2] *l. c.*, p. 425.

In Old Norse, according to Falk and Torp, *l. c.*, p. 197, both the uninflected infinitive and the prepositional occur with *kunna*, 'can;' *þora*, 'dare;' *þurfa*, 'need;' *eiga*, 'own,' 'ought.' See, too, Delbrück,[3] *l. c.* p. 355.

In Old High German: — *eigan: Denkm.* lvi. 97: *ci arstandanne eigun = resurgere habent;*[6] — *Otfrid* V. 19.2: *zi sorganne eigun* wir bi thaz;[7] — *scal:* Otfrid III, 20.124: waz *scal* es avur thanne nu so *zi fragenne*[8] (though Denecke, *l. c.*, p. 10, holds that the infinitive here does not depend on *scal*).

In Old Saxon: — *can: Hel.* 2531: nio hie so uuido ni *can te githenkeanne* thegan an is muode.[9]

That the predicative use of the uninflected infinitive active with auxiliary verbs is native to the Germanic languages, as to Anglo-Saxon, is indisputable;

[1] From Köhler,[2] A., *l. c.*, p. 422. — Commenting on the difference between *Mat.* 9.5, in which we have the simple infinitive (*hvapar ist raihtis azetiso giban*) and *Mk.* 2.9, in which we have the prepositional infinitive, Gabelentz and Loebe, *l. c.*, p. 202, declare: "... scheint der Unterschied zu sein: ersteres heisst: was ist leichter, zu sagen . . ., letzeres: was ist leichter zu sagen. . . ."

[2] From Nygaard, *l. c.*, pp. 226 *f.* [3] From Erdmann,[1] O., *l. c.*, p. 199. [4] From Denecke, *l. c.*, p. 59.

[5] *Ibidem*, p. 71. [6] From Denecke, *l. c.*, p. 61. [7] From Erdmann,[1] O., *l. c.*, p. 212.

[8] *Ibidem*, p. 212. See, too, Delbrück,[3] *l. c.*, p. 355.

[9] From Pratje, *l. c.*, p. 73. See, too, Delbrück,[3] *l. c.*, p. 355, who says that *thurban*, also, has the prepositional infinitive as its complement.

this use of the inflected infinitive is sporadic except with *eigan* (*agan*), concerning which see above, Chapter IV, pp. 80–82; and except with the several verbs named under Old Norse above.

On the other hand, the passive infinitive with auxiliaries is almost unknown in the more original prose (only two examples occur in Otfrid [1]), and in the prose translations usually renders a Latin passive infinitive. In a word, as in Anglo-Saxon, so in the Germanic languages the idiom is borrowed. See the references at the end of section i in this chapter.

V. PREDICATIVE INFINITIVE WITH VERBS OF MOTION AND OF REST (EXCLUSIVE OF "(W)UTON").

Of the predicative infinitive after verbs of motion, as in the Anglo-Saxon *com . . . fleogan*, I find no examples in Gothic or in Old Norse unless the following, quoted from Grimm, *l. c.*, IV, pp. 107–109, be such: — Gothic: *Mk.* 1.44: *gagg þuk ataugjan* = ὕπαγε, σεαυτὸν δεῖξον; *Mat.* 5.24: *gagg gasibjon* = ὕπαγε, διαλλάγηθι; *J.* 9.7: *gagg þwahan* = ὕπαγε νίψαι; — Old Norse: *Hym.* 14.7: *baþ sioða ganga* = jussit *coctum iri; Völ.* 56.3: *gengr vega; ib.* 54.3: *ferr vega;* — *ib.* 55.1: *kemr vega.*

Nor have I found any example in Old High German unless these quoted from Grimm, *l. c.*, IV., p. 109, be such: *O.* III, 24.25: *ilti loufan; N. Cap.* 361[a]: *ilton chomen.*

With a verb of rest we find the predicative infinitive in Notker's translation of Capella [2] (782.9: stuont si sorgen) and in Otfrid. Concerning the latter Erdmann,[1] *l. c.*, p. 203, speaks as follows: "*gistantan* hat noch die Bedeutung: *dastehen*, indem der Inf. die aus dem ruhenden Zustande sich entwickelnde Tätigkeit angibt, in den Stellen: I, 9.23: *gistuantun* sie tho *scouon;* IV, 18.24: ih *gistuant* thin *warten* (dagegen *stantan* und *irstantan* mit *zi* und Inf., §§ 350–352)," to which he adds: "dann bezeichnet es formelhaft den Anfang einer Handlung: I, 17.42: *gistuant* er *thingon*," etc.

According to Monsterberg-Münckenau, *l. c.*, p. 31, this infinitive is not found after verbs of motion in Hartmann, but instead we have the predicative present participle, already illustrated in Chapter XV, section i. But this infinitive is found after verbs of rest in Hartmann, in the following, I think, though the infinitive is considered final by Monsterberg-Münckenau (p. 29): *E.* 9699: als si frou Enite gesach dort *sitzen weinen; G.* 2279: da ich in da *stende* sach *klagen.* It seems, however, that in Middle High German, while the present participle was occasionally used, the preterite participle was used habitually, as in the following: *Iw.* 785: *kom gegangen; Mar.* 170.28: *kom geflogen; Parz.* 16.23: *kom gesigelt*,[3] an idiom that, according to Grimm, *l. c.*, IV, p. 9, is unknown in Old High German, but which, as is well known, is very common in New High German.

After verbs of rest in New High German, of course, the predicative infinitive is very common, as in *blieb sitzen, stehen*, etc.: see Grimm, *l. c.*, IV, p. 10.

But in Old Saxon we have the predicative infinitive after verbs of motion quite as in Anglo-Saxon, only not so many verbs are so used. According to Steig,

[1] Wilmanns, *l. c.*, p. 165. [2] From Manthey, *l. c.*, p. 39. Cf., too, Grimm, *l. c.*, IV, p. 106.
[3] The examples are from Grimm, *l. c.*, IV, pp. 9, 146.

l. c., p. 342, we find *kuman*, 'come,' followed by *gangan*, 'go,' *faran*, 'go,' *gifaran*, 'go,' *suogan*, 'blow,' and *uuallan*, 'boil;' *giuuitan*, 'go,' followed by *gangan*, *sithon*, 'journey,' and *faran*, 'go;' and *sithon* followed by *gangan*. Typical examples are: *Hel.* 503: tho *quam* en uuif *gangan; ib.* 5796: thuo thar *suogan quam* engil thes alouualdon fan radure *faran;* — *ib.* 425: *giuuitun* im te Bethlehem *siðon;* — *ib.* 5783: *sithodun* idisi te them grabe *gangan*.[1]

I believe that the predicative use of the infinitive after verbs of motion in the Low Germanic languages was a native idiom, and sprang from an original final use, as explained above, Chapter XIV, pp. 194 ff.; and that the predicative use of the infinitive after verbs of rest was native to the High Germanic as well as to the Low[2] Germanic languages, and that it, too, sprang from the final use.

As in Anglo-Saxon, so in the other Germanic languages the predicative present participle was at times substituted for the predicative infinitive after verbs of motion and of rest: see Chapter XV, section i.

VI. THE PREDICATIVE INFINITIVE WITH "(W)UTON."

The predicative infinitive with *(w)uton* is found only in the Low Germanic languages, so far as I can discover. Three examples are found in the *Heliand*, according to Steig, *l. c.*, 344: — 223: *uuita kiasan* im oðrana niudsamna naman; 228: *uuita* is thana fader *fragon;* 3995: *uuita* im *uuonian* mid, *tholoian* mit usson thiodne. In Grimm, *l. c.*, IV, p. 98, footnote, a number of examples are given of the Mnl. *weten: weten* hem *volghen! weten vechten! weten gaen! weten varen!* etc.

In the Low Germanic languages this predicative use possibly was native, and arose from an original final use. Compare what is said concerning the origin of this idiom in Anglo-Saxon, above, Chapter XIV, pp. 199 f.

VII. PREDICATIVE INFINITIVE WITH "BEON" ("WESAN").

The predicative infinitive of necessity with the verb *to be* is not found in Gothic, according to Wilmanns, *l. c.*, p. 128. Nor, despite the statement of Dr. Karl Köhler, *l. c.*, p. 8, to this effect, does *du saihvan* seem analogous in *Matthew* 6.1: Atsaihviþ armaion izwara ni taujan in andwairþja manne *du saihvan* im = Προσέχετε τὴν δικαιοσύνην ὑμῶν μὴ ποιεῖν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τὸ θεαθῆναι αὐτοῖς.

But the idiom is common in Old Norse. Of it Messrs. Falk and Torp, *l. c.*, p. 206, speak as follows: "Infinitiv føies paa friere vis till verber i folgende tre tilfælde: a. Til verberne 'være' og 'bli (vorde).' Ved 'være' betegnes enten en pligt, nødvendighed eller en mulighed (§ 122, 3): *þer er at þegja; hvat er at gera; nu er at segja; gnyr var at heyra;* der var icke Korn at bekomme (P. Cl.); der var ikke et menneske at se; han er ikke (til) at spøge med. Merk: *ok var þar mikilli qsku af at moka,* hvor vi anvender personligt udtryk. Ved 'vorde (bli)' betegnes en nødvendighed eller en sikker fremtidighed (= komme til at,

[1] From Steig, *l. c.*, pp. 337–340.

[2] The views of Grimm, of Steig, and of Pratje concerning this idiom have been given in Chapter XIV, section v.

§ 96): *verð ek nu (at) flyja* (jeg blir nødt til at flygte); nw worder jeg ath fly (K. Magn.); thi worder ieg nw ath kallis en forredere (Chr. Ped.); sporsmaalet blir at anse for uløseligt."

In Old High German this infinitive, inflected, is quite common, and corresponds, in the closer translations, usually to a gerundial periphrastic: *Tatian* 133.24: win *zi sentenne ist* = vinum *mittendum est; ib.* 189.12: sun *ist zi sellenne* = filius *tradendus est;* — *Is.* 9.10: hwemu *ist* dhiz nu *zi quhedanne* = cui ergo *dicitur*.[1] So common is the idiom in Middle High German and in New High German that illustration is unnecessary here. But I quote Wilmanns's statement concerning the voice of the infinitive in this construction, *l. c.*, p. 167: "Noch entschiedener gilt passive Auffassung für die Infinitive mit *zu*, durch die wir neben manchen Verben bezeichnen, dass etwas geschehen kann oder muss (§ 70, 6). In der jetzigen Sprache schliessen sie sich namentlich an *es ist* (*steht, bleibt*): *Es ist* oder *steht zu erwarten, ist nicht zu sagen, nicht auszuhalten*, oder mit bestimmtem Subjekt, das zugleich Objekt des Infinitivs ist: *Er ist hart zu tadeln; sein Übermut ist nicht zu ertragen; eine schwere Pflicht ist* oder *bleibt dir noch zu erfüllen.* Überall behauptet sich die reine aktive Form."

Once in Otfrid we have after *sin* an uninflected infinitive denoting purpose: II, 14.100: sie *warun* in theru burg, *koufen* iro notdurft.[2] Similarly in Old Saxon, according to Pratje, *l. c.*, p. 70, we have an uninfected infinitive of purpose in *Heliand* 389: thia thar . . . ute *uuarun* uueros an uuahtu uuiggeo *gomean*.[3]

In the *Benedictinerregel* 114.5 (sciat se *servaturum* = *ze haltane*) we have an inflected infinitive after *sin* denoting futurity. In the Old Saxon *Psalms*, 70.18 (thie *te cumene ist* = quae *ventura est*[4]), we have the inflected infinitive after *ist* denoting futurity and translating, as in Anglo-Saxon, a Latin future active participle.

But the predicative infinitive of necessity is not found in Old Saxon.

According to Wilmanns, *l. c.*, p. 128, the infinitive of necessity in the Germanic languages arose from an original final use: "Eine eigentümliche Bedeutung gewinnt der Inf. mit *zu* in Verbindung mit *sein;* mit der Vorstellung des Zieles, auf das die Präposition hinweist, verbindet sich die Vorstellung der Notwendigkeit." This does not, however, preclude the possibility that this infinitive was first suggested to the Germanic peoples by the Latin gerundial periphrastic, and at the outset was only an imitation thereof, — a theory we found applicable to Anglo-Saxon and that seems also applicable to the Germanic languages as a whole, especially in view of the frequency with which this infinitive is found as a translation of the Latin gerundial periphrastic in Old High German.[5]

The only examples of the inflected infinitive of futurity are in translation of the Latin future participle, as shown above.

[1] From Denecke, p. 60. See, too, Wilmanns, *l. c.*, p. 128.
[2] From Erdmann,[1] O., *l. c.*, p. 204. Cf. section x, 2, below.
[3] Cf., too, Steig, *l. c.*, p. 316; and see section x, 2, below.
[4] From Steig, *l. c.*, p. 489.
[5] After writing the above, I came upon the following in Wunderlich,[2] *l. c.*, I, p. 384: "Besonders begünstigt wurde die Ausbreitung dieses Infinitivs mit *zu* in der althochdeutschen Uebersetserlitteratur durch die Notwendigkeit, das lat. Gerundium und Gerundivum wiedersugeben: *Pediu ist nu sesagens . . . An dero sage ih tes ahton searest se fragenne, demonstrandum . . . inquirendum*, Notker, Boethius, 131[8] u. a."

VIII. PREDICATIVE INFINITIVE WITH ACCUSATIVE SUBJECT.

I. THE INFINITIVE UNINFLECTED.

A. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

AS OBJECT.

The predicative infinitive with accusative subject, in object clauses, is common in the Germanic languages after (1) verbs of commanding, (2) verbs of causing and permitting, and (3) verbs of sense perception, although, as stated above, p. 107, some scholars, including Grimm, prefer to consider the infinitive after these verbs as objective rather than predicative. And after these verbs the idiom is common in the more original literature (as in Otfrid in Old High German) as well as in the translations (as in Gothic; in Tatian and Notker in Old High German).[1]

A few examples will suffice for illustration: —

(1) Verbs of Commanding:

Gothic: — *Mat.* 8.18: *haihait galeiþan siponjans* hindar marein = ἐκέλευσεν ἀπελθεῖν εἰσ τὸ πέραν (with an accusative implied in the preceding clause).

Old Norse: — *bað hann segja* ser.[2]

Old High German: — *Tatian* 161.38: *heiz mih queman = jube me venire;*[3] — *ib.* 161.1: *gibot* her thie *jungiron stigan* . . . inti *furifaran = jussit discipulos ascendere* . . . et *precedere.*[4]

Old Saxon: *Hel.* 5831: *hiet sia* eft thanan *gangan* endi *faran* te them jungron, *seggian*[5] etc.

(2) Verbs of Causing and Permitting:

Gothic: *Mat.* 8.22: jah *let* þans *dauþans filhan* seinans dauþans = καὶ ἄφες τοὺς νεκροὺς θάψαι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νεκρούς; *Mat.* 5.32: *taujiþ þo horinon* = ποιεῖ αὐτὴν μοιχευθῆναι.

Old Norse: *leto hann fara* nauðgan með ser.[6]

Old High German: *Tatian* 127.7: *laz mih fursagen = permitte* mihi *renuntiare;*[7]

Old Saxon: *Hel.* 1986: tho *let* hie that *uuerod siðon.*[8]

(3) Verbs of Sense Perception:

Gothic: *J.* 6.62: jabai nu *gasaihviþ sunu mans ussteigan* = ἐὰν οὖν θεωρῆτε τὸν υἱὸν . . . ἀναβαίνοντα. [But more usually this and the other verbs of this group are followed by the accusative and the predicative participle in Gothic, in strict conformity with the Greek original.[9]]

Old Norse: *sal ser* hon *standa.*[10]

Old High German: *Otfrid* I, 25.23: *gisah* er *queman* gotes *geist;* — *ib.* I, 25.15: then *fater hort* er *sprechan.*[11]

[1] See for Gothic: Apelt,[1] *l. c.*, pp. 280–297; Streitberg,[2] *l. c.*, pp. 211–212; Van der Meer, *l. c.*, pp. 55–59; — for Old Norse: Falk and Torp, *l. c.*, pp. 201–203; Kahle, *l. c.*, p. 139; Lund, *l. c.*, pp. 381–384; Nygaard, *l. c.*, pp. 231–232; for Old High German: Apelt,[2] *l. c.*, pp. 1–7; Denecke, *l. c.*, pp. 25–53; Erdmann,[1] O., *l. c.*, pp. 205–210; Wilmanns, *l. c.*, pp. 118–119; — for Middle High German and New High German: Apelt,[2] *l. c.*, pp. 8–21; Blats, *l. c.*, II, pp. 557–569; Herford, *l. c.*, pp. 8–13; Wilmanns, *l. c.*, pp. 120–121; — for Old Saxon: Pratje, *l. c.*, pp. 70–72; Steig, *l. c.*, pp. 470–484; Behaghel,[2] *l. c.*, pp. 211–212.

[2] From Kahle, *l. c.*, p. 139.

[3] From Denecke, *l. c.*, p. 35.

[4] *Ibidem*, p. 41.

[5] From Steig, *l. c.*, p. 476.

[6] From Kahle, *l. c.*, p. 139.

[7] From Denecke, *l. c.*, p. 35.

[8] From Steig, *l. c.*, p. 477.

[9] See Streitberg,[2] *l. c.*, pp. 211, 216.

[10] From Kahle, *l. c.*, p. 139.

[11] From Erdmann,[1] O., *l. c.*, pp. 207–208.

Old Saxon: *Hel.* 474: he *gisah* that *barn cuman;* — *ib.* 2777: so sie that *gihordun* thea *magad sprekan.*[1]

But with (4) verbs of mental perception the construction is less common, and with (5) verbs of declaring it is almost unknown, except in the translations. After (4) and (5) we have what Grimm called the "genuine" accusative and infinitive construction.

This idiom is frequent in Gothic, but I quote only a few examples: — (4) Verbs of Mental Perception: *Mk.* 14.64: eis allai *gadomidedun ina* skula *wisan* dauþau = οἱ δὲ πάντες κατέκρινον αὐτὸν ἔνοχον εἶναι θανάτου; *L.* 4.41: unte *wissedun* silban Xristu *ina wisan* = ὅτι ᾔδεισαν τὸν χριστὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι;[2] — (5) Verbs of Declaring: *Mk.* 8.27: hvana *mik qiþand* mans *wisan* = τίνα με λέγουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι εἶναι;[3] J. 12.29: *qeþun þeihvon wairþan* = ἔλεγον βροντὴν γεγονέναι.[3] In most instances given by Apelt[1] the accusative with infinitive is in translation of the same idiom in the Greek original, — a fact that makes me doubt whether the idiom is native to Gothic after these verbs (groups (4) and (5)). Apelt,[1] *l. c.*, p. 297, does not go so far: "Da bei der Mehrzahl der oben angeführten Verba ein Nachweis darüber nicht möglich war, dass der mit ihnen verbundene Acc. c. Inf. als dem Gothischen fremdartig anzusehen wäre, so sind wir nicht berechtigt, der Constr. für diese Fälle das Bürgerrecht in der Sprache abzusprechen. Im allgemeinen jedoch scheint mir so viel fest zu stehen, dass der Gothe aus übergrosser Treue gegen das griechische Original nicht selten über das seiner Sprache Geläufige hinausgieng."[4] Dr. Zeitlin is more pronounced against foreign influence: "Gothic, and, even more, Icelandic, show the locution likewise after verbs of declaration, where the relation of the accusative to the main verb is no longer obvious. In the former, this phase of the construction has sometimes been unnecessarily attributed to the influence of Greek."[5] Professor Streitberg admits the close correspondence between the Gothic and the Greek, but would not deny the construction to Gothic: "Wenn diese Konstruktion auch zweifellos unter dem Einfluss des griech. Originals weit häufiger erscheint, als es sonst wohl der Fall gewesen wäre, so haben wir doch schwerlich das Recht, sie ganz dem Gotischen abzusprechen, da im Nordischen eine analoge Fügung nicht ungebräuchlich ist."[6] With all due respect, this judgment, it seems to me, lays too much weight on the apparent state of affairs in the Scandinavian languages and too little weight on that in the High Germanic and the Low Germanic languages.

In Old Norse, also, the idiom is not infrequent after these two groups of verbs. Examples[7] are: — (4) Verbs of Mental Perception: *Egilss.* 169: ek *hygg hann vera* engan vin þinn; — *Sn. Edd.* 148: þeir *truðu hann* guð *vera;* — *Völusp.* 62.19: *ask veit* ek *standa;* — (5) Verbs of Declaring: *Hrafnk.* 13: hann *kvað þat* eigi *vera;* — *Kristn.* 22: þeir *sögðu okkr eiga* börn saman.

The idiom is frequent, also, in the closer Old High German translations (Notker[8] and Tatian[9]), in both authors, especially the latter, corresponding

[1] From Steig, *l. c.*, pp. 480–481. [2] From Apelt,[1] *l. c.*, p. 294. [3] *Ibidem, l. c.*, p. 292.

[4] Apelt[1] then adds that the accusative and infinitive after impersonals is certainly of foreign origin, concerning which see below, p. 245.

[5] Zeitlin,[1] *l. c.*, p. 40. — Bernhardt,[2] *l. c.*, p. 113, says: "Man hat im zusats des subjects den einfluss der lateinischen version erkennen wollen; allein das Altnordische und Angelsächsische bieten ganz ähnliches, wie denn überhaupt die construction des accusativs mit infinitiv in der Edda und im Beowulf hinreichend belegt ist, um zu erkennen, dass dieselbe den germanischen sprachen keineswegs fremd war, auch nach verben wie *wiljan* und *bidjan.*" [6] Streitberg,[2] *l. c.*, p. 212.

[7] From Lund, *l. c.*, pp. 381–383. See, too, Falk and Torp, *l. c.*, p. 201.

[8] See Erdmann,[1] O., *l. c.*, pp. 209–210; Manthey, *l. c.*, pp. 44–46; Wunderlich,[1] *l. c.*, pp. 122–123.

[9] See Denecke, *l. c.*, pp. 34–44.

very closely to the original Latin: (4) Verbs of Mental Perception: *Tatian* 335.41: *wantun sih* geist *gisehan* = *existimabant se* spiritum *videre;*[1] — *ib.* 136.32: ih *weiz megin uzgangen* = ego *novi virtutem exisse;* — (5) Verbs of Declaring: *Tatian* 182.37: wenan *quedent mih* man *wesen* mannes sun? = quem *me* dicunt homines *esse* filium hominis? *ib.* 334.18: *quaedent inan leben* = *dicunt eum vivere.*[2] But it is found only twice in Isidor[3] (each time in translation of the Latin), though occurring thirty-six times in the Latin original; and it is unknown in Otfrid.[4]

These facts lead me to believe that the so-called "genuine" accusative-with-infinitive construction was not a native idiom in Old High German, — a conclusion substantially identical with that of most investigators of the idiom in Old High German. In his *Syntax der Sprache Otfrids* (1874), I, p. 208, after stating that the accusative with the infinitive in Otfrid is about as restricted as in present German, Erdmann continues: "Dasselbe gilt nicht von den ahd. Prosaikern. Bei ihnen, die meist direct und wörtlich aus dem Lateinischen übersetzen, finden wir eine viel ausgedehntere Anwendung des Acc. mit dem Inf., die entschieden dem Lateinischen nachgebildet, in originaler deutscher Rede aber, wie ich glaube, im neunten und zehnten Jahrhundert ebensowenig heimisch gewesen ist als im neunzehnten." In the following year (1875), Dr. Otto Apelt concluded his special investigation, "Bemerkungen über den Accusativus cum Infinitivo im Althochdeutschen und Mittelhochdeutschen," with these words: "Das Ergebniss der Untersuchung für das Ahd. ist demnach dahin zusammenzufassen, dass sich in den literarischen Denkmälern dieser Periode keine genügenden Anhaltepunkte für die Ansicht bieten, dass der Gebrauch der Construction in der lebenden Sprache wesentlich über diejenigen Grenzen hinausgegangen wäre, innerhalb deren er sich noch bei uns bewegt, d. h. über die Anwendung derselben bei den Verbis der sinnlichen Wahrnehmung. Deutlich zeigte es sich, dass der Umfang, in welchem die Fügung erscheint, in umgekehrtem Verhältniss steht zu der Selbständigkeit der literarischen Production; je unabhängiger die Entstehung eines Werkes, um so geringer die Zahl der Fälle, in denen die Construction auftritt." This statement of Apelt is confirmed by the subsequent investigations of Denecke, *Der Gebrauch des Infinitivs bei den Ahd. Übersetzern des* 8. *and* 9. *Jahrhunderts* (1880), p. 53; of Wunderlich, *Beiträge zur Syntax des Notkers'chen Boethius* (1883?), p. 122; of Behaghel, *Die Deutsche Sprache* (1887), p. 127; of Rannow, *Der Satzbau des Ahd. Isidor im Verhältniss zur Latein. Vorlage* (1888), p. 92; and of Manthey, *Syntaktische Beobachtungen an Notkers Uebersetzung des Martianus Capella* (1903), pp. 44 ff.

But, on the other hand, not a few distinguished scholars have held that this so-called "genuine" accusative with infinitive was a native idiom in Old High German. So held Grimm, *l. c.*, IV, pp. 129 ff. So held Herzog, "Die Syntax des Infinitivs" (1873). So holds Professor Jolly, who, in his *Geschichte des Infinitivs* (1873), p. 260, declares: "Wenn aber im Got. sich hier wie überall schwer entscheiden lässt, ob idiomatische Constructionen vorliegen oder der Acc. cum Inf. dem griech. nachgebildet ist, so zeigt dagegen das Ahd. und Mhd. unwiderleglich, dass der Accus. c. Inf. unserer älteren Sprache in ziemlich weitem Umfange eigenthümlich war, worüber J. Grimm, Gramm., IV, 105 ff., ausführlich gehandelt hat." So holds Löhner, as cited by Rannow, *l. c.*, p. 92. So apparently holds Dr. Zeitlin, who, after quoting some examples of the accu-

[1] From Denecke, *l. c.*, pp. 37–38.
[2] See Rannow, *l. c.*, p. 93.
[3] *Ibidem*, pp. 38–39.
[4] See Erdmann, O., *l. c.*, p. 208.

sative with the infinitive after verbs of mental perception in Old High German (chiefly from Tatian and Notker) and of the accusative with predicate participle in Old High German, declares, *l. c.*, p. 32: "The persistence of the construction after these verbs of perception in Middle High German is an indication of its genuine Germanic character." On the same page he adds: "The accusative with infinitive after verbs of *speaking* is hardly found outside of Tatian and Notker, but we are not therefore justified in attributing it to Latin influence, since plentiful analogies exist in other Germanic dialects;" by which, I presume, he intends to refer to the Gothic and to the Old Norse. Indeed, Dr. Zeitlin goes so far as to declare that the accusative and infinitive in subjective clauses is also a native development in Old High German: see p. 246 below. So holds Professor Wilmanns, who, in his *Deutsche Grammatik* (1906), declares it difficult to determine how far the construction was native in High German ("wie weit er im Hochdeutschen heimisch war") because of the diversity of usage by Otfrid and by Notker; who allows that Notker "unter dem Einfluss des Lateinischen den Gebrauch der Konstruktion über seine ursprüngliche Grenzen hinausgetrieben hatte;" who allows that Latin influence is evident in the Middle High German writers and in some New High German authors; but who adds, on p. 121: "Aber wie stark auch die Einwirkung der lateinischen Schulsprache gewesen sein mag, so hat man doch anderseits zu bedenken, dass auch dem Germanischen von Anfang an der Akk. c. Inf. nicht fremd war, und dass man keinen Grund hat, für den ahd. Gebrauch so enge Grenzen vorauszusetzen, wie wir im Heliand und im Ags. finden."

But despite the eminence of some of these advocates of the theory that this construction was native to Old High German and despite the cleverness of some of their arguments, they do not seem to me to upset the interpretation given above, based as it is on abundance of material, gathered from various texts by various scholars of acknowledged accuracy and acumen.

In his monograph (1875) above quoted from, Dr. Apelt has shown that the so-called genuine accusative and infinitive is very rare in Middle High German, and, when found, is probably due to Latin influence. In New High German [1] the idiom is very rare, though, as Dr. Herford has shown in his "Ueber den Accusativ mit dem Infinitiv im Deutschen" (1881), not so rare as has occasionally been stated.

In Old Saxon [2] a few examples are found after verbs of mental perception, but none after verbs of declaring: *Hel.* 807: *fundun ina sittean* an them uuiha; — *ib.* 4771: *fand* sie *that barn* godes *slapen; ib.* 1590: that thu *us bedon leres.*

In a word, the situation in the Germanic languages as a whole is quite similar to that in Anglo-Saxon: the accusative and infinitive is quite common after verbs (1) of commanding, (2) of causing and permitting, and (3) of sense perception; [3] but is relatively rare after verbs (4) of mental perception, and is practically unknown after (5) verbs of declaring, except in the closer translations.

It is probable, therefore, that the idiom is native to the Germanic languages when occurring after verbs of groups (1), (2), and (3), and after a few verbs of group (4); but that it is due to foreign influence after some verbs in group (4) and after all verbs in group (5). Under the separate languages above I have

[1] See, too, Wilmanns, *l. c.*, p. 121, for an excellent brief statement as to the idiom in New High German; also Blatz, *l. c.*, II, pp. 557–569.

[2] See Pratje, *l. c.*, pp. 71–72; Steig, *l. c.*, pp. 480, 482–483.

[3] Except in Gothic: see above, p. 241.

stated with some fullness the grounds for this belief with respect to each, and in connection therewith have given a good deal of the history of the opinions concerning the construction. Here I need only add that the cumulative weight of the evidence should not be lost sight of.

Perhaps I should add here that some scholars, among them Drs. Becker, Grimberg, Primer, and Zeitlin, hold that the accusative with infinitive in the Germanic languages is in part a native development from the accusative with predicative participle, and that in the Germanic languages the latter idiom was prior to the former. In Chapters XIV and XV, however, I have tried to show that, while, in conformity with the Greek original, the accusative with predicative present participle is commoner in Gothic than is the accusative with predicative infinitive after verbs of sense perception, the reverse is the case in the Germanic languages as a whole, especially in Anglo-Saxon and in High German, and that in these languages the predicative infinitive was prior to the predicative present participle.

AS SUBJECT.

Despite Dr. Stoffel's contention that "we are almost forced to the conclusion that the *Acc. cum Inf.* as the logical subject of a quasi-impersonal verb, must once have been as common in the Germanic tongues as we find it to have been in the classical languages," [1] I must hold that, in the Germanic languages, as in Anglo-Saxon, the idiom is relatively rare, and occurs for the most part only in translations.

In Gothic we occasionally have the infinitive phrase as subject to the verb *to be* plus an adjective (*guþ ist, azetizo ist, gadob ist*, etc.), but, as Apelt,[1] *l. c.*, pp. 290–291, shows, only because of the influence of the Greek original, the Goth usually translating otherwise the Greek accusative and infinitive in such expressions. Examples are: (1) of accusative and infinitive: *L.* 16.17: iþ *azetizo ist himin* jah *airþa hindarleiþan* þau witodis ainana writ gadriusan = εὐκοπώτερον δέ ἐστι τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν παρελθεῖν etc.; — (2) of other translations: *Mk.* 10.25: *azetizo ist* ulbandau þairh þairko neþlos *galeiþan*, etc. = εὐκοπώτερόν ἐστιν κάμηλον . . . διελθεῖν, etc. This view as to the foreign origin of the accusative and infinitive as the subject of impersonals, in Gothic, though once opposed by Albrecht [2] and by Miklosich,[3] is now generally accepted: see Apelt,[1] *l. c.*, p. 290; Bernhardt,[2] *l. c.*, p. 113; Streitberg,[2] *l. c.*, p. 212; Zeitlin,[1] *l. c.*, p. 28; and Wilmanns, *l. c.*, p. 119. Quite recently, however, Professor G. O. Curme,[2] *l. c.*, pp. 359–367, has attempted to overthrow this theory, but without success in my judgment.

That the construction is rare, also, in Old Norse, I judge from the fact that I find no examples cited by Lund or by Falk and Torp.

In Old High German, too, the construction is rare [4] with impersonals, and as a rule is found only in translation of the same idiom in Latin. Usually, however, the translator uses another idiom, generally a dative dependent on the chief verb, with a subjective infinitive, either uninflected or inflected. Examples are: (1) of accusative and infinitive: *Tatian* 187.9: *gilimphit mih gangen* = oportet *me ambulare;*[5] — (2) of dative and infinitive: *Tatian* 85.22: *gilimphit*

[1] Stoffel,[2] *l. c.*, p. 54. [2] *L. c.*, p. 18. [3] Miklosich,[1] *l. c.*, p. 483.
[4] No one of the five Latin examples of his original is retained by Isidor: see Rannow, *l. c.*, pp. 87–88.
[5] From Denecke, *l. c.*, p. 42.

mir wesan = oportet me esse;[1] *ib.* 100.30: *gilimphit mir zi gotspellone = oportet me evangelizare.*[2] I, therefore, consider this idiom borrowed from the Latin originals in Old High German. But not so Dr. Zeitlin,[1] who, *l. c.*, p. 33, thus expresses his view: "In considering the usage with impersonal and neuter verbs we must remember that many Old High German expressions of this class govern an accusative case as direct object, *e. g.*, Otfrid V, 1.1: ist filu *manno* wuntar, 'great wonder is on the men;' *ib.* I, 9.27: wuntar was *thia menigi*, 'wonder was on the multitude;' *ib.* V, 6.14: thes *thih* mag wesan wola niot, 'of this *you* it may well be pleasing (you may well rejoice at this);' *ib.* V, 22.7: thes ist *sie* iamer filu niot, 'they are ever pleased at this;' *ib.* V, 9.11: ward wola *thiu selbun mennisgon.* When an object infinitive is added to sentences like the preceding, we have a combination which is hardly distinguishable from the free Latin accusative with infinitive. But it is quite apparent from these illustrations that the assumption of Latin influence is not necessary, that the accusative, indeed, is almost always felt as directly connected with the main verb, and that these cases, therefore, do not differ from the other categories of the accusative with infinitive which are found in Old High German." He then gives examples of the idiom after *gilustan* (?), *gilimphan*, and *bifahan*, all from Tatian except the first example, after *gilustan*, which seems doubtful to me. He concludes: "In Notker, impersonal verbs with this construction seem to follow Latin models in most cases, since often the accusative has no connection whatever with the main verb, which is followed by another substantive in the dative case as indirect object." Of his examples from Notker I cite only one: III, 124[b].29: fone diu ist not, chad si, misseliche namen *haben diu finuiu* und siu doh ein *uuesen*, 'hence it is necessary . . . *that the five should have* different names and *yet be* a single thing.' This is a clever, but to me not convincing plea: it allows more weight to a bare possibility than to the demonstrable and, as I believe, demonstrated origin of the construction in Gothic and in Anglo-Saxon; and it underrates the fact, stated by Dr. Zeitlin[1] (*l. c.*, p. 35), that the idiom is not found in Old Saxon.

In Old Saxon I find no example of the accusative and infinitive as subject, but frequent examples of the dative and subjective infinitive, as in *Hel.* 3298: that *uuari* an godes riki unoði odagumu *manne* up *te cumanne.*[3]

In the Germanic languages, then, as in Anglo-Saxon, the accusative and infinitive as subject of a finite verb is an imported idiom.

B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

The passive infinitive with accusative subject, whether in objective or in subjective clauses, is rare in the Germanic languages, as in Anglo-Saxon.

Dr. Apelt does not gather together in one place the passive infinitives in Gothic with accusative subject. But we find examples here and there of this idiom in subjective clauses, as in *Skeir.* I c: gadob nu was mais þans . . . *ufhausjandans . . . gaqissans uairþan*, and in objective clauses, as in *I Cor.* 10.20: ni *wiljau* auk *izwis* skohslam *gadailans wairþan* = οὐ θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς κοινωνοὺς τῶν δαιμονίων γίνεσθαι, in the latter in imitation of the Greek. Often, however, the Greek passive infinitive with accusative subject is rendered in Gothic by an

[1] From Denecke, *l. c.*, p. 42. [2] *Ibidem*, p. 66. [3] From Steig, *l. c.*, p. 496.

active infinitive with a noun object, as in *Mat.* 27.64: *hait* nu *witan* þamma *hlaiwa* = κέλευσον οὖν ἀσφαλισθῆναι τὸν τάφον.[1]

In Old Norse, also, the construction is quite rare.

In Old High German, likewise, the idiom is rare, and is due to the Latin: *Tatian* 183.32: *gilimphit inan* varan inti thruoen inti *arslagan wesan* inti arstantan = oportet *eum* ire et pati et *occidi* et resurgere;[2] *ib.* 171.6: *laz* eer thiu *kind gisatotiu werdan* = *sine* prius *saturari filios*.[3] The passive infinitive is oftener translated by the active, as in *Tatian* 199.7: *wenan wollet* ir iu fon thesen zwein *forlazzan?* = *quem vultis* vobis de duobus *dimitti?*[4] See, too, under "the inflected infinitive with accusative subject," p. 248 below.

In Old Saxon we habitually have, not the passive infinitive with accusative object, but the active infinitive with objective accusative, as in *Hel.* 527: *gihordun uuilspel* mikil fon gode *seggean*. Steig, *l. c.*, p. 309 ff., holds that in such expressions the infinitive, though active in form, is passive in sense, and that the accusative is the subject, not the object, of the infinitive; but, for reasons given above, in Chapter II, pp. 29 f., this seems untenable to me. I have not found an example of the compound passive infinitive with accusative subject in Old Saxon.

It seems probable, therefore, that this idiom was imported into the Germanic languages from the Greek and the Latin.

II. THE INFINITIVE INFLECTED.

Although Grimm, *l. c.*, IV, p. 130, declares, "Sicheres kennzeichen der construction des acc. cum inf. ist, dass sie nie die präp. *zu* verträgt," it seems to me that in the Germanic languages we occasionally come upon an accusative with a prepositional infinitive that is almost, if not quite, identical with an accusative with an uninflected predicative infinitive. Concerning possible examples of the idiom in Anglo-Saxon, I have spoken in Chapter VIII. I here add a few words concerning the construction in the other Germanic languages.

One apparent, if not real, example of the prepositional infinitive with an accusative subject occurs in Gothic in correspondence with the same construction in Greek: *I Thes.* 2.12: weitwodjandans *du gaggan izwis* wairþaba guþs! = μαρτυρούμενοι εἰς τὸ περιπατεῖν ὑμᾶς ἀξίως τοῦ θεοῦ.[5] But usually the Greek idiom is avoided, as in *II Thes.* 1.5: taikn garaihtaizos stauos guþs *du wairþans briggan* izwis þiudangardjos guþs = εἰς ἔνδειγμα τῆς δικαίας κρίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰς τὸ καταξιωθῆναι ὑμᾶς τῆς Βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ.[6]

In Old Norse, apparently, the prepositional infinitive was not used with accusative subject, though in earlier Danish it was occasionally so used: see Nygaard, *l. c.*, p. 235; Falk and Torp, *l. c.*, p. 201, where Danish examples are given; Lund, *l. c.*, pp. 381 ff.; Delbrück,[3] *l. c.*, p. 355.

In Old High German, in sentences like the following, *Tatian* 196.34: *gibot inan* ther herro *zi vorkoufanne* inti *sina quenun* inti . . . inti *vorgeltan* = *jussit eum* dominus *venundari* et *uxorem ejus* et . . . et *reddi*,[7] apparently we have an inflected infinitive with an accusative subject, and the phrase is the object

[1] From Streitberg,[2] *l. c.*, p. 208.
[2] From Denecke, *l. c.*, p. 42.
[3] *Ibidem*, p. 35.
[4] From Apelt,[2] *l. c.*, p. 5.
[5] Bernhardt,[2] *l. c.*, p. 114, seems to consider that the infinitive phrase here is subjective, but surely it is objective.
[6] See Apelt,[1] *l. c.*, p. 292.
[7] From Denecke, *l. c.*, p. 65.

of *gibot*, but in reality the inflected infinitive (like the uninflected in this sentence) is the object of *gibot*, not the predicate of the accusative noun or pronoun, the accusative being objective in the Old High German, though subjective in the Latin; for, as we saw above, p. 247, in Old High German, as in Anglo-Saxon, the predicative passive infinitive is normally turned by an active objective infinitive. In *Aug. serm.* 33.8: *manot unsih za forstantanne = admonet nos intelligere*,[1] we may have an inflected infinitive used predicatively, but more probably we have an inflected infinitive denoting result. But at least two clear examples of the inflected infinitive with an accusative subject occur in Old High German, in a subjective phrase: *Tatian* 331.2: *inan gilimphit zi arstantanne = oportet eum resurgere;* [2] and *ib.* 206.26: *odira ist olbentun zi faranne*, thanne *otagan zi ganganne = facilius est camelum transire*, quam *divitem intrare*.[3] The inflection of the predicative infinitive here, as indeed in the instances of the subjective infinitive, is due to the dativa sense of *gilimphit* and of *ist* plus an adjective, I believe; while in the instances with the uninflected infinitive, especially when predicative, this dativa sense is resisted owing to the influence of the Latin original. In *Tatian* 342.13: *leret sie zi bihaltanne* alliu = *docentes eos servare* omnia,[4] we possibly have a predicative infinitive, but the infinitive is inflected because the chief verb, *leret*, hovers between a transitive and a consecutive-final sense: *cf.* the inflected predicative infinitive with Anglo-Saxon *læran* in Chapter VIII, p. 119.

In Old Saxon I have found no example of the inflected infinitive with accusative subject unless the following be such: *Hel.* 2752: huo thu *gilinot habis liudeo* menigi *te blizzenna;* [5] *ib.* 976: that *us* so *girisit* . . . allaro rehto gihuilik *ti gifullanne;* but more probably the infinitive here is subjective: see above, p. 232.

As is evident, most of the examples cited of a supposed predicative use of the prepositional infinitive in the Germanic languages, are doubtful. In a few instances, however, it seems to me that the inflected infinitive is really predicative, and has an accusative subject. In such cases the infinitive becomes inflected because of its proximity to a dative-governing finite verb, or because it follows a verb denoting tendency, or, occasionally, in Gothic because the Greek original has a prepositional infinitive.

IX. PREDICATIVE INFINITIVE WITH DATIVE SUBJECT.

As stated above, Chapter IX, p. 136, I doubt whether we have a genuine predicative infinitive with dative subject in Anglo-Saxon, but, as this interpretation of the dative and infinitive after impersonal verbs in Gothic is given by such eminent scholars as Grimm, Miklosich, Jolly, Winkler, and Streitberg, it is incumbent upon me to give a brief survey of the construction in the Germanic languages other than Anglo-Saxon.

For the Gothic I cannot do better than to quote entire Professor Streitberg's paragraph on this idiom, in his *Gotisches Elementarbuch*, 4th ed., § 318: "Der von Jakob Grimm entdeckte, von Miklosich und Jolly verteidigte Dativ

[1] From Denecke, *l. c.*, p. 66.
[2] *Ibidem*, p. 67.
[3] From Denecke, *l. c.*, p. 71, who adds: "Der Acc. ist sicher nur dem Lat. aus Nachlässigkeit nachgeahmt."
[4] From Denecke, *l. c.*, p. 65.
[5] From Pratje, *l. c.*, p. 73.

m. Inf. darf heute trotz aller Einwendungen als gesichert gelten. Got. *warþ* in Verbinding mit einem Infinitiv und einem Dativ dient zur Uebertragung von ἐγένετο mit dem Akk. m. Inf. Der Dativ hat natürlich ursprünglich zum Verbum finitum gehört, es ist jedoch, wie schon Grimm erkannt hat, eine Verschiebung des Abhängigkeitsverhältnisses erfolgt: der Dativ steht fast ausnahmslos *hinter dem Infinitiv*, wie im Griech. das Subjekt des Akk. m. Inf., ist also wahrscheinlich zum Infinitiv in engere Beziehung gesetzt. Am besten dürfte man wohl mit Winkler, S. 17, das Verhältnis so charakterisieren, dass der Dativ von der Verbindung *warþ* m. Inf. abhänge, *warþ gaswiltan þamma unledin* = ἐγένετο ἀποθανεῖν τὸν πτωχόν, Luk. 16.22, demnach heisse: 'es kam zum Sterben für den Armen.' Die Ausdehnung, die der Dat. m. Inf. in der got. Bibel erlangt hat, ist sicherlich dem Bestreben zuzuschreiben, den Anschluss ans Original so eng als möglich zu gestalten, ohne in direkten Widerspruch mit den got. Sprachgesetzen zu geraten. Vgl. z. B. *jah warþ in sabbato anþaramma frumin gaggan imma þairh atisk* = ἐγένετο, ἐν σαββάτῳ δευτεροπρώτῳ διαπορεύεσθαι αὐτὸν διὰ τῶν σπορίμων, Luk. 6.1; *warþ . . . galeiþan imma in sunagogein* = ἐγένετο εἰσελθεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν συναγωγήν, Luk. 6.6; *swaei mis mais faginon warþ* = ὥστε με μᾶλλον χαρῆναι, Kor. 7.7, u. ä." This view of Professor Streitberg is substantially that of Professor Jolly and Professor Winkler. In my discussion of the Dative with Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon, Chapter IX, pp. 127 ff. above, I have tried to show that the situation in Anglo-Saxon, in Old High German, and in Latin considerably reduces the force of Professor Streitberg's contention that we have a genuine dative-with-infinitive construction in Gothic; and that, in the Gothic itself, the post-position of the infinitive and its separation from the finite verb — two points stressed by Grimm and by Professor Streitberg — resulted merely from the Goth's close following of the Greek original. Dr. Apelt, who gives the above examples and some others, holds, with Gabelentz and Loebe, with A. Köhler, and with Bernhardt, that the dative is the object of the principal verb and not the subject of the infinitive;[1] he stresses the fact that a personal accusative of the Greek is translated by a dative in the Gothic, and an impersonal accusative by an accusative; and he, too, holds that the post-position of the dative in the Gothic is the result merely of the slavish following of the Greek order of words. Professor Joseph Wright, also, holds that the infinitive in the above sentences is subjective, not predicative, as we may gather from the fact that in his *Grammar of the Gothic Language*, § 435, he quotes Mark 2.23 (*jah warþ þairhgaggan imma þairh atisk* = καὶ ἐγένετο παραπορεύεσθαι αὐτὸν . . . διὰ τῶν σπορίμων) as illustrating the use of the infinitive as subject. Finally, it should be stated that, while Professor Jolly does defend the setting up of a predicative infinitive with dative subject in Gothic, he distinctly states that such an interpretation is not obligatory: "Auch bei den gotischen Dativen mit *wairþan* ist die Beziehung des Dativs auf das Hauptverbum wenigstens nicht ungereimt, und nur im Slavischen liegt, abgesehen von den arischen Beispielen, eine grössere Reihe von Constructionen vor, in denen nur die Beziehung auf den Inf. zulässig ist." [2]

Concerning a dative with an infinitive in the Scandinavian languages, Lund, *l. c.*, p. 378, speaks as follows: "Hensynsform föjes til en navnemåde, når der

[1] Apelt,[1] *l. c.*, p. 289. See, too, Gabelentz and Loebe, *l. c.*, p. 249; Köhler,[1] A., *l. c.*, pp. 290–292; and Bernhardt,[2] *l. c.*, p. 111.

[2] Jolly, *l. c.*, p. 268.

er en foregående hensynsform at henføre omsagnsordet til, men også, uden at der er nogen anden hensynsform at henføre den til eller som bevirker dens fremkomst, i visse udtryk med tillægsord (er gott, illt), hvor den må betragtes som udtryk for et hensyn (efter 30), men i hvilket tilfælde også nævneform bruges. Jfr. 30, anmk. 4. Således siges både *hann bauð þeim at fara fyrstum* og *bauð þa at fara fyrsta; illt er illum at vera* og *illt er illr at vera*, s. ovenfor 1," etc., etc. But the infinitive with *er gott* seems to me subjective, and that with *bauð þeim* objective. Moreover, I do not understand Lund to claim that the infinitive is really predicative in either of these two categories.

Although, as already stated, Grimm declares, *l. c.*, IV, p. 131, that in no Germanic dialect other than Gothic have we any trace of the dative-with-infinitive construction, it seems to me that, if we consider that we have this construction in the above examples from the Gothic, we must allow that we have it in the following passages from Old High German: — uninflected: *B. R.* 41.5: *discoom kerisit hoorreen = discipulos convenit obedire;*[1] *Tatian* 195.14: *goumon* inti *gifehan thir gilimphit = aepulari* et *gaudere te oportet;*[2] — inflected: *Hom. de voc.* 29.14: *iu garisit* gotes wort *za quedanne = vobis oportebat loqui* verbum dei;[3] *Tatian* 100.30: *gilimphit mir zi gotspellonne = oportet me evangelizare.*[3] Whether Dr. Denecke, from whom I have quoted these examples, considers the infinitive therein as predicative or not, I do not feel sure, but he puts the uninflected infinitive under the heading " Dat. c. Inf." *Gilimphit* is likewise followed, as we saw above, p. 245, by the accusative and infinitive; and Denecke, pp. 42, 43, seems to think that a significant factor is the person of the pronoun, the dative occurring usually with the pronouns of the first and second persons, and the accusative with pronouns of the third person and with nouns in Old High German, he declares. But surely this fact is accidental, not determining; the interchange between dative and accusative with these infinitives most probably depends, as in Anglo-Saxon, on the dativel sense of the accompanying finite verb, which dativel sense occasionally was not strong enough to resist the accusative of the Latin original. This explanation tallies with that given by Miklosich of the dative-with-infinitive in the Slavic languages, and extends still further the application of Jolly's happy comment thereon: " Als die Ursache dieser eigenthümlichen Constructionen gibt Miklosich, dem wir die nähere Kenntniss derselben verdanken, die grössere Verbreitung verbal- und besonders mit dem Dativ construirter Verbalsubstantive in den slavischen Sprachen an;[4] auch für die Sprachstufe des Zend und vedischen Sanskrit liess sich dieselbe sprachliche Erscheinung oben S. 93 nachweisen, und die gewiss richtige Erklärung M.'s ist demnach auch für ein Sprachgebiet für das sie ursprünglich nicht gemacht war, doch nicht weniger zutreffend."[5] Once more: it is important to note that in these Old High German examples the dative sometimes precedes and sometimes follows the infinitive, usually according to the position of the noun or pronoun in the Latin original. Finally, whether Dr. Denecke or any one else considers the inflected infinitive in these Old High German examples to be the predicate of a dative subject or not, I do not know. But Denecke does note the interchange between uninflected and inflected infinitives after *gilimphit;* calls attention to two facts: (1) " dass *zi* stets ge-

[1] From Denecke, *l. c.*, p. 31. [2] *Ibidem*, p. 42. [3] *Ibidem*, p. 66. [4] " Beispiele ebenda S. 494."
[5] Jolly, *l. c.*, p. 269. — My inability to read Slavic makes it improper for me to express an opinion as to whether or not the infinitive in this locution is really predicative.

braucht wird, wenn zu *gilimphit* kein Object tritt und alleinstehender oder mit Object verbundener Inf. davon abhängt" (with two exceptions, duly noted), and (2) "dass, wenn ein Dat. zu *gilimphit* (s. auch *garisit*) tritt, meist Inf. mit *zi*, wenn Acc. meist der reine Inf. folgt" (likewise with exceptions, duly indicated); and concludes: "Man sieht hieraus, dass sich vollständig sichere Grenzen für den Gebrauch des reinen und des mit *zi* verbundenen Inf. nicht ziehen lassen. Augenscheinlich war aber der Gebrauch des letzeren im siegreichen Vordringen begriffen." [1] But the matter is not so hopeless as Denecke would have it seem: the inflected infinitive is due to the strong dativel sense of the chief verb, but occasionally this strong force yielded to that of the accusative and infinitive in the Latin original. It remains only to add that I have not quoted all of the examples of a dative with an infinitive that occur in Denecke; that, as implied above, to me the infinitive in these Old High German examples is subjective, not predicative; and that the dative is governed by the principal verb.

We have, too, in Old High German a dative with infinitive after certain personal verbs, as in the following: *Aug. serm.* 35.20: *gabiut mir za* dir *queman* = *jube me venire* ad te; [2] — *Tatian* 198.30: *vorliez iu forlazzan* iwara quenun = *permisit vobis dimittere* uxores vestras. [3] But, as in Anglo-Saxon, I take the infinitive to be objective, not predicative. *Gabiotan* is once followed by the accusative with infinitive: the native construction of dative with infinitive then yields to the influence of the Latin accusative and infinitive.

Of the dative with infinitive in Middle High German, Dr. Otto Apelt,[1] *l. c.*, p. 289, after denying that we have a predicative infinitive with dative subject in Gothic, speaks as follows: "Die beste Analogie hierzu bietet sich in mhd. *geschehen* mit Infinitiv und Dativ, und Grimm selbst macht IV, 109, auf die nahe Verwandtschaft dieser Fügungen mit den eben besprochenen aufmerksam. Allerdings erscheint im Mittelhochdeutschen in Wendungen wie *nach der ze riten im geschach, ir ze sterben niht geschach, daz ime ze lidenne geschiht, sit uns ze sitzen geschah*, der Infinitiv meist in Begleitung von *ze*, doch findet sich auch der blosse Infinitiv Nib. 1145, 4, *so ist in alreste von schulden sorgen geschehen*. Wenn aber Grimm in der Stellung der Worte im Gothischen eine Nöthigung finden will, die Zugehörigkeit des Dativs zu *warþ* zu verwerfen, so ist dem entgegenzuhalten, dass der Gothe sich hier, wie sonst, in der Wortstellung möglichst eng an sein Original anschloss."

I find no example of the dative with infinitive after impersonals in Old Saxon unless the following be one: *Hel.* 976: that us so *girisit* . . . allaro rehto gihuilik *ti gifullanne;* [4] but, as stated above, p. 232, I consider the infinitive here subjective. Nor do I find an example after personal verbs unless these be such: *Hel.* 5152: endi *im* that silubar *bod* gerno *te agebanne;* [5] *ib.* 1023; *loboda* them *liudeon* lera Cristes herren sines endi hebanriki *te giuuinnanne;* [6] *ib.* 1838: hie *im* thuo bethiu *bifalah* gi *te seggeanne.* [6]

In the Germanic languages as a whole, therefore, we have an apparent, not a genuine, dative with infinitive after (1) certain impersonals and (2) certain personal verbs. The idiom interchanges with the genuine accusative with

[1] Denecke, *l. c.*, pp. 67–68.

[2] From Denecke, *l. c.*, p. 20. On p. 41 Denecke states that, with only one exception, in *Tatian*, *gabiotan* is followed by the dative and infinitive instead of the accusative and infinitive.

[3] *Ibidem*, p. 35.

[4] From Pratje, *l. c.*, p. 73. [5] From Steig, *l. c.*, p. 494. [6] From Pratje, *l. c.*, p. 73.

infinitive. But, after impersonals, the native idiom is the dative with the infinitive, the dative being demanded by the strong dativel sense of these impersonals; when these impersonals are followed by the accusative with the infinitive, it is due to the influence of the original Greek or Latin. After the personal verbs the dative with infinitive is likewise native, as with many of them is also the accusative with infinitive. The interchange between dative and accusative rests partly on the double regimen of the verbs, partly on the influence of the originals. Many scholars restrict the phrase " dative with infinitive," however, to the idiom after impersonals.

After both impersonals and personals, at times the inflected infinitive is substituted for the uninflected infinitive by the strong dativel force of the principal verb.

X. THE FINAL INFINITIVE.

1. With Verbs of Motion.

The infinitive of purpose is commonly found after verbs of motion in the Germanic languages.

The Gothic simple infinitive usually corresponds to a Greek simple infinitive, but also to other idioms: *L.* 14.19: *gagga kausjan* þans = πορεύομαι δοκιμάσαι αὐτά; *Mat.* 5.24: jah *gagg* faurþis *gasibjon* broþr þeinamma = καὶ ὕπαγε, πρώτον διαλλάγηθι.[1] *Gaggan* and *quiman* are followed only by the simple infinitive in Gothic. But a number of the verbs of motion are followed by both the simple infinitive and the prepositional infinitive, the latter usually in translation of a Greek preposition + an infinitive, as in *I. Thes.* 3.5: *insandida du ufkunnan* galaubein izwara = ἔπεμψα εἰς τὸ γνῶναι τὴν πίστιν ὑμῶν;[2] or of a Greek articular infinitive in the genitive, as in *Mk.* 4.3: *urrann* sa saiands *du saian* fraiwa seinamma = ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπεῖραι.[3]

We find both infinitives after verbs of motion in the Scandinavian languages. Professors Falk and Torp, *l. c.*, pp. 206–207, give examples of each and attempt to differentiate the two: "Infinitiv føies paa friere vis til verber i folgende tre tilfælde: . . . b. Ved bevægelsesverber til betegnelse af en hensigt: *gengu menn at heyra tiðir; settast at hvilast; leggjast niðr at sofna* (= *til svefns*). Ofte uden *at: gekk bera; koma ræna hana riki; Oðinn ferr við ulf vega.* Saaledes navnlig hvor infinitiven staar foran verbet: *ganga at sofa* — *þeir munu þa sofa ganga; gekk at eiga konu* — *konu skal ek eiga ganga.* Denne dobbelthed er urgermansk: gotisk *qemun saihwan* — angelsaksisk *hie comon ðæt lond to sceawienne* (gerundium)." With the foregoing compare the following statement by Lund, *l. c.*, p. 367: " Navnemåden med *at* (sjældnere og digterisk uden *at*) føjes til udsagnsord for at betegne hensigten af handlingen; ligeledes til talemåder af lignende betydning. Det er fornemmelig bevægelses-begreber, som dette gælder om, dog bruges også andre på samme måde, ligesom udtryksmåden grænser til de ovenfor omtalte (136, anm. 2) udsagnsord *eiga, hafa, vera* med navnemåde." The fact stated by Lund, that the simple infinitive occurs chiefly in the poetry, leads me to believe that, in Old Norse as in Anglo-Saxon, the occurrence of the simple infinitive does not depend upon the pre-position of

[1] From Köhler,[2] A., *l. c.*, p. 453, who gives numerous examples. See, too, Streitberg,[2] *l. c.*, p. 213.
[2] From Köhler,[2] A., *l. c.*, p. 456. See, too, Gabelentz and Loebe, *l. c.*, p. 251.
[3] From Köhler,[2] A., *l. c.*, p. 455.

the infinitive, but upon the fact that the infinitive is being used in poetry, which habitually keeps the original idiom, the infinitive without a preposition.

In Old High German, the uninflected infinitive is far more common than is the inflected infinitive after verbs of motion (chiefly *queman, gangan, faran*) in Tatian [1] and still more common in Otfrid; [2] while the inflected infinitive is found only a few times in Otfrid (after *queman, gangan, slihan, stantan*). Unfortunately Rannow does not treat the final use of the infinitive in his *Der Satzbau des Ahd. Isidor;* nor does Wunderlich in his *Beiträge zur Syntax des Notker'schen Boethius;* nor Manthey, in his *Syntaktische Beobachtungen an Notkers Uebersetzung des Martianus Capella.* We have, therefore, for our purposes a far from adequate survey of the final infinitive in Old High German. However, the examples of Tatian's use, as given by Denecke, are illuminating. We learn that, as in the Anglo-Saxon *Gospels*, the final infinitive, both uninflected and inflected, often translates (*a*) a Latin infinitive of purpose, though the uninflected occasionally translates (*b*) a Latin participle or (*c*) finite verb; and the inflected infinitive, often (*d*) *ad* + a gerund or gerundive: — (*a*) *Tatian* 278.28: Tho sio *fuorun coufen* = Dum autem *irent emere;* [3] *Denkm.* lvi. 48: *quemendi ci ardeilenne* = *venturus judicare;* [4] — (*b*) *Tatian* 200.25: *quam suochen* = *venit quaerens,* [5] — (*c*) *Ev. Mat.* 18.15: daz er in sceffilin *genc sizzen* = ut in naviculam *adscendens sederet;* [6] — (*d*) *Tatian* 74.10: *foraferis* zi garwenne . . . *zi gebanne* wistuom = *praeibis* parare . . . *ad dandam* scientiam.[7] Occasionally, it should be added, Tatian turns the Latin final infinitive by a dependent clause, as in 120.39: ni *quam* zi thiu *thaz* ih sibba *santi,* ouh suuert = non *veni* pacem *mittere* sed gladium.[8]

Slight as our statistics are, they seem to make clear that in Old High German the uninflected infinitive of purpose after verbs of motion is a native idiom; and that the inflected infinitive was at times suggested by the Latin original (the constructions with gerund or gerundive), habitually in the closer translations like the *Benedictine Rule.* The case, therefore, is not so bad for Old High German in general as it seemed to Denecke for the verb *queman,* concerning which, after giving an example of the inflected infinitive following it, he adds, p. 63: " Noch häufiger ist es mit reinem Inf. (s. I, 4), ohne dass sich ein Grund für die jeweilige Wahl des einen oder des andern Ausdrucks finden liesse, während es im Got. (Köhler, S. 454) nur mit reinen Inf. vorkommt, Otfr. mit *zi* (Erd., S. 212) und mit einfachem Inf. (S. 204)."

Quite common, too, is the final infinitive, both uninflected and inflected, after verbs of motion in Old Saxon. Pratje, *l. c.*, pp. 69–70, 73, gives numerous examples, of which I cite only a few: *Hel.* 3492: thia . . . *uuirkean quamun; ib.* 4526: *geng* im thuo eft *gisittian* (though Pratje considers the infinitive 'phraseological'); *ib.* 807: *giuuitun* im . . . iro suno *suokean; ib.* 523: nu *ist* thie helago Crist *cuman to alosannea* thia liude; *ib.* 4541: that ik iu *sanda* tharod *te gigeriuuianne* mina goma.

From the foregoing survey, incomplete as it is, it seems probable that the uninflected infinitive of purpose after verbs of motion is an idiom native to the Germanic languages as a whole; and that the inflected infinitive in Gothic was

[1] For Tatian see Denecke, *l. c.*, pp. 16–17 and 62–63.
[2] For Otfrid see Erdmann,[1] O., *l. c.*, pp. 204, 212.
[3] From Denecke, *l. c.*, p. 16.
[4] *Ibidem*, p. 62.
[5] *Ibidem*, p. 16.
[6] *Ibidem*, p. 17.
[7] From Denecke, *l. c.*, p. 63. See, too, pp. 57, 59.
[8] *Ibidem*, p. 16.

first suggested by the Greek infinitive after a preposition or by the Greek articular infinitive in the genitive; in Old High German, by the Latin gerund and gerundive constructions.

2. With Verbs of Rest.

In Gothic we have, once, the prepositional infinitive of purpose after *sitan*, in *Mk.* 10.46: *sat* faur wig *du aihtron* = ἐκάθητο παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν προσαιτῶν;[1] while in *L.* 18.35 both languages have a participle.

Concerning the idiom in Old Norse we read in Falk and Torp, *l. c.*, p. 207: "Sporadisk findes i oldnorsk en hensigtens infinitiv ved hvileverber: *Heimdallr sitr þar at gæta bruarinnar;* sml. gotisk *sat faur wig du aihtron*, tysk: was steht ihr horchen (saa stadig i hollandsk). Almindelig bruges dog her sideordning: *eitt kveld er þeir satu ok drukku*," etc.

Clear cases of the final infinitive after verbs of rest are not numerous in Old High German. However, one example after *sin* was given above, p. 240; and the following is possibly an example: *Tatian* 228.4: Inti thanne ir *stantet zi betonne* = Et cum *stabitis ad orandum.*[2] But *Tatian* 95.9 (inti *arstuont* uf *zi lesanne* = *surrexit legere*[3]) and Otfrid V, 20.26 (*irstantent*, iro werk *zi irgebanne*[3]) belong under verbs of motion. The infinitive after verbs of rest in Old High German and in Middle High German is usually predicative, not final: see pp. 238 f. above.

I have not found a clear example of the final infinitive after verbs of rest in Old Saxon except once after *uuesan*, concerning which see above, p. 240.

3. With Verbs of Offering and of Giving.

Although Dr. A. Köhler,[2] *l. c.*, pp. 435–436, considers the simple infinitive for *eat* and *drink* after *give* as objective in Gothic, but the infinitive with *du* as final, I consider both the infinitives as final. A few examples will suffice: *Mat.* 25.42: unte gredags was jan-ni *gebuþ* mis *matjan* = ἐπείνασα γὰρ, καὶ οὐκ ἐδώκατέ μοι φαγεῖν; *Mk.* 15.23: jah *gebun* imma *drigkan* wein miþ smyrna = καὶ ἐδίδουν αὐτῷ πιεῖν ἐσμυρνισμένον οἶνον; — *L.* 9.16: insaihvands du himina gaþiuþida ins jah gabrak jah *gaf* siponjam *du fauralagjan* þizai managein = καὶ ἐδίδου τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ παραθεῖναι τῷ ὄχλῳ; *J.* 6.31: hlaif us himina *gaf* im *du matjan* = ἄρτον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς φαγεῖν; — *J.* 6.52: hvaiwa mag unsis leik *giban du matjan?* = 6.53: πῶς δύναται οὗτος ἡμῖν τὴν σάρκα ἑαυτοῦ δοῦναι φαγεῖν? *Col.* 1.25: bi ragina gups, þatei *giban ist* mis in izwis *du usfulljan* waurd gups = κατὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν δοθεῖσαν μοι εἰς ὑμᾶς πληρῶσαι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ. As is apparent, in the preceding examples, the Gothic simple infinitive and the prepositional infinitive both correspond to a Greek final infinitive. But compare *I Cor.* 11.22: ibai auk gardins ni *habaiþ du matjan jah drigkan?* = μὴ γὰρ οἰκίας οὐκ ἔχετε εἰς τὸ ἐσθίειν καὶ πίνειν, which seems to me to belong here, though Dr. A. Köhler,[2] *l. c.*, p. 460, thinks not. Compare, too, *II Thes.* 3.9: ak ei uns silbans du frisahtai *gebeima du galeikon* unsis = ἀλλ' ἵνα ἑαυτοὺς τύπον δῶμεν ὑμῖν εἰς τὸ μιμεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς (A. Köhler,[2] *l. c.*, p. 462).

For the Old Norse compare the following example, given by Falk and Torp,

[1] From Köhler,[2] A., *l. c.*, p. 457.
[2] From Erdmann,[1] O., *l. c.*, p. 212.
[3] From Denecke, *l. c.*, p. 63.

l. c., p. 208: *gaf hrǫfnum bloð at drekka.* I find no example of the infinitive without *at* after verbs of giving in Falk and Torp; in Lund, *l. c.*, p. 368; or in Nygaard, *l. c.*, p. 228.

In Old High German, we have after *geban* both uninflected and inflected infinitives of purpose, in *Tatian*,[1] with whom, however, the uninflected infinitive is much the more common. In Isidor,[2] in Otfrid,[3] in the *Murbacher Hymns*,[4] and in the *Benedictine Rule* [5] we have only the inflected infinitive, in the last two invariably translating a Latin gerund or gerundive. In Tatian the infinitive corresponds usually to a Latin infinitive, but occasionally to a Latin noun or to *ad* + a gerund, especially when the infinitive is inflected. Examples are: uninflected: *Tatian* 321.25: *gabun* imo gimorrotan uuin *trincan* = *dederunt* ei vinum murratum *bibere; ib.* 283.22: uuanne . . . uuir . . . *gabunmes* thir *trinkan?* = quando . . . *dedimus* tibi *potum?*;[6] — inflected: *Tatian* 165.37: sin fleisc *geban zi ezzanne* = carnem suam *dare ad manducandum; ib.* 121.31: *zi trincanne gibit* kelih = *potum dederit calicem; ib.* 169.4: thiu *gigebanu sint* in *zi haltanne* = quae *tradita sunt* illis *servare.*[6]

Sellan is found only with the inflected infinitive according to Denecke, p. 62: *Ev. Matth.* 11.11: *selent* inan deotom *za bismeronne* enti *za bifillanne* enti *arhahanne* = *tradent* eum gentibus *ad illudendum* et *flagellandum* et *crucifigendum; ib.* 19.17: *wirdit gaselit* in cruci *za slahanne* = *tradetur ut crucifigatur.*[6]

It seems probable, therefore, that the uninflected infinitives, *trinkan* and *ezzan*, after *geban* are largely due to the Latin original; and that the inflected infinitive after verbs of giving is often due to a Latin gerundial construction.

In Old Saxon, *geban* is followed by both the uninflected infinitive and the inflected, but *drincan* and *etan* are found uninflected only: *Hel.* 1965: thoh hie . . . manno huilicon uuillandi *forgebe* uuatares *drincan; ib.* 4640: *gibu* ik iu hier bethiu samad *etan* endi *drincan;*[7] — *ib.* 4763: that ik minan *gebe* lioban lichamon for liudio barn *te uuegianne* te uuundron; *ib.* 5225: so man mi *gabi* Judeo liudiun *te uuegeanne.*[8]

Despite the evident incompleteness of our data, the facts detailed above tend to show that the uninflected infinitives, *drink* and *eat*, after *give* are due largely to Greek and Latin influence in the Germanic languages as a whole; and that the inflected infinitive after verbs of giving is largely due to the influence of the Latin gerund and gerundive construction in Old High German as in Anglo-Saxon.

4. With Other Verbs.

Dr. A. Köhler,[9] *l. c.*, pp. 458 ff., gives a large number of other verbs that in Gothic are followed by a final infinitive, simple or prepositional. With very few exceptions, the Gothic simple infinitive corresponds to the same in Greek; while the Gothic prepositional infinitive usually corresponds to a Greek prepositional infinitive or to the articular infinitive in the genitive, though it occasionally corresponds to an articular infinitive without a preposition, as in *Philip.* 4.10; or to a preposition plus a noun, as in *I Tim.* 4.3; or to a dependent clause introduced by ἵνα, as in *J.* 17.4.

It seems highly probable, therefore, that the final prepositional infinitive in Gothic, after whatever group of verbs, is due largely to the fact that in the

[1] See Denecke, *l. c.*, p. 15.
[2] *Ibidem*, p. 16.
[3] Erdmann,[1] O., *l. c.*, p. 213.
[4] From Denecke, *l. c.*, pp. 15–16.
[5] *Ibidem*, p. 62.
[6] From Denecke, *l. c.* p. 62.
[7] From Pratje, *l. c.*, p. 70.
[8] From Steig, *l. c.*, p. 494.

Greek we have one of the analytic equivalents above mentioned instead of a simple infinitive.

The lists of final infinitives given by Lund, *l. c.*, pp. 367–368, by Nygaard, *l. c.*, p. 228, and by Falk and Torp, *l. c.*, p. 208, contain so few except after verbs of motion, of rest, and of giving, as to make it impossible for me to form therefrom any definite opinion as to the final use of the infinitive in the Scandinavian languages after verbs other than those already treated.

As to Old High German, Denecke, *l. c.*, p. 23, merely gives two or three examples of an uninflected infinitive of purpose with verbs other than those signifying motion or giving, and suggests that the uninflected infinitive is due to a slavish following of the Latin original; as in *B. R.* 87.4: *kechriffe* puah *lesan* = *arripuerit* codicem *legere;* while Erdmann,[1] *l. c.*, p. 212, cites a few verbs (*ziahan, duan, geron, ratan, birinan, dragan, irougen*) that in Otfrid are followed by the inflected infinitive of purpose. Of these I cite only one, that after *duan*, for the light it throws on a somewhat similar expression in Anglo-Saxon: Otfrid, I, 17.48: *duet* iz mir *zi wizzanne.* For the corresponding Anglo-Saxon expressions, see Chapter VIII, p. 118.

In Old Saxon I find no clear case of a final infinitive with verbs other than *wesan* and verbs of motion and of giving.

To sum up the final infinitive in the Germanic languages, we may say that, despite the confessed meagerness of our statistics, the evidence, as far as it goes, reveals a situation surprisingly similar to that in Anglo-Saxon. As in the latter, so in the former it seems probable that (1) after verbs of motion the uninflected infinitive was a native idiom, but that the inflected infinitive was first suggested in Gothic by the Greek prepositional infinitive or by the Greek articular infinitive in the genitive, and was first suggested in Old High German by the Latin gerund and gerundive constructions; (2) after verbs of giving, the uninflected infinitives, *drink* and *eat*, are largely due to Greek and Latin influence, but that the inflected infinitive after verbs of giving is largely due to the influence of the Latin gerund and gerundive constructions, especially in High German. Concerning other groups of verbs than these two our statistics are too meager to warrant the drawing of conclusions.

XI. THE INFINITIVE WITH ADJECTIVES.

The infinitive with adjectives is common in the other Germanic languages.

Professor Wilmanns, *l. c.*, p. 167, has an interesting comment on the voice of the infinitive with adjectives in High German, and holds that in the main the prepositional infinitive is active in sense, but that occasionally it is passive.

In Gothic, only a few adjectives are followed by the infinitive. Usually we have (*a*) the simple infinitive, corresponding generally to the same in Greek, at times to an articular infinitive or to a finite verb; occasionally we have (*b*) the prepositional infinitive, corresponding to the articular infinitive in Greek: (*a*) *L.* 14.31: siaiu *mahteigs* miþ taihun þusundjom *gamotjan* þamma = εἰ δυνατός ἐστιν ἐν δέκα χιλιάσιν ὑπαντῆσαι;[1] *Rom.* 8.39: nih hauhiþa nih diupiþa nih gaskafts anþara *mahteigs* ist uns *afskaidan* af friaþwai guþs = οὔτε . . . δυνήσεται ἡμᾶς χώρισαι;[1] *I Cor.* 16.4: jah þan jabai ist mis *wairþ galeiþan* = ἐὰν δὲ ᾖ ἄξιον τοῦ

[1] From Köhler,[2] A., *l. c.*, p. 425.

κἀμὲ πορεύεσθαι;[1] — (*b*) *Philip.* 1.24: aþþan *du wisan* in leika, *þaurftizo* in izwara = τὸ δὲ ἐπιμένειν ἐν σαρκὶ ἀναγκαιότερον δι' ὑμᾶς[2] (or subjective?).

As the Gothic infinitive (simple) after adjectives has several different correspondents in Greek, the construction is probably native.

In Old Norse, on the other hand, the infinitive, usually with *at*, is frequently used with adjectives. Concerning this idiom we read in Falk and Torp, *l. c.*, p. 204: "Til adjektiver føies infinitiv paa en tredobbelt maade: a. Som til et ved substantiv dannet udsagn kan i oldnorsk infinitiv ogsaa føies til et adjektivisk, ikke til adjektivet alene. Saadanne adjektiver er de som betegner vane, beredthed, skikkethed, begjærlighed, berettigelse, osv.: *vapn er hann var vanr at hafa; vera buinn at riða; vera lystr at lifa; ufuss em ek at lata þetta band a mik leggja.* Kun i det poetiske sprog kan undertiden *at* mangle. . . . b. Medens ved den foregaaende gruppe infinitiven er styret af hele det verbalt følte udtryk, kan ved andre adjektiver infinitiv staa paa en friere maade, som betegnelse for den handling med hensyn til hvilken egenskaben fremtræder. Denne infinitiv nedstammer direkte fra det gamle gerundium, hvorfor *at* her aldrig (udenfor poesien) kan mangle: *drjugr at ljuga* (droi til at lyve); *firðir illir yfir at fara; hræðiligr at sja* (frygtelig at skue). Saaledes fremdeles: den er let at lokke, som efter vil hoppe; han er ikke god at komme til rette med. c. Hvor adjektivet har adverbiet 'saa' foran sig, betegnes ved infinitiven en følge: vær saa snil at sige mig. Ved imperativ bruges ogsaa sideordning: vær saa snil og sig mig, ligesom i svensk dagligtale samt tysk (seien Sie so gut und tun Sie das) og engelsk (be so kind and tell me). Hvor 'saa' mangler, gaar betydningen over i kausal: er du gal at bære dig saadan ad." See, too, Lund, *l. c.*, pp. 371 ff.; Nygaard, *l. c.*, p. 225.

In Old High German, the uninflected infinitive (*a*) is much less frequent than the inflected (*b*). The uninflected infinitive habitually answers to a Latin infinitive; the inflected often does, but it corresponds also to a Latin future participle and to *ad* + a gerund. Some adjectives are followed by each infinitive. Examples are: — (*a*): *Tatian* 88.21: *mahtig* ist *arwekkan* = *potest suscitare; Is.* 37.21: *chiwon* was *ardhinsan* = *solebat rapere;*[3] *Otfrid* I, 17.43: *giwon* was *queman zi* in;[4] *B. R.* 36.1: *fora wesan wirdiger* ist = *preesse dignus* est;[5] — (*b*) *Tatian* 318.27: was *giwon* ther grauo *zi forlazzanne* einan = *consuerat* preses *dimittere* unum; *ib.* 90.4: ni bim *wirdig zi traganne* = non sum *dignus portare; ib.* 291.19: *garo* bin *zi faranne* = *paratus* sum *ire; ib.* 334.25: *lazze* in herzen *zi giloubanne* = *tardi* corde *ad credendum.*[6]

So divergent are the Latin correspondents to the infinitive with adjectives in Old High German that it seems probable that the idiom was native thereto, whether the infinitive was uninflected or inflected. In Otfrid and in Tatian the inflected infinitive is the rule.

In Old Saxon, (*a*) the uninflected infinitive is rare; (*b*) the inflected, common: (*a*) *Hel.* 4720: thar uuas hie upp *giuuono gangan; ib.* 3821: thia scattos thia gi *sculdiga* sind an that geld (te C) *geban;*[7] — (*b*) *Hel.* 1794: hie ist *garo . . . ti gebanne; ib.* 650: uuarun . . . *fusa ti faranne; ib.* 3988: te hui bist thu so *gern* . . . tharod *te faranne?*[8]

Most probably, therefore, the infinitive, uninflected and inflected, with adjectives is an idiom native to the Germanic languages.

[1] From Köhler,[2] A., *l. c.*, p. 452. [2] *Ibidem*, p. 430. [3] From Denecke, *l. c.*, p. 22.
[4] From Erdmann,[1] O., *l. c.*, p. 204, who tells us that *giwon* is the only adjective that is followed by an uninflected infinitive in Otfrid, and that only twice.
[5] From Denecke, *l. c.*, p. 22. [6] *Ibidem*, p. 71. [7] From Pratje, *l. c.*, p. 70. [8] *Ibidem*, p. 74.

XII. OTHER ADVERBIAL USES OF THE INFINITIVE.

A. THE CAUSAL INFINITIVE.

I have not found a clear example of the causal infinitive with verbs in Gothic. The infinitive after *ogan*, 'fear,' may be considered causal, but to me, as to Dr. A. Köhler[2] (*l. c.*, p. 438), it seems objective; and *faurhtjan*, 'fear,' according to Dr. Köhler, is not found with an infinitive.

Concerning the causal use of the infinitive with adjectives in some of the Scandinavian languages, see the passage quoted from Falk and Torp in the preceding section of this chapter, p. 257.

Nor have I found more than a few clear examples of the causal infinitive with verbs in Old High German. Wavering between the objective and the causal use are the infinitives after *forhten*, found once uninflected and once inflected: *Tatian* 84.13: *forhta* imo thara *faren* = *timuit* illo *ire;*[1] — *ib.* 76.35: ni curi thu *forhtan zi nemanne* = noli *timere accipere.*[2] *Betolon*, in *Tatian* 208.21 (*betolon scamen* mih = *mendicare erubesco*[3]), may denote cause. In *Isidor* 39.8 (*lustida* sic *chihoran* = *delectantur audire*[4]), *chihoran* is doubtless subjective. But in the following passages from Otfrid, given by Erdmann,[1] *l. c.*, p. 210, we seem to have genuine causal infinitives in the genitive: V, 7.21: mag unsih *gilusten weinonnes;* V, 23.138: er sih *lade forahtennes* = 'sich beschwere durch Furchten.' In *Murb. H.* 20.8 (*tod farloranan* sih einun *chuere* = mors *perisse se* solam *gemat*[5]) we have a preterite participle instead of a predicative infinitive after a verb of emotion.

In *Tatian* 339.20 (*mit ferennu quamun* = *navigio venerunt*[6]) we have an instrumental infinitive, but this belongs more properly under the Infinitive with Prepositions.

Possibly we have a causal infinitive in *-nes* (*-ndes*) in these Middle High German passages given by Wilmanns, *l. c.*, p. 125: *Der tiuvel irret dich betendes* (= *betennes*); *er irret dich bihtendes; Der Künec sich vragens sumte niht;* — and with an adjective in: *Du wirst niemer vehtens sat.*

Nor do I find a causal infinitive in Old Saxon. The infinitive after *ruokan* in the following is probably objective: *Hel.* 61.11: ne *ruokit* gi *te truone* . . . ne *ruokit te gerone* . . . ne *ruokit* herta *te settane* = *nolite sperare* . . . *concupiscere* . . . *apponere.*[7]

Our statistics are too meager to warrant a confident opinion as to the origin of the causal infinitive in the Germanic languages. The two examples of the uninflected infinitive in Old High German correspond to the Latin infinitive; the two examples of the genitive infinitive in *-nes*, in Otfrid, may be of native origin, occurring as they do after verbs governing a genitive with nouns. The double construction with *forhten*, as already stated, probably arises from the double regimen of that verb.

[1] From Denecke, *l. c.*, p. 19.

[2] From Denecke, *l. c.*, p. 64, who adds: "Vielleicht ist die Anwendung von *si* hier begünstigt worden durch die Abneigung vor zwei nebeneinander stehenden reinen Infinitiven," — a hypothesis which seems very doubtful to me. More probably the double construction with *forhten* results from the double regimen of that verb, which is followed by an accusative and a genitive (Delbrück,[2] *l. c.*, p. 34).

[3] From Denecke, *l. c.*, p. 36.

[4] *Ibidem*, p. 46.

[5] *Ibidem*, p. 34.

[6] *Ibidem*, *l. c.*, p. 56.

[7] From Steig, *l. c.*, p. 492.

B. THE INFINITIVE OF SPECIFICATION WITH VERBS.

Of the infinitive of specification with verbs I find no clear example in Gothic, in Old Norse, or in Old Saxon.

But in Old High German the following is probably an example: *B. R.* 45.9: saar so eoweht kipotan fona meririn ist, samaso cotchundlihho si kepotan tuuala kedoleet wesan ni-uuizzin *zetuenne* = Mox ut aliquid imperatum a maiore fuerit, hacsi diuinitus imperetur moram pati nesciant *in faciendo.* With the foregoing compare the following phrases, in which the infinitive is governed by a preposition other than *zi: B. R.* 41 (title): *fona tuenne* ze keratte pruadero = *de adhibendis* ad consilium fratribus; *ib.* 121.5: *in kankanne* = *in ambulando; Tatian* 335.26: *in brehchanne* thes brotes = *in fractione* panis.[1] Specification is denoted, too, by the participial (adverbial) form in *-do* (*-to*) translating the Latin gerund in the ablative, as in *Hatt.* II, 116 b. 28: *fure mit fahindo* pist du Satanas, mir nah *kando* wirdistu min scuolare = *precedendo* Satanas es, *sequendo* discipulus.[2]

In all probability the infinitive of specification with verbs is due to Latin influence in the Germanic languages (Old High German and Anglo-Saxon).

C. THE CONSECUTIVE INFINITIVE.

(a) With Adjectives.

In his section on "Der Infinitivus Effectus s. Consequentiae," *l. c.*, pp. 450–453, Dr. A. Köhler[3] mentions, among adjectives, only *wairþs*, 'worthy,' as being followed by a consecutive infinitive. The infinitive after this adjective has been illustrated above, p. 256; it does not seem necessary to repeat the illustrations here, the more so that the use does not to me seem consecutive.

For the consecutive infinitive with an adjective preceded by *saa* in the Scandinavian languages, see section xi of this chapter, p. 257.

In Old High German, clear examples of a consecutive infinitive after an adjective are difficult to find. Perhaps this is an example: *Is.* 7.25: endi joh dhazs ist nu unzwiflo *so leohtsamo zi firstandanne* dhanne dhazs dhiz ist chiquhedan.[3] *Wirdig* occurs with both the uninflected infinitive and the inflected, as we saw above, p. 257, but, despite Dr. A. Köhler's statement as to *wairþs*, the infinitive after *wirdig* does not seem to me consecutive in sense.

Possibly we have a consecutive infinitive after an adjective preceded by *ze* in Middle High German, as in *E.* 7483: so waers iu *ze sagenne* al *ze lanc; ib.* 7572: daz waer *ze sagenne ze lanc*, both from Monsterberg-Münckenau,[1] *l. c.*, p. 104.

In Old Saxon I find a few examples of the inflected infinitive following an adjective preceded by an adverb (*te*): *Hel.* 5846: uuas im thiu uuanami *te strang, te suithi te sehanne; ib.* 143: it is unc all *ti lat* so *te giuuinnanne.*[4]

In the Germanic languages, as in Anglo-Saxon, the consecutive infinitive with adjectives seems merely an extension of the native infinitive of specification with adjectives.

(b) With Verbs.

Under the verbs followed by a consecutive infinitive in Gothic, Dr. A. Köhler,[2] *l. c.*, pp. 450–453, names: *taujan*, 'make,' 'cause;' *gataujan*, 'make,'

[1] From Denecke, *l. c.*, pp. 56, 57.
[2] From Denecke, *l. c.*, p. 71.
[3] From Erdmann, O., *l. c.*, p. 231.
[4] From Pratje, *l. c.*, p. 74.

'cause;' *waurkjan*, 'make,' 'cause;' *nauþjan*, 'compel;' *baidjan*, 'compel;' *afhugjan*, 'bewitch,' 'entice;' *gahvotjan*, 'threaten;' and *ga-arman*, passive, in the sense of 'be worthy.' However, for reasons given above, concerning *wairþs*, I should exclude the verb last named; and the factitives (*taujan*, *gataujan*, and *waurkjan*) I should likewise exclude, as they occur almost exclusively in the accusative-with-infinitive construction, already treated. I quote a few illustrations of the infinitive with the remaining verbs: *L.* 14.23: jah *nauþei innatgaggan* = καὶ ἀνάγκασον εἰσελθεῖν; *Gal.* 6.12: þai *nauþjand* izwis *bimaitan* = οὗτοι ἀναγκάζουσιν ὑμᾶς περιτέμνεσθαι; — *Gal.* 2.14: hvaiwa þiudos *baideis judaiwiskon?* = τί τὰ ἔθνη ἀναγκάζεις ἰουδάζειν? *Gal.* 3.1: hvas izwis *afhugida* sunjai ni *ufhausjan?* = τίς ὑμᾶς ἐβάσκανε τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μὴ πείθεσθαι? — *Skeir.* I, c: diabulau þairh liugn *gahvotjandin ufargaggan* anabusn. In all the foregoing examples, it will be observed, the Gothic uses the simple infinitive, which corresponds to the same construction in Greek.

Very rarely does Ulfilas translate the Greek consecutive infinitive preceded by ὥστε by a consecutive infinitive in Gothic; he usually renders it by a finite verb. Examples of the infinitive are: *II Cor.* 2.7: swaei þata andaneiþo izwis mais *fragiban* jah *gaþlaihan* = ὥστε τοὐναντίον μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς χαρίσασθαι καὶ παρακαλέσαι; *Mat.* 8.24: swaswe þata skip *gahuliþ wairþan* = ὥστε τὸ πλοῖον καλύπτεσθαι.[1] It is agreed on all hands[2] that the infinitive in Gothic here is due to Greek influence.

Of the consecutive infinitive with verbs in the Scandinavian languages, Professor Nygaard, *l. c.*, p. 229, speaks as follows: "Infinitiv bruges efter *sva at* for at betegne følgen af det udsagtes maade eller grad, naar subjektet for infinitivens handling er det samme som for hovedudsagnet, og handlingen udsiges som en forestilling, ikke som noget virkelig stedfindende." I quote only one or two of the examples given by Nygaard: *S. E.* 30.8: ef hann kvæmi *sva* i foeri *at sla* hann it þriðja hǫgg; — *S. E.* 26.21: spurði hverr annan, hverr þvi hefði ráðit at spilla loptinu ok himninum *sva at taka* þaðan sol ok tungl.

In Old High German the following verbs are followed by an infinitive that may be considered consecutive: *spanan*, 'persuade;' *ganuhtsamon*, 'suffice;' *noten*, 'compel;' *ginoten*, 'compel;' *beiten*, 'compel;' *cruazzit*, 'provokes;' *manon*, 'admonish;' *irfaran*, 'reach.' Typical examples are: (1) uninflected: *B. R.* 102: *spanames kihaltan* = *suademus custodire;*[3] *ib.* 34.4: die *kenuhtsamont fehtan* = *qui sufficiunt pugnare;*[4] *Denkm.* liv. 21: daz er za sonatage ni *uuerde canaotit* vadja *urgepan* = ne ante tribunal Christi *cogatur* rationem *exsolvere;*[5] *Tatian* 233.22: *beiti ingangen* = *compelle intrare;*[6] — *Otfrid* IV, 13.53: ther thir so *irfare*, gisunten uns thir *derien* = 'der dich so erreicht, dass er dir schaden könnte, so lange wir wohlbehalten sind.' On this passage from Otfrid, O. Erdmann,[1] *l. c.*, p. 204, comments: "Freier schliesst sich der Inf. einmal in consecutivem Sinne an ein mit demonstrativem *so* verbundenes Verbum an; er gibt die Tätigkeit an, zu welcher in dem mit *so* angezeigten Zustande die Bereitschaft und Fähigkeit vorhanden ist." He adds: "Auf ähnliche Weise denke ich mir an das stark betonte *thu* angeschlossen den scheinbar absoluten Infinitiv, III,

[1] From Apelt,[1] *l. c.*, p. 290.

[2] See Gabelentz and Loebe, *l. c.*, p. 273; Apelt,[1] *l. c.*, p. 290; Streitberg,[2] *l. c.*, p. 205; Wilmanns, *l. c.*, p. 119. — Since the above sentence was written, Professor G. O. Curme,[2] *l. c.*, pp. 359 ff., has published what seems to me an unsuccessful attempt to overthrow this theory of Greek influence.

[3] From Denecke, *l. c.*, p. 20. [4] *Ibidem*, p. 21. [5] *Ibidem*, p. 34. [6] *Ibidem*, p. 35.

20.163: *thu bist* al honer, *in sunton giboraner*, thu unsih thanne *bredigon* = ' du (bist) einer, welcher uns zurechtweisen könnte (um uns zurechtzuweisen).' " (2) Examples of the inflected infinitive are: *Murb. H.* 12.1: unsih *za petonne cruazzit* = nos *ad orandum provocat;*[1] — *Aug. serm.* 33.8: *manot* unsih *za forstantanne* = *admonet* nos *intelligere;*[2] — *Denkm.* lvi. 70: *ci gigehanne ginotames* = *confiteri compellimur.*[3]

Says O. Erdmann,[1] *l. c.*, p. 213: " Ohne dass die Bedeutung des Verbums wesentlich ist, schliesst sich nicht selten *zi* mit Inf. als freiere consecutive oder finale Ausführung an den Inhalt des ganzen Satzes an." Of the several examples given by him, the following seem to me consecutive: IV, 13.24: mit thir bin ih . . . in karkari *zi faranne* joh dothes ouh *zi koronne* = ' bis zu Kerker und Tod;' V, 16.35: zeichono eigit ir gewalt *zi wirkenne* ubar woroltlant = ' so dass ihr sie wirken könnet.'

Professor Wilmanns, *l. c.*, p. 127, gives a few examples of the consecutive inflected infinitive in Middle High German, and states that the idiom does not survive in New High German: " Fremder ist uns der Inf. mit *zu* geworden, wo er die Wirkung bezeichnet; z. B. Er. 5586: *im ze sehenne er in sluoc*, so dass er es sah; Gudr. 499.3: *daz man des fiuwers wint sluoc uz herten helmen ze sehenne schœnen frouwen*, so dass sie es sehen konnten; Nib. 382.3: *sin solden da niht sten den fremden* an *ze sehenne.*" Dr. Monsterberg-Münckenau,[1] *l. c.*, pp. 77–104, gives an extended treatment of the consecutive use of the infinitive in the epics of Hartmann von Aue, but includes under his general heading, "Der Infinitiv der Richtung," a number of uses that are otherwise classified by the standard grammars, for example, the infinitive with auxiliaries and the infinitive with impersonal verbs.

Dr. Pratje, *l. c.*, p. 73, cites what he considers an example of the consecutive inflected infinitive in Old Saxon: " Auch schliesst sich, wie bei Otfrid (vgl. Erdmann, I, § 351), ein Infinitiv als freiere konsekutive Ausführung an den Inhalt des ganzen Satzes an: uuarth im giuuendid thuo hugi an herten after thero heri Judeonno *te uuerkeanne* iro uuillion, 5471."

It seems to me that in most of the foregoing examples the consecutive infinitive is a native development of the infinitive after verbs calling for an accusative infinitive (when uninflected) or for a dative infinitive or a prepositional phrase (when inflected), in the latter case, however, somewhat influenced, in Old High German at least, by the presence in the original of gerund and gerundive constructions. The infinitive of result preceded by *swaswe* and by *swaei* in Gothic, however, is in direct imitation[3] of the Greek consecutive infinitive preceded by ὥστε.

D. THE ABSOLUTE INFINITIVE.

Of the absolute use of the infinitive in Gothic, I have not found a clear example.

Messrs. Falk and Torp, *l. c.*, pp. 208–209, give several examples of the absolute infinitive in the Scandinavian languages: " Den absolute infinitiv, hvis subjekt er den talende eller et ubestemt ' man,' føies til det hele udsagn: *fyrst at segja fra Oðni* (for nu først at tale om Odin); nw at tale om thenne artikel (P. Elies.); med faa ord at sige (Abs. Ped.); kort at sige (Holb.); sandt at sige; at sige, hvis du ønsker det; efter udseendet at dømme; vel at merke; (for) ikke at tale om." They then give a short paragraph on the elliptical use of the in-

[1] From Denecke, *l. c.*, p. 59. [2] *Ibidem*, p. 66.
[3] See the references given in the second footnote on p. 260 above.

finitive: "En elliptisk infinitiv bruges i spørsmaal og indignerede udraab: hvorfor ei Skaftet tage og dermed Hunden fra dig jage (Wess.); hvi dig omsonst umage (ib.); komme her og fortælle mig sligt. Ved tysk indflydelse ogsaa i bisætninger efter verbet 'vide:' jeg neppe veed for Fryd paa hvilken Fod at staae (Wess.); ligedan i engelsk, fransk, italiensk og spansk."

Concerning an apparent, not real, example of the absolute infinitive in Old High German, see above, p. 260, the quotation from Erdmann. Grimm, *l. c.*, IV, p. 98, differs with Erdmann, and holds that the infinitive in both of the examples from Otfrid are absolute: "Man kann sich einen ganz unabhängig gesetzten inf. denken. Jener imperativische (s. 87) ist ein solcher, wenn die schleppende erklärung durch ellipse nichts gilt. Es scheint, dass der inf. auch als ausruf hingestellt wurde." He then quotes Otfrid III, 20.163, and continues: "Es könnte auch fragweise gesagt sein," but he gives no example of this type from Old High German. Of the imperative infinitive in asseverations he thinks we have an example in *piladi quedan = verbi gratia.*

But examples are given from Middle High German and from New High German, not only of the interrogative type but also of the exclamative type: *Ludw. Kreuzf.* 7144: waz *biten* langer unt niht *striten?* Lessing 2.104: ich *schwören?* — *Keisersb. Omeiss.* 19[d]: ja wol jetz bistumb *aufgeben!* Goethe 7.13: ich *verreisen!* ich dich nicht *lieben!* Grimm concludes: "infinitivische *beteurung:* mhd. friuntel *machen*, nimmer *tuon* (im munde eines thoren), *Frib. Trist.* 5239, 5241; nhd. diesmal *tanzen* und nicht wieder! ahd. piladi *quedan* (verbi gratia), Graff 3.97, d. h. um ein beispiel zu sagen." — See, further, concerning the idiom in Middle High German, Monsterberg-Münckenau,[1] *l. c.*, pp. 98, 134.

In Old Saxon I find no example.

The absolute infinitive, in most of its uses, in the Germanic languages is probably, as in Anglo-Saxon, derived by ellipsis from the predicative infinitive after the verb *to be*, though occasionally it arises from the abridgment of a final clause into an infinitive phrase: see the list of examples illustrative of this evolution in Anglo-Saxon, given in Chapter XIV, section xii.

Of the four adverbial uses of the infinitive treated in this chapter, then, one, that of specification with verbs, seems wholly due to foreign (Latin) influence; one, that of cause, seems partly of native and partly of foreign origin; one, that of result, with adjectives, is wholly native, but with verbs is largely native but partly foreign; while the remaining use, the absolute, is wholly native.

XIII. THE INFINITIVE WITH NOUNS.

Both the uninflected infinitive and the inflected infinitive are found with nouns in the Germanic languages, but the latter the oftener.

In Gothic we have both[1] infinitives, but oftener the prepositional. More frequently (*a*) the simple infinitive corresponds to the same in Greek, but occasionally to an articular or a prepositional infinitive; while (*b*) the prepositional infinitive more commonly corresponds to a Greek articular infinitive in the genitive or to a prepositional, though occasionally to a simple infinitive or to a preposition + a noun: — (a) *Mat.* 9.6: þatei *waldufni* habaiþ sa sunus mans ana

[1] On p. 459 Dr. A. Köhler[2] seems to say that only the prepositional infinitive is found with nouns in Gothic, and Denecke, pp. 22, 70, was misled thereby; but what Köhler really says is that he is about to give a group of finite verbs + a substantive that are followed only by a prepositional infinitive. At other places he gives clear examples of a noun followed by the simple infinitive, as is evident from my citations.

airþai *afleitan* frawaurhtins = ὅτι ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας;[1] *L.* 10.19: atgaf izwis *walduſni trudan* ufar waurme jah skaurpjono = δίδωμι ὑμῖν τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πατεῖν ἐπάνω ὄφεων καὶ σκορπίων;[2] *Philip.* 1.23: þanuh *lustu* habans *andletnan* jah miþ Xristau *wisan* = τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔχων εἰς τὸ ἀναλῦσαι καὶ σὺν Χριστῷ εἶναι;[3] — (*b*) *L.* 1.57: Aileisabaiþ usfullnoda *mel du bairan* = ὁ χρόνος τοῦ τεκεῖν;[4] *L.* 2.6: *dagos du bairan* = ἡμέραι τοῦ τεκεῖν;[4] *L.* 5.17: jah *mahts* fraujins was *du hailjan* ins = καὶ δύναμις κυρίου ἦν εἰς τὸ ἰᾶσθαι αὐτούς;[5] *Mk.* 3.15: *walduſni du hailjan* sauhtins jah *uswairpan* unhulþons = ἐξουσίαν θεραπεύειν τὰς νόσους καὶ ἐκβάλλειν τὰ δαιμόνια;[5] *L.* 14.28: niu frumist gasitands rahneiþ manwiþo, *habaiu du ustiuhan?* = εἰ ἔχει τὰ πρὸς ἀπαρτισμόν (in which the noun is to be supplied).[6] It is worth noting that usually, when the infinitive stands in a genitival relation to the noun, it translates an articular infinitive in the genitive, as in Anglo-Saxon it translates a Latin gerund or gerundive in the genitive: see Chapter XIV, p. 220 above.

Concerning the infinitive with nouns in the Scandinavian languages, Messrs. Falk and Torp, *l. c.*, p. 203, make this interesting statement: "Skjønt infinitiven egentlig er et substantiv, kan den dog oprindelig ikke, saaledes som andre substantiver, direkte forbindes med et substantiv som styret af dette. I oldnorsk heder 'lyst til at reise' ikke *hugr* (*at*) *fara*, men *farar hugr*. Heller ikke som forklarende tillæg (i lighed med den definitive genitiv) kunde infinitiv oprindelig forbindes med et substantiv (som i vort 'kunsten at skrive'). Først naar substantivet i forbindelse med *hafa* og *vera* kommer til at danne et verbalt udtryk, kan infinitiv tilføies, som til de i § 125 nævnte verber, med hvilke saadanne substantiviske udsagn blir synonyme. Som ved disse verber kunde *at* mangle eller staa, alt efter den oprindelige opfatning af infinitiven som objekt eller som maalet for handlingen; dog udelades *at* i oldnorsk kun i det poetiske sprog: *hafa hug hjǫrum at bregða; sina talði litla fysi* (*scil. vera*) *at roa lengra* (= *sagði sik litt fysa*); *mal er at riða* (= *nu skal riða*)." To these examples I add two others, from Nygaard, *l. c.*, p. 224: *Am.* 63: *tom* lezt *at eiga* teðja vel garða; — *Laxd.* 161.5: gefr *rum at sitja* hja ser. See, too, Lund, *l. c.*, pp. 375 ff.

Dr. Denecke, *l. c.*, pp. 21–22, cites only three examples of a noun modified by an uninflected infinitive in Old High German: *Tatian* 179.1: inti *giwalt* gab imo tuom *tuon* = et *potestatem* dedit ei et judicium *facere;*[7] *ib.* 210.35: ih haben *toufi gitoufit werdan* = *baptismum* habeo *baptizari;*[8] *B. R.* 125.2: *kecaugrot wesan* (trotz lat. Gerd.) = sit *necessitas vacandi.*[8] On the other hand, he gives, on pp. 69–70, numerous examples of the inflected infinitive, of which I quote only a few: *Denkm.* lxvi. 1: *gewalt* have sachun sinu *ce gevene* = *potestatem* habet res suas *dare; Ev. Matth.* 1.18: habet *gawalt za forlazanne* suntea = habet *potestatem dimittendi* peccata; *Tatian* 232.17: thorph coufta ih inti *notthurft* haben ih *uzziganganne* inti *gisehen* iz = villam emi, et *necesse* habeo *exire* et *videre* illam; *ib.* 72.31: *zit zi beranne* = *tempus parturiendi; ib.* 143.3: habe *orun zi horenne* = habet *aurem audiendi.* Erdmann,[1] O., *l. c.*, p. 213, gives some examples of the inflected infinitive in Otfrid.

[1] From Köhler.[2] A., *l. c.*, p. 426. [2] *Ibidem*, p. 426. [3] *Ibidem*, p. 437.
[4] *Ibidem*, p. 460. [5] *Ibidem*, p. 426. [6] *Ibidem*, p. 427.
[7] Denecke, *l. c.*, p. 69, comments: "1 mal reiner Inf., . . . wo wahrscheinlich das lat. doppelte *et* die Veranlassung war, dass die Abhängigkeit des Inf. von dem Subst. dem Uebers. nicht klar wurde."
[8] Denecke, *l. c.*, p. 22, thinks that the uninflected infinitive here is due to the fact that a Latin passive infinitive is translated.

It seems probable that the inflected infinitive after nouns was native to Old High German, corresponding as it does to various Latin idioms. But it is noteworthy that the inflected infinitive with genitival force corresponds often, as in Anglo-Saxon, to a Latin gerund in the genitive. As to the uninflected infinitive, as stated above, Denecke holds that sometimes, as in *Tatian* 179.1, the lack of inflection is due to a misunderstanding of the Latin *et . . . et;* sometimes, as in *Tatian* 210.35, to the fact that a passive infinitive is being translated. On p. 69 he thus comments on the interchange of inflected and uninflected infinitive seen in *Tatian* 232.17 above quoted: "Wechsel der Construction wohl nur aus nachlässiger Anlehnung an den lat. Text." He then cites other examples of this interchange of the two infinitives after nouns, and adds: " Ueberhaupt dürfte Nachlässigkeit wohl in allen den Fällen anzunehmen sein, wo aus der Construction mit *zi*, ohne dass ein Wechsel in der lat. Construction vorliegt, zum einfachen Inf. übergegangen wird." It is more probable, I think, that the lack of inflection in the first and in the third examples is due to the separation of the infinitive in the Old High German from its noun, — a principle that we found applicable in Anglo-Saxon. Concerning the passive infinitive Denecke is doubtless correct, for we found that in Anglo-Saxon the infinitive part of the compound passive infinitive is never inflected.

Rare, too, is the uninflected infinitive in Old Saxon. Pratje, *l. c.*, p. 70, cites two examples: *Hel.* 4289: huan ist thin eft *uuan cuman; ib.* 5825: ik uuet that is iu ist *niud sehan* an theson stene innan; but, in the second, the infinitive may be subjective[1] or a predicate nominative instead of a modifier of the noun, *niud*. On pages 73–74 he cites several examples of the inflected infinitive, of which I quote only two: *Hel.* 2228: that ik *giuuald* hebbiu sundea *te fargibanne* endi oc seokan man *te gihelianne; ib.* 2377: uuas im *tharf* mikil *te gihoreanne* hebancuninges uuarfastun uuord.

In all probability, then, the inflected infinitive with nouns was an idiom native to the Germanic languages in general. But when the *to* (*zu*) infinitive is distinctly genitival in function, it seems to have been due in part to foreign influence: to the articular (genitive) or the prepositional infinitive in Greek and to the genitive of the gerund or gerundive in Latin. Outside of Gothic and Old Norse, the uninflected infinitive is found only sporadically with nouns, and is usually appreciably separated from the noun it modifies.

NOTES.

1. *The Historical Infinitive in the Other Germanic Languages.* — Grimm, *l. c.*, IV, p. 99, gives no example of the historical infinitive in the Germanic languages, but his editors, Messrs. Roethe and Schroeder, give what they conceive to be examples from Swedish and from Anglo-Saxon. The alleged examples from Anglo-Saxon have been quoted and commented upon in the "Introduction," p. 6. Dr. Monsterberg-Münckenau,[1] *l. c.*, p. 134, declares that the idiom does not occur in Hartmann von Aue.

2. *The Imperative Infinitive in the Other Germanic Languages.* — Grimm, *l. c.*, IV, pp. 92–93, gives examples of the imperative infinitive in Gothic and in High German, the former in imitation of the Greek: *L.* 9.3: ni þan tweihnos paidos *haban* = *μήτε ἀνὰ δύο χιτῶνας ἔχειν*; — *HMS.* 3.321ᵃ: damite niht *gahen; Dioclet.* 3586: mich baz *verstan;* — Lessing 1.279: nicht *gehen!* Dr. Monsterberg-Münckenau,[1] *l. c.*, p. 134, says the construction does not occur in Hartmann von Aue, but does occur in Berthold von Regensburg; and he refers to H. Roetteken, *l. c.*, § 211.

[1] See p. 232 above.

CHAPTER XVII.

RESULTS.

I briefly sum up what seem to me to be the results of this investigation, first, concerning the active infinitive and, secondly, concerning the passive infinitive: —

I. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

1. In respect of the Form, the Anglo-Saxon has two active infinitives: (1) the uninflected, ending in *-an*, with phonetic variants, which in origin is the petrified nominative-accusative case of a neuter noun of action; and (2) the inflected, made up of the preposition *to* plus the dative case of the uninflected infinitive, ending in *-enne* (*-anne*), with phonetic variants. Occasionally, however, we have a compromise between these two, as in *to singan* or in *singenne* without *to*, both of which forms are counted as inflected in this investigation. And very rarely, in Late West Saxon, we have the infinitive in *-enne* preceded by *for to*, as in *for to hauene*.

2. As to the Voice of these two infinitives, it seems to me that the uninflected infinitive is habitually active in sense as in form in each of its various uses, after verbs of commanding, of causing, and of sense perception as well as in other uses. The inflected infinitive, also, is usually active in sense except when used predicatively with *beon* (*wesan*) to denote necessity or obligation, in which use it is normally passive, though occasionally active. Probably, too, the adjectivized inflected infinitive with nouns, a construction that may be considered an abridgment of the infinitive of necessity with *beon* (*wesan*), is also passive in sense. Possibly, but not probably, the inflected infinitive is occasionally passive in sense when used to denote purpose, and when used with adjectives. But the Anglo-Saxons at the outset had little feeling for a true passive infinitive, and very slowly acquired it through the Latin: see the section below on the passive infinitive.

3. In keeping with its origin, the infinitive is of dual Nature, partaking, at one and the same time, of the nature both of the noun and of the verb. But, despite this fact, one of these two tendencies, the substantival and the verbal, usually predominates; and from this standpoint we may roughly divide all infinitives into two big classes, (1) substantival and (2) verbal (or predicative). More generally useful, however, is the classification according to the dominant Function of the infinitive; according to which an infinitive is substantival, predicative, adverbial, or adjectival.

4. The Uses of the Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon are fourfold: —

(1) Substantival, subdivided into:

(*a*) Subjective, oftenest with the infinitive inflected, but often uninflected.

(*b*) Objective, oftenest with the infinitive uninflected, but often inflected.

(*c*) Other substantival uses:

(*aa*) As a predicate nominative, infrequent, oftener with the infinitive inflected.

(*bb*) As an appositive, infrequent, oftener with the infinitive uninflected.

(*cc*) As the object of a preposition: the examples cited are all very doubtful.

(2) Predicative (or more verbal), in which we have the infinitive:

(*a*) As the predicative complement after:

(*aa*) Auxiliary verbs, with the infinitive normally uninflected, but sporadically inflected.

(*bb*) Verbs of motion and of rest, with the infinitive invariably uninflected.

(*cc*) The adhortative (*w*)*uton*, with the infinitive invariably uninflected.

(*dd*) *Beon* (*Wesan*) to denote habitually necessity, but occasionally futurity and purpose. In each of these three uses the infinitive is habitually inflected except occasionally in the first.

(*b*) As the quasi-predicate of:

(*aa*) An accusative subject after certain groups of verbs ((1) commanding, (2) causing and permitting, (3) sense perception; less frequently: (4) mental perception; very rarely: (5) declaring and (6) other verbs), with the infinitive habitually uninflected, but occasionally inflected. The accusative-with-infinitive construction is much more frequent in objective than in subjective clauses.

(*bb*) A dative subject apparently but not really, with the infinitive sometimes uninflected and sometimes inflected.

(3) Adverbial, subdivided into:

(*a*) Final, frequent, with the infinitive both uninflected and inflected.

(*b*) Causal, rare, oftener with the infinitive inflected.

(*c*) Specificatory: with verbs, rare, always with the infinitive inflected; with adjectives, frequent, with the infinitive habitually inflected, but sporadically uninflected.

(*d*) Consecutive, with adjectives and with verbs, with the infinitive habitually, if not exclusively, inflected.

(*e*) Absolute, with the infinitive habitually inflected, but sporadically uninflected.

(4) Adjectival, to limit a noun or a pronoun, in which use we have habitually the inflected infinitive, but sporadically the uninflected infinitive. In a few of these examples the inflected infinitive is almost a pure adjective; and in a few others it closely approximates a Latin gerundive.

5. The Differentiation between the Uninflected Infinitive and the Inflected Infinitive seems to rest upon this general principle, though not without a few apparent, if not real, exceptions: the uninflected infinitive is used normally, in substantival uses, as a nominative or an accusative of a verbal noun; in predicative and in adverbial uses, as an accusative; the inflected infinitive is used normally, in substantival (objective), in predicative, in adverbial, and in adjectival uses, to represent a case other than the nominative or the accusative, what for lack of a better term I have designated an "indirect case," which corresponds oftenest, as would be expected from its composition, to the dative case, but also to the genitive case and to the instrumental case. And, owing to the influence

of neighboring dativel verbs and verbal phrases, we have, from the outset, the inflected infinitive as subject oftener than the uninflected. In accordance with this general principle we find that:—

(1) Normally the Uninflected Infinitive is used to denote:

(*a*) The subject of a few finite verbs.

(*b*) The direct object of most verbs governing an accusative of the direct object.

(*c*) The appositive to a noun or a pronoun.

(*d*) Purpose after a few verbs of motion, of rest, of commanding and requesting.

(*e*) The predicative complement of (*aa*) the auxiliary verbs (except *agan*, which not infrequently has the inflected infinitive) and of (*bb*) verbs of motion and of rest, as in *com fleogan* and *uton gangan*.

(*f*) The quasi-predicate of (*aa*) an accusative subject.

(2) Normally the Inflected Infinitive is used to denote:

(*a*) The subject of dativel verbs and verbal phrases, especially when in proximity thereto.

(*b*) The "indirect case" object of verbs governing a noun object in the genitive, or the dative, or the instrumental.

(*c*) The predicate nominative after certain dativel verb phrases.

(*d*) The predicative complement of *beon* (*wesan*) to denote necessity or obligation.

(*e*) The "indirect case" adverbial modifier of (*aa*) verbs, to express (α) purpose, (β) result, (γ) absolute relationship; and of (*bb*) adjectives, to express (α) specification, (β) result.

(*f*) The "indirect case" phrasal, adjectival modifier of nouns or pronouns, in which construction the infinitive usually represents a genitive or a dative case, but occasionally an instrumental case.

(3) The Uninflected Infinitive and the Inflected Infinitive are each used to denote:

(*a*) The object with a number of verbs of double regimen.

(*b*) The adverbial (final) modifier of certain verbs (*1*) of motion and rest and (*2*) of giving, the uninflected infinitive in (1) representing the earlier (poetical) usage.

(4) Dativel verbs or verbal phrases at times attract what would normally be an uninflected infinitive into an inflected infinitive, especially if in proximity to the infinitive.

(5) The presence of gerund or of gerundive in the Latin original (whether with or without a preposition) tends to the use of the inflected infinitive in Anglo-Saxon; as does, also, the presence of the Latin future participle.

(6) Analogy at times upsets original conditions.

(7) Naturally, in Late West Saxon the distinction between the two infinitives is less strictly observed than in Early West Saxon; and, in keeping with the analytic trend of the English language, the inflected infinitive gains upon the uninflected infinitive.

(8) Sporadically the Uninflected Infinitive is used to denote:

(*a*) The subject of verbs that normally have the inflected infinitive.

(*b*) The object of verbs that normally have the inflected infinitive.

(*c*) The predicate nominative where we should expect the inflected infinitive, as in the later members of a series of co-ordinated (inflected) infinitives.

(*d*) The predicative complement to *beon* (*wesan*) to denote necessity or obligation.

(*e*) The quasi-predicate to a dative subject, apparently but not really.

(*f*) Purpose where we should expect the inflected infinitive, especially in the later members of a series of co-ordinated (inflected) infinitives.

(*g*) Specification with adjectives.

(*h*) Cause with verbs.

(*i*) The absolute relationship with verbs.

(*j*) The adjectival complement of a noun or a pronoun.

(9) Sporadically the Inflected Infinitive is used to denote:

(*a*) The subject of verbs that normally have the uninflected infinitive.

(*b*) The object of verbs that normally have the uninflected infinitive.

(*c*) An appositive to a noun or a pronoun, when in proximity to some word usually followed by the inflected infinitive.

(*d*) Possibly, though not probably, the object of a preposition.

(*e*) The predicative complement of (*aa*) auxiliary verbs (except *agan*, which not infrequently has the inflected infinitive) and of (*bb*) *beon* (*wesan*) to express futurity or purpose.

(*f*) The quasi-predicate of (*aa*) an accusative subject; and of (*bb*) a dative subject, apparently but not really.

(*g*) Purpose where we should expect an uninflected infinitive, as in a series of co-ordinated (uninflected) infinitives.

(*h*) Cause with verbs.

(*i*) Specification with verbs.

6. As to the Position of the Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon, pre-position is the commoner (*1*) with *beon* (*wesan*) when denoting necessity and active in sense; (*2*) in the absolute use; and (*3*) in dependent clauses. In other uses, post-position is the commoner. At times, the position of the infinitive in the Latin original is a determining factor; oftener, as already indicated, the subordinate nature of the Anglo-Saxon clause is a determining factor; but not infrequently each of these factors is ignored. At times, the position of the infinitive seems to be determined by the exigencies of the meter; at any rate, pre-position is relatively more frequent in the poetry than in the prose. As stated in 4, proximity to dativel verbs and verbal phrases is favorable to attraction, and tends to cause the infinitive to be inflected.

7. As to Origin, the active infinitive in Anglo-Saxon is in some uses (A) native and in others (B) foreign (Latin).

A. NATIVE.

(1) In the following uses the infinitive appears to be a native English idiom: —

I. SUBSTANTIVAL:

(*a*) Subjective, uninflected and inflected, with active verbs.

(*b*) Objective with active verbs, as indicated below:

Group of Verbs:	*Followed by Uninfl. Inf. Only:*	*Followed by Infl. Inf. Only:*	*Followed by Uninfl. and Infl. Inf.:*
(*aa*) Commanding:	*hatan.*[1]	*gedihtan.*	*bebeodan, beodan, beverian, biddan, forbeodan, gehatan.*
(*bb*) Causing and Permitting:	*lætan.*[2]	*liefan, lofian.*	*aliefan, geðafian, sellan.*
(*cc*) Sense Perception:	*gehieran, geseon, hieran, ofseon, seon.*		
(*dd*) Mental Perception:	In the main: *gefrignan, gehogian, hogian, tweogan* [*tweon*] (?).	See the long list on p. 187.	In the main: see the list on pp. 44 and 189.
(*ee*) Beginning, Delaying, Ceasing:			*fon,*[3] *forlætan,* and the compounds of *ginnan,* in the main.
(*ff*) Inclination and Will:	In part: *behealdan,*[4] *onmedan.*	In the main: see the list on pp. 37 and 188.	In the main: see the list on pp. 190–192.
(*gg*) Other Verbs:		*habban* in part.	

(*c*) Predicate nominative, in part, normally inflected.

(*d*) Appositive, in part, normally uninflected.

II. PREDICATIVE (OR MORE VERBAL):

(*a*) With auxiliary verbs, uninflected save in a few sporadic cases.

(*b*) With verbs of motion and of rest, uninflected.

(*c*) With (*w*)*uton*, in the main, uninflected.

(*d*) With accusative subject, as object, uninflected save in a few sporadic instances, after (*aa*) verbs of commanding: *bebeodan, biddan, hatan;* (*bb*) verbs of causing and permitting: *lætan* and its compounds, *alætan* and *forlætan;* (*cc*) verbs of sense perception: *gehieran, geseon, hieran, ofseon, seon;* and (*dd*) verbs of mental perception: *afindan, findan, gefrignan, gehyhtan, gemetan, gemittan, gewitan, onfindan, witan.*

(*e*) With accusative subject, as object, inflected, after this verb of mental perception, *tæcan.* [The inflected infinitive with accusative subject is found once each after *findan* and *gereccan,* in Ælfric.]

(*f*) With apparent but not real dative subject, uninflected and inflected.

III. ADVERBIAL:

(*a*) With Verbs:

(*aa*) Final, uninflected, after verbs of motion and of rest.

(*bb*) Absolute, inflected; possibly, also, the sporadic uninflected infinitive.

(*cc*) Causal, uninflected and inflected, in part.

(*dd*) Consecutive, inflected, in the main, with both active and passive verbs.

(*b*) With Adjectives:

(*aa*) Specificatory, normally inflected, except when the infinitive is clearly genitival in function:

(*bb*) Consecutive, habitually inflected.

[1] Indeterminable: *abiddan.*
[2] Indeterminable: *ablinnan, geswican.*
[3] Indeterminable: *don, forgiefan.*
[4] Indeterminable: *cunnian, gegiernian.*

IV. ADJECTIVAL:

(*a*) With noun or pronoun, habitually inflected, except, possibly, when the inflected infinitive is equivalent to a genitive phrase or when the infinitive is used strictly as a Latin gerundive (see Chapter XIII, Note 2, p. 182).

(2) The grounds of the foregoing statement as to which uses of the infinitive are native to Anglo-Saxon are briefly these: (1) that these uses are, in general, found in the poems and in the more original prose; (2) that, in the Anglo-Saxon translation from the Latin, no dominant influence of the original can be demonstrated; and (3) that what we know of these uses in the kindred Germanic languages tends to support the theory that these uses are native in Anglo-Saxon.

B. FOREIGN (LATIN).

(3) In the following uses, on the other hand, the infinitive appears to be borrowed from the Latin: —

I. SUBSTANTIVAL:

(*a*) Subjective, uninflected and inflected, with passive verbs.
(*b*) Objective, with active verbs, as indicated below:

Group of Verbs:	*Followed by Uninfl. Inf. Only:*	*Followed by Infl. Inf. Only:*	*Followed by Uninfl. and Infl. Inf.:*
(*aa*) Commanding:			
(*bb*) Causing and Permitting:			
(*cc*) Sense Perception:			
(*dd*) Mental Perception:	In part: *geleon.*		Only in part: *geleornian;* see p. 189.
(*ee*) Beginning, Delaying, Ceasing:	*blinnan, forieldan, ginnan.*	In the main: see the list on pp. 37 and 187.	*fon, forlætan,* and the compounds of *ginnan,* only in part.
(*ff*) Inclination and Will:	In part: *forefon, geeaðmodigan, geðyrstigan, lystan, wunian.*		In part only: *gearnian, gemedemian, gewunian;* see pp. 190–192.
(*gg*) Other Verbs:		*habban* in part.	

(*c*) Objective, uninflected and inflected, with passive verbs.
(*d*) Predicate nominative, in part, normally inflected.
(*e*) Appositive, in part, normally uninflected.

II. PREDICATIVE (OR MORE VERBAL):

(*a*) With (*w*)*uton*, in part, uninflected.

(*b*) With accusative subject, as object, uninflected except sporadically, after (*aa*) verbs of commanding: *forbeodan;* (*bb*) verbs of causing and permitting: *biegan* [*began*], *don, gedon, geðafian, geðolian, geunnan, niedan;* (*cc*) verbs of sense perception:[1] *gefelan, gehawian, sceawian;* (*dd*) verbs of mental perception:[2] *æteawan, eowan, gecyðan, gehatan, geliefan, gemunan, getriewan, læran,*

[1] The origin is indeterminable after *behealdan.*
[2] The origin is indeterminable after *geacsian* and *taligan;* and after *habban* and *todælan,* of "other verbs."

ongietan, tellan, wenan; and (*ee*) verbs of declaring: *cweðan, foresecgan, ondettan, secgan.*

(*c*) With accusative subject, as object, inflected, after (*aa*) verbs of causing and permitting: *don*(?); (*bb*) verbs of mental perception: *læran;* (*cc*) verbs of declaring: *foresecgan*(?); and (*dd*) in *L.* 1.73: hyne us *to syllane* ðone að.

(*d*) With accusative subject, as subject, uninflected except sporadically, with both active and passive verbs.

(*e*) With *beon* (*wesan*), inflected except sporadically, to denote necessity or obligation (in both passive and active senses); to denote futurity; and, probably, to denote purpose.

III. ADVERBIAL:

(*a*) With Verbs:

(*aa*) Final, inflected, after verbs of whatever kind, both active and passive.

(*bb*) Final, uninflected, after verbs (*1*) of commanding and requesting and (*2*) of giving.

(*cc*) Causal, uninflected and inflected, in part.

(*dd*) Specificatory, always inflected.

(*ee*) Consecutive, inflected, in part, with both active and passive verbs.

(*b*) With Adjectives:

(*aa*) Specificatory, inflected, when the infinitive is clearly genitival in function.

IV. ADJECTIVAL:

(*a*) With noun or pronoun, habitually inflected, when the infinitive is equivalent to a genitive phrase, and when the infinitive is strictly equivalent to a Latin gerundive (see Chapter XIII, Note 2, p. 182).

(4) The grounds of the foregoing statement as to which uses of the infinitive in Anglo-Saxon are of foreign (Latin) origin are briefly these: (1) that these uses are, in general, not found in the poetry except in poems known to be based on Latin originals, and in these only sparingly; (2) that they are found very rarely in the more original prose; (3) that, in the Anglo-Saxon translations from the Latin, the dominant influence of the original is demonstrated; and (4) that what we know of these uses in the kindred Germanic languages tends to support the theory that these uses in Anglo-Saxon are borrowed from the Latin.

(5) Ultimately, in Anglo-Saxon as in the Germanic languages in general, the predicative use of the infinitive with auxiliaries was objective; and the predicative use with (*w*)*uton*, with other verbs of motion, and with *beon* (*wesan*) was final.

II. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

8. Anglo-Saxon has a compound passive infinitive, made up usually of the present active infinitive, *beon* (occasionally *wesan* or *weorðan*), plus the past participle. The strictly infinitive part of the compound is uninflected; the participle part is sometimes inflected, sometimes not.

9. This infinitive is passive in sense as well as in form.

10. Though far less frequently used than is the active infinitive, the passive infinitive is found, in Anglo-Saxon, in the following uses: —

(1) Substantival:
(*a*) Subjective occasionally.
(*b*) Objective occasionally.

(2) Predicative (or More Verbal):
(*a*) With auxiliary verbs frequently.
(*b*) With (*w*)*uton* occasionally.
(*c*) With accusative subject, the phrase being the object of an active transitive verb, not infrequently.
(*d*) With accusative subject, the phrase being the subject of an active verb occasionally and of a passive verb once.

(3) Adverbial:
(*a*) With an adjective once.

11. In each of its uses, the Anglo-Saxon passive infinitive is of Latin origin. The grounds of this statement are these: (1) that these uses are, in general, unknown in the poetry except in the poems known to be based on Latin originals, and are rare even in these; (2) that they are rare in the more original prose; (3) that, in the Anglo-Saxon translations from the Latin, the dominant influence of the original is demonstrated; and (4) that what we know of these constructions in the kindred Germanic languages tends to support the theory that these uses in Anglo-Saxon are borrowed from the Latin.

III. SUBSTITUTES FOR THE INFINITIVE.

12. In course of time there were developed some Substitutes for the Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon.

(1) Gradually the nominative of the present participle came to be substituted for the predicative infinitive after verbs of motion (and occasionally of rest), *com fleogan* becoming *com fleogende*. Despite the encroachment of the present participle, the predicative infinitive, contrary to the usual statement, survived into Late West Saxon times, and is occasionally found in Ælfric.

(2) Gradually the predicate accusative of the present participle came to be used side by side with the predicate infinitive with accusative subject after verbs of sense perception, etc.

(3) The substitution of the predicate nominative of the present participle for the predicative infinitive after verbs of motion and of rest seems to have been due to these causes: the appositive use of the participle, especially of words denoting motion, with verbs of motion; the predicative use of the participle in the present and past periphrastic tenses; and the superior clarity, in such locutions, of the participle over the infinitive.

(4) The substitution of the predicate accusative of the present participle for the predicative infinitive with accusative subject was due to Latin influence.

IV. THE INFINITIVE IN THE OTHER GERMANIC LANGUAGES.

13. Despite the incompleteness of my statistics concerning the Infinitive in the Other Germanic Languages, they seem to make probable the following conclusions:—

(1) The Uses of the Infinitive, active and passive, are substantially the same in the other Germanic languages as in Anglo-Saxon, though, naturally, with some variations in the several languages, as indicated in the discussion thereof.

(2) The Differentiation between the Uninflected Infinitive and the Inflected Infinitive rests upon the same general principles as in Anglo-Saxon.

(3) The Voice of the two infinitives active in form, in the High Germanic languages, tallies substantially with that of these two forms in Anglo-Saxon.

(4) In the main, the Origin of the Constructions of the Infinitive is in substantial agreement with that of the infinitive in Anglo-Saxon.

(5) The same Substitutes for the Infinitive are found as in Anglo-Saxon.

(6) The substitution of the predicate nominative of the present participle for the predicative infinitive was probably due to the same general causes as in Anglo-Saxon, but the statistics available on this point are too meager for a confident conclusion.

(7) The substitution of the predicate accusative of the present participle for the predicative infinitive in the High Germanic languages was due to Latin influence. In Gothic, owing to the closeness of the translation, the predicative participle was from the outset more common than the predicative infinitive after verbs of sense perception.

Appendix A.

STATISTICS OF THE INFINITIVE IN ANGLO-SAXON.

Except in Sections VI and VII, the initial verb in the sections below is, not the infinitive, but the finite verb of the passage in question cited in the infinitive form and given in alphabetic sequence. Under each word are given all [1] the occurrences, first, of the uninflected infinitive (= U.) and, secondly, of the inflected infinitive (= I.), first in the prose works and then in the poems, cited in each case in the approximate chronological order, except that the Minor Prose Works and the Minor Poems are given, each, in alphabetic sequence. In *Ælf. Hom.*, in *Chron.*, and in *Napier's Ad. to Th.*, the superior letters (*t*, *m*, and *b*) refer respectively to the top, the middle, and the bottom of the page; while the superior figures distinguish the several examples. In other texts, the superior letters distinguish the several examples within the same lines or verse, or larger whole (as in the Latin of *Wærf.*). The totals for each use are given at the beginning of the chapter in which the particular use is discussed and in the Synoptic Tables of Appendix C. The abbreviations for the texts are explained in the "Bibliography." For convenience, I have not distinguished ð and þ, but have uniformly used ð. As a rule, contractions in the texts have been expanded.

I. The Subjective Infinitive.

A. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

The infinitive is found both uninflected and inflected.

1. With Active Finite Verb.

alefan: see *aliefan.*

aliefan [-e-, -y-], *be allowable:* U. (10): *Bede* (4): 74.15 = 53.29; 74.18$^{a, b}$ = 53.32$^{a, b}$; 78.17 = 55.28. — *Gosp.* (6): *Mk.* (3): 3.4$^{b, c}$; 10.2; — *L.* (3): 6.9$^{a, b, c}$. — I. (3): *Pr. Gu.* (1): xx.85. — *Mk.* (2): 3.4^{a}; 12.14.

alyfan: see *aliefan.*

anhagian: see *onhagian.*

ā̆reotan, *weary:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Oros.* (1): 42.13 = 43.12.

becuman, *happen:* U. (1): Minor Prose (1): *Chad*, Anhang (1): 11. — I. (0).

behōfian, *behoove:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Solil.* (1): 27.12.

beon, *be:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Mat.* (1): 20.23.

beon + an adjective (occasionally an adverb or a noun): —

— **sārȳt**, *troublesome:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 2^{m}.

— **arwierðlicost** [-y-], *honorable:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Greg.* (1): 401.16 = 320.6 (or with adjective?).

— **betere**, *better:* U. (1): *Mk.* (1): 9.47 = 9.46. — I. (6): *Greg.* (1): 457.21 = 390.13. — *Solil.* (1): 36.8 = 0. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. I.* (1): 3.406. — *Mat.* (1): 18.9. — *Gen.* (1): 660. — *Ps.* (1): 83.10.

— **betst**, *best:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Solil.* (2): 3.6, 7.

— **deoplic**, *difficult:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 386^{t} (or with adjective?).

— **deorwierðe** [-u-], *precious:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 582^{b} [2].

— **dyslic**, *foolish:* U. (0). —I. (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXXVI. 325.

— **earfeð(e)**: see *earfoð(e).*

— **earfoð(e)** [-feð(e)], *difficult:* U. (0). — I. (9): *Boeth.* (1): 127.22^{b} = 108.13 (or with adjective?). — *Greg.* (1): 51.5 = 28.3. — *Oros.* (1): 212.30 = 0. — *Chron.* (1): 170^{b}, 1050 D. — *Laws* (1): 455, *Gerefa*, c. 18. — *Bened.* (1): 67.1 = 126.10. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 466^{b}. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. I.* (1): 8.15. — *Gu.* (1): 1039.

— **earfoðlic**, *difficult:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Boeth.* (1): 118.7 = 101.30 (or with adjective?).

— **earfoðre**, *more difficult:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Greg.* (2): 453.12 = 384.5; 455.6 = 386.11.

[1] Except of the Predicative Infinitive with Auxiliary Verbs, the full tabulation of which seemed unnecessary.

beon earmlic, *distressing:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Wulf.* (1): 151.22^{b}.
— **eaðe [eðe, ieðe],** *easy:* U. (0). — I. (5): *Boeth.* (1): 145.5 = 0. — *Chron.* (1): 239^{m}, 1104 E^{a}. — *Bened.* (1): 124.12 = 190.2. — *Beow.* (1): 1003 (or with adjective?). — *Ps.* (1): 76.16.
— **eaðelicor,** *easier, more easily:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Ælf. Hom.* (2): I. 236$^{t\ 2,\ 3}$ (or predicative with *beon?*).
— **eaðelicre,** *easier:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Mat.* (1): 19.24.
— **eaðere [eðre, ieðre],** *easier:* U. (0). — I. (5): *Boeth.* (1): 81.13 = 0. — *Greg.* (2): 203.17, 18 = 152.14. — *Mk.* (1): 10.25. — Minor Prose (1): *Alex.* (1): 280.
— **efneðe,** *equally easy:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Met.* (1): 20.168.
— **egesalicost,** *most terrible:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Wulf.* (1): 297.12 (or with adjective?).
— **eðe:** see *eaðe.*
— **eðre:** see *eað(e)re.*
— **feor,** *far:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Beow.* (1): 1922(?). (Cf. *And.* 424.)
— **fulfremedlic,** *perfect:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 394$^{t\ 2}$.
— **gecopust,** *most fit:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Greg.* (1): 275.18 = 208.11.
— **gecynde,** *natural:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Boeth.* (2): 57.21 = 0; 133.9 = 112.136.
— **gedwolsum,** *misleading:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Pref. to Gen.* 24.15.
— **gelimplicor,** *more suitably:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 216^{b}.
— **genoh,** *enough:* U. (0). — I. (4): *Bede* (2): 350.33 = 263.30; 366.2 = 271.10 (or with adjective?). — *Ælf. Hom.* (2): II. 444$^{b\ L\ 2}$.
— **geomorlic,** *sad:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Beow.* (1): 2445.
— **gewunelic,** *customary:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Ælf. L. S.* (2): 274.186; XXXVI. 100.
— **god,** *good:* U. (0). — I. (13): *Bede* (2): 2.10$^{a,\ b}$ = 0. — *Greg.* (3): 151.8^{b} = 108.18^{a}; 151.9^{a} = 108.18^{b}; 151.9^{b} = 108.18^{c}. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 564^{t}. — *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Gen.* 2.18^{a}. — *Mat.* (1): 17.4^{a}. — *Lacc.* (1): 28.41. — *Ps.* (4): 117.8$^{a,\ b}$, 9$^{a,\ b}$.
— **hefig,** *heavy, unpleasant:* U. (0). — I. (3): *Boeth.* (1): 127.22^{a} = 108.13. — *Wærf.* 289.6 = 349 C^{1}. — *Mart.* (1): 172.4 (or with adjective?).
— **hefi(g)tyme,** *troublesome:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 324^{b} (or with adjective?). — *Wulf.* (1): 304.15^{b}.
— **ieðe [yðe]:** see *eaðe.*
— **ieðre:** see *eað(e)re.*
— **lang [-o-],** *long:* U. (0). — I. (14): *Solil.* (1): 10.7. — *Wærf.* (3): 266.18 = 325 A; 303.1 = 365 B^{1}; 339.11 = 409 B^{2}. — *Wulf.* (8): 7.12; 206.29^{a}; 211.24$^{a,\ b}$; 217.11^{a}; 220.6; 283.15; 306.17. — *Beow.* (1): 2093. — *Rid.* (1): 40.22.
— **langsum [-o-],** *long, tedious:* U. (0). — I. (9): *Oros.* (1): 208.21 = 209.21. — *Chron.* (1): 189^{m}, 1058 D. — *Ælf. Hom.* (4): I. 526^{t}; II. 328$^{b\ 2}$, 476^{t}, 578^{b}. — *Ælf. L. S.* (3): XXV. 82; XXXV. 219; XXXVI. 85.
— **langsumlic [-o-],** *long, tedious:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Ælf. Hom.* (2): I. 362$^{b\ L\ 2}$.
— **lað,** *loathsome:* U. (0). — I. (6): *Oros.* (1): 122.16 = 0. — *Chron.* (2): 173^{m}, 1048 E^{b}; 181^{m}, 1052 D^{d}. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. I.* (1): 2.8. — *Wulf.* (2): 257.13; 304.15^{a}.
— **leng,** *longer:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Oros.* (1): 82.33 = 0.
— **leofost [-ast],** *dearest:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Laws* (1): 78, *Ælfred,* c. 43.
— **leofre,** *dearer:* U. (0). — I. (6): *Greg.* (2): 217.12$^{a,\ b}$ = 164.7, 9. — *Oros.* (2): 44.14$^{a,\ b}$ = 0. — *Chr.* (1): 597. — *El.* (1): 607.
— **long**
— **longsum**
— **longsumlic** } : see *lang,* etc.
— **lustbærre,** *more pleasant:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Greg.* (1): 303.6 = 230.9.
— **manfullic,** *sinful:* U. (0). — I. (1): *A. S. Hom. & L. S. I.* (1): 2.73 (or with adjective?).
— **min,** *mine:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Wærf.* (1): 231.17 = 281 D^{1}. — *Mk.* (1): 10.40.
— **nyttre,** *more useful:* U. (0). — I. (3): *Boeth.* (2): 139.29, 30 = 121.9. — *Greg.* (1): 275.12 = 208.7.
— **nyttwierðe [-y-],** *useful:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Greg.* (1): 89.6 = 58.28.
— **nyttwyrðe:** see *nyttwierðe.*
— **pleolic,** *dangerous:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Pref. to Gen.* 22.9 (or with adjective?)
— **riht [-y-],** *right, proper:* U. (0). — I. (7): *Bede* (2): 268.4 = 210.6; 398.18 = 289.11. — *Boeth.* (1): 30.10 = 0. — *Greg.* (1): 283.7 = 214.5. — *Laws* (1): 48, *Ælfred,* c. 1, § 2^{a}. — Minor Prose (2): *Alex.* (1): 695; — *Chad* (1): 157.
— **rihtlic,** *right, proper:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Wulf.* (1): 283.28.

beon rihtre, *better:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Solil.* (1): 39.9.
— **ryht**: see *riht.*
— **sar**, *grievous:* U. (0). — I. (1): *And.* (1): 1689 (or with adjective?).
— **scandlic** [-o-], *disgraceful:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Oros.* (1): 48.4 = 49.4.
— **sceamu**, *shame:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Chron.* (1): 216[b], 1085 E[s].
— **scondlic**: see *scandlic.*
— **sel**, *better:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Bened.* (2): 10.3[a, b] = 16.13[a, b].
— **selest** [-ost], *best:* U. (0). — I. (4): *Bened.* (1): 15.19 = 26.20. — *Bl. Hom.* (1): 205.27. — *Beow.* (1): 174 (or with adjective?). — *Prayers* (1): IV. 11.
— **selre**, *better:* U. (2): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXV. 144[b]. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): *Napier's Ad. to Th.* (1): 101.322[t 1]. — I. (2): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 486[b 2]. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXV. 144[a].
— **softe**, *soft:* U. (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 164[t]. — I. (0).
— **sorhlic**, *grievous:* U. (0). — I. (3): *Wulf.* (3): 151.22[a]; 241.21[a, b].
— **strang** [-o-], *distressing:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Wulf.* 225.13.
— **strong**: see *strang.*
— **sweotol**, *clear:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Boeth.* (1): 36.16 = 41.25 (or with adjective?).
— **treowlicre**, *safer:* U. (0). — I. (2): Minor Prose (2): *Cato* (2): 63[a, b].
— **unacumendlic**, *intolerable:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXXI. 956.
— **unalefedlic**: see *unaliefedlic.*
— **unaliefedlic** [-e-, -y-], *unlawful:* U. (0). — I. (3): *Pr. Ps.* (1): 16.14[a]. — *Wærf.* (2): 334.22, 23 = 401 D (or with adjective?).
— **unalyfedlic**: see *unaliefedlic.*
— **unaræfnedlic**, *intolerable:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXX. 133.
— **uneaðe**: see *unieðe.*
— **ungeliefedlic**, *incredible:* U. (0). — I. (4): *Oros.* (4): 74.7 = 75.8; 134.15 = 135.13; 238.2 = 0; 240.16 = 0.
— **unieðe** [**uneaðe**], *difficult, grievous:* U. (0). — I. (4): *Greg.* (1) 355.21 = 276.1. — *Oros.* (1): 52.8 = 53.4. — *Wærf.* (1) : 112.17 = B. 142 D. — *And.* (1): 206.
— **unriht**, *wrong:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Wærf.* (1): 308.18 = 372 C[t] (or with adjective?).
— **waclic**, *mean:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 400[m].
— **weorc**, *hardship:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ju.* (1): 569 (or with noun?).
— **weorce**, *grievous:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Beow.* (1): 1419. — *And.* (1): 1659 (or with adjective?).
— **wundorlic**, *wonderful:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Wulf.* (2): 206.29[b]; 217.11[b] (or each with adjective?).
— **wynsumere**, *winsomer:* U. (0). — I. (1): *A. S. Hom. & L. S. I.* (1): 1.275.
dafenian, *be fitting:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Solil.* (1): 32.17 = 0.
derian, *annoy:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Greg.* (1): 237.11 = 178.25.
fremian: see *fremman.*
fremman [**fremian**], *advance, help:* U. (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 394[m]. — I. (1): *Mat.* (1): 19.10.
gebyrian, *be fitting, proper:* U. (7): *Gosp.* (7): *Mat.* (1): 18.33; — *L.* (6): 11.42[b]; 12.12; 15.32[a, b]; 24.26[a, b]; — I. (11): *Laws* (2): 446. c. 3 (with *gebyriað* for *gebyrað* by scribal error?); 477. c. 2. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 492[t]. — *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *De N. T.* 20.30. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): *Ælf. Gr.* (1): 245.9. — *Gosp.* (5): *Mat.* (1): 26.54[b]; — *Mk.* (1): 14.31; — *L.* (2): 2.49; 11.42[a]; — *J.* (1): 9.4. — *Wulf.* (1): 279.4.
gedaf(e)ni(g)an, *be fitting, proper:* U. (11): *Bede* (2): 74.22 = 54.2; 342.18 = 259.12 (or predicative with accusative subject?). — *Pr. Gu.* (3): V. 67, 68, 69. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 318[m 2]. — *Ælf. L. S.* (2): 240.31; XXIII B. 261. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (2): *Napier's Ad. to Th.* (2): 102.34[t 2, 3]. — *L.* (1): 4.43. — I. (18): *Bede* (2): 2.13 = 0; 196.17 = 156.18. — *Solil.* (2): 32.16[a, b] = 0. — *Laws* (1): 248, VI. — *Ælf. Hom.* (3): I. 124[b]; 386[t 2]; II. 318[m]. — *Ælf. L. S.* (6): 228.131; 240.30; 314.127; XXIII B. 228[a, b]; XXX. 124. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. I.* (1): 3.444. — *Wulf.* (2): 227.22; 269.24. — Minor Prose (1): *Alex.* (1): 59.
gelician, *please:* U. (1): *L.* (1): 12.32. — I. (3): *Oros.* (2): 106.23 = 107.24; 250.19 = 0. — *Chron.* (1): 182[t], 1052 C[b] (or appositive?).
gelustfullian, *delight:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 360[b 2].
gelystan, *please:* U. (3): *Lacc.* (3): 69.31[a, b], 32. — I. (0).
genihtsumi(g)an, *suffice:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Bened.* (1): 90.15 = 158.13.
gerisan, *befit:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Oros.* (1): 54.30 = 0. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): *Ælf. Æthelw.* (1): 2.
geðyncan, *seem good:* U. (1): *L.* (1): 1.3. — I. (0).

geweorðan [-u-], *happen:* U. (1): *Gen.* (1): 1692. — I. (0).
gewurðan: see *geweorðan.*
helpan, *help:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXXVI. 183. — *Læce.* (1): 41.12.
lician, *please:* U. (2): *Bede* (1): 276.12 = 214.31. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 308.32. — I. (4): *Pr. Ps.* (1): 43.5 = 43.4. — *Laws* (1): 46, Ælfred, Intr., c. 49, § 10. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 308.30. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II.* (1): 18.293.
lystan, *please:* U. (61): *Bede* (2): 398.7$^{a, b}$ = 288.26, 27^{a}. — *Boeth.* (8): 1.11 = 0; 39.21 = 0; 59.9 = 26.23; 78.32 = 70.93; 88.19 = 76.125; 91.8 = 78.46; 121.12, 20 = 0. — *Greg.* (1): 279.6 = 210.15. — *Oros.* (1): 50.17 = 0. — *Solil.* (11): 1.6; 14.22; 34.9; 39.1; 42.4$^{a, b}$, 7$^{a, b}$; 52.4; 64.12; 67.22. — *Wærf.* (12): 2.21 = 0; 18.2$^{a, b}$ = 160 C; 34.28 = 172 B^{2}; 60.7 = 192 B^{1}; 83.20. = 208 C; 86.14 = 212 A; 177.23 = B.204 B^{1}; 182.16$^{a, b}$ = 221 A$^{1, 2}$; 209.23^{b} = 256 B^{2}; 246.19^{a} = 301 A^{1}. — *Bened.* (2) 126.17, 18 = 194.2. — *Bl. Hom.* (2); 51.16; 101.20^{a}. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 220^{b}. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 356.297. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (8): *Ælf. Gr.* (8): 211.5, 9, 10$^{a, b}$, 11, 12$^{a, b}$; 214.9. — *Wulf.* (3): 141.8$^{a, b, c}$. — *Læce.* (1): 49.35. — Minor Prose (1): *Alex.* (1): 629. — *Beow.* (1): 1793. — *Met.* (6): 9. 19; 10.20; 19.16, 33, 34, 39. — I. (4): *Oros.* (1): 102.25 = 0. — *Solil.* (3): 14.23; 59.33$^{a, b}$.
onhagian [an-], *please:* U. (1): *Greg.* (1): 289.16 = 218.19. — I. (7): *Greg.* (2): 341.13 = 264.6; 417.17 = 338.21. — *Solil.* (2): 26.7; 65.10. — *Chron.* (1): 175^{b}, 1052 D^{e}. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 448$^{t\ 3}$. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 4.37.
sc(e)amian, *shame:* U. (0). — I. (5): *Chron.* (1): 170^{m}, 1050 D. — *Ælf. L. S.* (4): 200.76; 202.125; 370.100; XXIII B. 327.
ðyncan, *seem:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Greg.* (1): 177.19 = 132.17.
ðyncan + an adjective (or occasionally a noun): —
— **æðryt,** *troublesome:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 374^{b}.
— **dyselig,** *foolish:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 94$^{b\ 2}$.
— **eaðre,** *easier:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Solil.* (2): 21.24; 22.1.
— **hefigtime,** *troublesome:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Pref. to Gen.* 22.5.
— **lang** [-o-], *long, tiresome:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Solil.* (1): 52.17.
— **langsum** [-o-], *long, tiresome:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Wulf.* (1): 100.23.
— **leofra,** *dearer:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Wulf.* (1): 196.7.
— **sceamu,** *shame:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Chron.* (1): 216^{b}, 1085 E^{h}.
— **selest** [-ost], *best:* U. (0). — I. (2): *El.* (2): 533; 1165 (or each with adjective?).
— **selle,** *better:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ju.* (1): 408.
— **sellic** [-y-], *strange:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXV. 564 (or with adjective?). — *Wulf.* (1): 269.26.
— **syllic:** see *sellic.*
— **wierse** [-y-], *worse:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Solil.* (1): 36.7.
— **wyrse:** see *wierse.*

2. With Passive Verbs.

alefan: see *aliefan.*
aliefan [-e-, -y-], *allow:* U. (5): *Bede* (5): 84.20 = 59.20; 278.10, 11 = 216.7, 8; 278.22 = 216.22; 280.1 = 217.1. — I. (29): *Boeth.* (1) 121.19^{a} = 103.93^{a}. — *Wærf.* (3): 39.21 = 176 A; 156.3 = B. 182 B^{1}; 214.8 = 261 A. — *Bened.* (1): 86.6 = 154.7. — *Bl. Hom.* (1): 137.15. — *Ælf. Hom.* (4): II. 40^{m}, 348^{b}, 484$^{b\ 2}$, 520^{m}. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXV. 684. — *Gosp.* (6): *Mat.* (5): 12.2, 10, 12; 14.4; 19.3; — *Mk.* (1): 6.18. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (1): 18.258. — *Wulf.* (8): 136.24; 210.17; 227.9, 12$^{a, b}$, 13; 285.12, 13. — Minor Prose (2): *Nic.* (2): 476.16, 478.1. — *Gu.* (1): 1223.
alyfan: see *aliefan.*
bebeodan, *command:* U. (2): *Ælf. Hom.* (2): II. 398$^{b\ 1, 2}$. — I. (3): *Bede* (1): 206.16 = 161.27. — *Boeth.* (2): 40.10 = 0; 40.24 = 0.
bewerian, *prohibit:* U. (2): *Bede* (2): 76.19 = 54.31; 78.31 = 56.9. — I. (0).
forgi(e)fan, *give, grant:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Ælf. L. S.* (2): XXIX. 134$^{a, b}$.
(ge)sellan, *give, allow:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Gosp.* (2): *Mat.* (1): 13.11; — *Mk.* (1): 4.11.
læfan, *leave:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Boeth.* (1): 42.9 = 44.18.
ðencan, *consider,* + an adjective: —
— **halwende,** *salutary:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXV. 479.
ðyncan, *seem, consider*(?), + an adverb: —
— **wierðlicor** [-u-], *worthily:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 48$^{t\ 4}$.
— **wurðlicor:** see *wierðlicor.*

B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

Given in full in Chapter I, pp. 26–27.

II. The Objective Infinitive.

A. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

The infinitive is found both uninflected and inflected.

1. With Active Finite Verb.

abiddan, *bid, command:* U. (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 422$^{b\ 3}$. — I. (0).

ablinnan, *cease, desist from:* U. (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXX. 39. — I. (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 74^{t}.

adrædan, *fear:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Mk.* (1): 9.32.

æteowan, *show:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Bl. Hom.* (1): 169.9.

aginnan [-y-], *begin:* U. (28): *Pr. Ps.* (1): 9.30. — *Chron.* (2): 7^{b}, 47 F; 206^{m}, 1070 A^{e}. — *Laws* (2): 310, II Cnut, c. 4; 472, Grið, c. 21. — *Gosp.* (14): *Mat.* (1): 24.49; — *Mk.* (3): 6.7; 14.65$^{a,\ b}$; — *L.* (10): 5.21; 12.45$^{a,\ b,\ c}$; 14.29,30$^{a,\ b}$; 22.23^{a}; 23.2^{a}, 30. — *Wulf.* (7): 14.14$^{a,\ b}$; 85.1; 88.17, 21; 105.18; 216.33. — Minor Prose (2): *Apol.* (2): 19.28, 25.9. — I. (5): *Chron.* (5): 6^{b}, 40 F; 8^{b}, 49 F, 116 F, 137 F; 137^{m}, 1006 E^{b}.

agynnan: see *aginnan.*

alefan: see *aliefan.*

ali(e)fan [-e-, -y-], *allow:* U. (2): *Gosp.* (2): *Mat.* (1): 8.21^{b}; — *L.* (1): 9.59. — I. (5): *Laws* (1): 30, Ælfred, Intr., c. 12^{b} (or final?). — *Ælf. Hept.* (2): *Deut.* 3.25$^{a,\ b}$. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 102.227. — *Mat.* (1): 8.21^{a}.

alifan, alyfan } see *ali(e)fan.*

anbidian, *expect:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Laws* (1): 438, Excommunicatio VII, c. 2, § 3.

anforlætan, *abandon:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Wærf.* (1): 337.2 (*syngiende = syngienne?*) = 405 B.

anginnan [-y-]: see *onginnan.*

anðracian, *fear:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 554^{t}.

aðencan, *intend:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Beow.* (1): 2644.

bebeodan [bi-], *command, order:* U. (11): *Bede* (3): 36.31$^{a,\ b}$ = 19.31; 388.20 = 283.27. — *Laws* (1): 46, Ælfred, Intr., c. 49, § 7. — *Ælf. Hom.* (2): I. 380$^{b\ 1,\ 2}$. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (2): *Napier's Ad. to Th.* (2): 101.314$^{t\ 1,\ 2}$. — *El.* (1): 1018. — *Ju.* (2): 232; 295. — I. (16): *Bede* (2): 350.28 = 263.25 (?); 412.1 = 297.30. — *Oros.* (1): 292.27 = 293.28. — *Solil.* (1): 4.2. — *Chron.* (1): 206^{t}, 1070 A^{b}. — *Laws* (2): 42, Ælfred, Intr., c. 49^{a}; 46, Ælfred, Intr., c. 49, § 9^{b}. — *Wærf.* (2): 9.31 = 0; 23.5 = 0. — *Ælf. Hom.* (2): I. 240^{t}; II. 316^{b}. — *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Deut.* 25.7. — *Ælf. L. S.* (2): 22.203; 456.243. — *Wulf.* (2): 294.28; 296.5.

beginnan, *begin:* U. (28): *Chron.* (1): 201^{m}, 1067 D. — *Ælf. Hom.* (4): II. 142^{m}, 142^{b}, 196$^{b\ 2}$, 302^{t}. — *Ælf. L. S.* (14): 216.96; 230.186; 242.56; 248.153; 296.200; 298.203; 414.24$^{a,\ b}$, 25, 26; 502.263; 504.296; 538.811; XXXI. 893. — *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *De N. T.* 18.1. — *L.* (1): 7.49. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (5): 18.21, 25, 40, 74, 97. — *Wulf.* (1): 214.24. — Minor Prose (1): *Benediktiner-Offizium* (1): 64.29. — *Creed* (1): 37. — I. (57): *Chron.* (1): 243^{t}, 1110 E^{b}. — *Bened.* (2): 32.1 = 60.1; 63.2 = 118.10. — *Ælf. Hom.* (16): I. 10^{b}, 22^{b}, 46$^{b\ 2}$, 66$^{b\ 2}$, 152^{m}, 170^{t}, 258^{t}; II. 146$^{t\ 2}$, 148^{m}, 154^{m}, 158^{m}, 196^{b}, 392^{t}, 412^{b}, 418^{t}, 502^{b}. — *Ælf. L. S.* (17): 36.184; 264.61; 530.704; XXV. 419, 609, 664; XXVI. 215; XXXI. 96, 165, 406, 535, 992; XXXV. 24, 30, 172^{b}; XXXVII. 34, 114. — *Ælf. Hept.* (17): *De V. T.* 4.8: *De N. T.* 16.42; 17.13, 16; 17.18; 18.21; *Pref. to Gen.* 22.33; *Gen.* 8.3; 9.20; 11.6; 18.27, 31; *Num.* 3.10; *Judges* 7.19, 22; 10.6; 15.8. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. I* (2): 7.81; 8.148. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (2): *Napier's Ad. to Th.* (2): 102.34$^{t\ 4}$, 102.42^{m}.

behatan, *promise:* U. (0). — I. (7): *Chron.* (3): 226^{t}, 1091 E; 236^{t}, 1100 E$^{b,\ c}$. — *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Deut.* 10.11. — *Gosp.* (2): *Mat.* (1): 14.7; — *Mk.* (1): 14.11. — *Wulf.* (1): 172.14.

behealdan, *take care:* U. (1): *Ex.* (1): 110 (?). — I. (0).

beodan, *command:* U. (10): *Chron.* (1): 173^{m}, 1048 E^{e}. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 262^{t}. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (2): 15.280^{b}, 281. — *And.* (6): 780, 781$^{a,\ b}$, 782, 783, 784. — I. (6): *Greg.* (1): 47.13 = 24.24. — *Pr. Ps.* (1): 39.7. — *Laws* (1): 42, Ælfred, Intr., c. 49, § 3^{a}. — *Ælf. Hept.* (2): *Deut.* 32.46$^{a,\ b}$. — *Wulf.* (1): 231.1.

beoti(g)an, *threaten:* U. (0). — I. (1): Minor Prose (1): *Chad* (1): 193.
bewerian [bi-], *prohibit, forbid:* U. (1): *Bede* (1): 82.24 = 58.27^{b}. — I. (1): *Bede* (1): 80.7 = 56.32.
bibeodan: see *bebeodan*.
biddan, *request, demand:* U. (6): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 182^{m}. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (3): 15.152^{c} = 0; 15.288$^{a, b}$ = 217.320$^{a, b}$. — Minor Prose (1): *Apol.* (1): 23.34^{a} = 42^{t}. — *Versuchung* (1): 9. — I. (1): *Læce.* (1): 58.27.
biweri(g)an: see *bewerian*.
blinnan, *cease:* U. (7): *Bede* (7): 44.2 = 25.7; 202.21 = 159.21; 338.16, 17$^{a, b}$ = 256.19, 20; 474.9$^{a, b}$ = 347.32. — I. (0).
bodian, *preach:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 344^{b}.
cunnian, *try, attempt:* U. (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 450^{b}. — I. (0).
cyðan [+ **beodan**], *make known:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Laws* (1): 483, Wilhelm I, Prol.
don, *do, cause:* U. (2): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 214.90. — *Ps.* (1): 118.25. — I. (0).
elcian, *delay:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 282^{t}.
eldan: see *ieldan*.
findan, *find, strive*(?): U. (1): *El.* 1255(?). — I. (1): *Dan.* (1): 544.
fleon, *shun:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Greg.* (1): 33.12 = 14.4.
fon, *undertake, begin:* U. (2): *Wulf.* (2): 133.14$^{a, b}$. — I. (6): *Wærf.* (1): 197.6 = 240 D. — *Ælf. L. S.* (2): 70.345; XXXIV. 64. — *Ælf. Hept.* (2): *Judges* 3.6 = 0; 13.1. — *Wulf.* (1): 105.33.
forsældan: see *forieldan*.
forbeodan, *forbid, prohibit:* U. (1): *Bede* (1): 70.8 = 50.34. — I. (18): *Greg.* (1): 369.3 = 286.5. — *Laws:* (1): 214 Krönungseid, Prol. — *Ælf. Hom.* (4): I. 122^{t}, 218^{b}; II. 308^{m}, 534^{b}. — *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *De V. T.* 4.43. — *Ælf. L. S.* (5): XXV. 36, 42(?), 89; XXXII., 105, 221. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. I* (3): 1.213; 3.9; 7.115. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): *Ælf. Gr.* (1): 242.7. — *Wulf.* (2): 200.3$^{a, b}$.
forefon, *presume, undertake:* U. (1): *Laws* (1): 410, Judicium Dei IV, c. 4, § 4. — I. (0).
forgi(e)fan, *grant, allow:* U. (1): *Bede* (1): 486.4 = 360.4 (or final?). — I. (0).
forgieman [-y-], *neglect:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Laws* (2): 453, Gerefa, Inscr., c. 3, § 1$^{a, d}$.
forgiemeleasian [-y-], *neglect:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 102^{b}.
forgyfan: see *forgi(e)fan*.
forgyman: see *forgieman*.
forgymeleasian: see *forgiemeleasian*.
forhogian, *despise, neglect:* U. (2): *Bede* (1): 464.10 = 329.29. — *Wærf.* (1): 34.6 = 172 A. — I. (3): *Wærf.* (1): 180.18 = 217 B^{2}. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 376^{b} ^{2}. — *Chr.* (1): 1288.
forhycgan, *despise, neglect:* U. (2): *Bede* (2): 76.30^{a}, 33 = 55.9, 12. — I. (1): *Bl. Hom.* (1): 41.36.
forieldan [-æ-], *delay, defer:* U. (1): *Bede* (1): 440.19 = 313.2. — I. (0).
forlætan, *abandon, omit:* U. (1): *And.* (1): 802^{b}. — I. (1): *Greg.* (1): 393.28 = 310.26.
forsacan, *refuse:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXXI. 1345.
forseon, *despise, neglect:* U. (0). — I. (4): *Wærf.* (1): 180.17 = 217 B^{1}. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 374^{t}. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 290.96. — *Wulf.* (1): 296.28.
forwiernan, *prevent, prohibit;* U. (0). — I. (2): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 604^{m} ^{1}. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 380.249.
gælan, *hinder from:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Greg.* (1): 445.30 = 374.14.
geceosan, *choose:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 200.73.
gedihtan, *direct, order:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Wulf.* (1): 10.10.
gedyrstlæcan, *presume, dare:* U. (0). — I. (8): *Bened.* (7): 15.13 = 28.3; 55.10 = 104.2; 56.18$^{a, b}$ = 106.9$^{a, b}$; 69.19 = 132.5; 86.14 = 154.15; 106.4 = 172.12. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II 392^{t} ^{2}.
geearnian, *deserve, earn:* U. (5): *Bede* (2): 350.23 = 263.20; 470.9 = 345.29. — *Ælf. Hom.* (3): I. 446^{b} ^{2}; II. 598^{m}, 600^{b}. — I. (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXX. 431.
geeaðmodi(g)an, *deign, vouchsafe:* U. (1): *Bede* (1): 98.28 = 81.30(?). — I. (0).
gefon, *attempt, undertake, begin:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXV. 148.
gefrignan, *learn by inquiry:* U. (2): *Beow.* (1): 74. — *And.* (1): 1094. — I. (0).
gegiernian [-y-], *desire:* U. (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXIII B. 497. — I. (0).
gegyrnian: see *gegiernian*.
gehatan, *order, promise:* U. (2): *Bede* (2): 144.27, 28 = 118.11. — I. (2): *Bede* (1): 316.22. = 243.6. — *Bl. Hom.* (1): 181.26.
geheran: see *gehieran*.

gehi(e)ran [-e-, -y-], *hear:* U. (65): *Bede* (1): 330.17 = 252.4. — *Boeth.* (3): 34.3 = 0; 98.26 = 84.64; 142.26 = 0. — *Greg.* (1): 427.17 = 350.22. — *Solil.* (1): 50.6. — *Pr. Ps.* (1): 41.3 = 41.4. — *Chron.* (4): 67^{b}, 855 F; 152^{m}, 1016 E^{b}; 199^{t}, 1066 E; 247^{t}, 1116 E^{b}. — *Wærf.* (6): 11.17 = 153 D; 163.15 = B. 190 B^{2}; 186.1 = 225 C; 190.18 = 232 B; 248.6 = 304 A; 338.1^{b} = 408 A^{3}. — *Bl. Hom.* (16): 15.28; 55.26$^{a, b}$; 83.7$^{a, b}$; 103.19; 105.5; 107.30; 111.17$^{a, b, c}$, 18^{a}; 113.4; 117.2; 137.8; 213.26. — *Pr. Gu.* (2): II. 106 IV. 2. — *Mart.* (1): 128.23. — *Ælf. Hom.* (3): I. 284^{t}; II. 350^{t}, 460^{t}. — *Ælf. L. S.* (5): 18.131; 286.62; 500.225; XXIII B. 215; XXXI. 694. — *Ælf. Hept.* (6): *Pref. to Gen.* 22.10; *Gen.* 41.15; 42.1, 2; *Ex.* 19.13; *Judges*, Epilogue, p. 265, l. 6. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. I* (1): 5.1. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (1): 14.60. — *L.* (1): 19.48. — *Wulf.* (7): 237.22; 250.15; 255.5, 6$^{a, b, c}$; 306.16. — *Læce.* (1): 153.9. — Minor Prose (2): *Apol.* (1): 22.31; *Nic.* (1): 486.1. — *El.* (1): 661. — *Gu.* (1): 1095. — *Ps.* (1): 131.6. — I. (0).

gehogian, *think, intend: U.* (1): *Beow.* (1): 1989. — I. (0).

gehyhtan, *hope:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Bede* (1): 164.21 = 138.1.

gehyran: see *gehi(e)ran.*

gelefan: see *geliefan.*

geleornian, *learn:* U. (1): *Bede* (1): 404.22 = 292.17. — I. (1): *Bede* 210.31 = 164.22.

geliefan [-e-, -y-], *believe, hope:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Bede* (2): 330.25$^{a, b}$ = 252.13.

gelyfan: see *geliefan.*

gemed(e)mian [gi-], *deign, vouchsafe:* U. (5): *Laws* (2): 410, Judicium Dei IV, c. 3, § 2^{a}, § 4. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 50$^{t\ 2}$. — *Ælf. L. S.* (2): XXIII B. 713, 738. — I. (1): Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): *Ælf. Æthelw.* (1): 51. [See pp. 54–55 above.]

geman: see *gieman.*

gemyntan, *intend, determine:* U. (5): *Chron.* (2): 22^{b}, 616 F$^{a, b}$. — *Ælf. L. S.* (2): 154.127^{b}; 502.255. — *Ex.* (1): 199. — I. (7): *Ælf. Hom.* (2): I. 414^{t}; II. 578$^{t\ 2}$. — *Ælf. L. S.* (3): 154.127^{a}; 212.51; XXV. 769. — *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Num.* 24.11. — *Wulf.* (1): 277.26.

geseon, *see:* U. (20): *Greg.* (1): 49.25 = 26.28. — *Oros.* (1): 138.26 = 0. — *Wærf.* (2): 99.9 = B. 130 A^{2}; 273.20 = 33 A^{3}. — *Mart.* (1): 148.3. — *Ælf. Hom.* (6): I. 146$^{t\ 1, 2, 3}$; II. 184^{m}, 186^{t}, 346$^{t\ 4}$. — *Ælf. L. S.* (2): 112.399; 250.204. — *L.* (1): 12.55. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (2): 16.82; 18.84. — *Læce.* (1): 97.34. — *Beow.* (2): 231; 1024. — *Rid.* (1): 57.12. — I. (0).

gestihhian [-styohhian], *determine, decide:* U. (1): *Bede* (1): 218.9 = 168.2. — I. (1): *Solil.* (1): 38.1 = 0.

gestyohhian: see *gestihhian.*

geswican, *stop, cease from:* U. (2): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXXIII. 206. — *L.* (1): 5.4. — I. (9): *Ælf. Hom.* (5): I. 46^{t}, 596$^{b\ 2}$; II. 126^{b}, 156^{t}, 206^{t}. — *Ælf. L. S.* (3): XXXI. 497, 1049; XXXII. 246. — Minor Prose (1): *Neot* (1): 64.

geswutelian [-sweot-], *show, explain:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Mat.* (1): 3.7.

geteohhian, *think, determine:* U. (0). — I. (12): *Boeth.* (4): 117.21 = 0; 127.27 = 0; 139.29^{a} = 121.10; 143.23 = 0. — *Greg.* (3): 251.24 = 190.22; 419.13 = 340.23; 445.7 = 372.19. — *Solil.* (1): 37.5. — *Pr. Ps.* (1): 10.3. — *Wærf.* (1): 54.26 = 188 B^{2}. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 198^{b}. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXXI. 677.

geteon, *determine:* U. (1): *Bede* (1): 332.9 = 253.1. — I. (0).

getilian, *strive for, attempt:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Solil.* (1): 35.17.

geðafian, *allow, permit:* U. (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXIII B. 606. — I. (3): *Bede* (1): 276.31 = 215.24. — *Ælf. Hom.* (2): I. 4^{b}, 604$^{m\ 2}$.

geðencan, *think, strive:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Job*, XII (= 6.27). — Minor Prose (1): *Alex.* (1): 11.

geðristlæcan [-y-], *presume, undertake:* U. (5): *Laws* (1): 46, Ælfred, Intr., c. 49, § 9^{c}. — *Wærf.* (1): 207.24 = 253 A. — *Ælf. L. S.* (3): XXIII B. 277, 645, 745. — I. (6): *Laws* (2): 414, Judicium Dei VII, c. 13 A$^{1, 2}$. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXIII B. 721. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (1): 11.122. — *Wulf.* (2): 34.14, 15.

geðrystlæcan: see *geðristlæcan.*

geðyrsti(g)an, *presume, undertake:* U. (2): *Bede* (2): 70.16 = 51.8; 78.33^{a} = 56.10^{a}. — I. (0).

gewil(l)nian, *desire:* U. (7): *Wærf.* (1): 208.14 = 253 C^{3}. — *Ælf. Hom.* (2): I. 608^{t}; II. 588$^{t\ 2}$. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXIII B. 187. — *Gosp.* (3): *Mat.* (1): 13.17^{b}; — *L.* (2): 15.16; 22.15. — I. (15): *Chron.* (1): 219^{m}, 1086 E^{b}. — *Laws* (1): 45, Ælfred, Intr., c. 49, § 3^{b}. — *Ælf. Hom.* (7): I. 550^{t}, 552^{t}, 556^{t}, 596^{t}, 612^{m}; II. 154$^{b\ 2}$, 588^{t}. — *Ælf. L. S.* (4): 196.22; XXIII B. 183, 358; XXXVI. 159. — *Mat.* (1): 13.17^{a}. — Minor Prose (1): *Apol.* (1): 18.17.

gewunian, *use, be wont:* U. (31): *Bede* (16): 62.4 = 47.13; 172.16 = 142.19; 188.30 = 152.11; 266.12 = 209.14; 272.8[a, b] = 212.19[a, b]; 336.23[a, b] = 255.26; 342.5 = 258.29; 364.3, 4 = 270.5[a, b]; 368.32 = 273.17; 386.29 = 283.2; 442.19[a, b] = 314.6; 442.21 = 314.9. — *Laws* (2): 38, Ælfred, Intr., c. 30; 410, Jud. Dei IV, c. 3, § 5. — *Wærf.* (9): 4.19 = 152 A; 181.3, 4 = 217 C[2]; 183.4 = 221 B; 185.24 = 225 B[2]; 201.15 = 245 B[1]; 206.16 = 252 B[2]; 207.4 = 252 C[1]; 242.9 = 296 C[1]. — *Ælf. L. S.* (4): XXIII B. 164[a, b], 165; XXXIII. 177. — I. (8): *Greg.* (1): 273.17 = 206.14. — *Oros.* (1): 34.5 = 35.3. — *Wærf.* (3): 161.19 = B. 188 C.; 163.37 = B. 190 B[2]; 289.10 = 349 C[2]: no Latin. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXIII B. 368. — *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Num.* 22.4. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (1): 12.45.

gieman [-e-, -y-], *care:* U. (4): *Bede* (4): 364.1 = 0; 412.26 = 298.25; 442.2, 3 = 313.19, 20. — I. (3): *Bede* (2): 208.16 = 162.28; 362.10 = 269.16. — *Beow.* (1): 2452.

giernan [-y-], *desire, yearn for:* U. (0). — I. (4): *Bede* (1): 480.11 = 351.21. — *Bl. Hom.* (1): 53.25. — *Pr. Gu.* (2): I. 7; II. 93.

ginnan, *begin:* U. (1): *Bede* (1): 60.23 = 46.32. — I. (0).

gyman: see *gieman.*

gyrnan: see *giernan.*

habban, *have:* U. (0). — I. (7): *Boeth.* (1): 52.27 = 52.10. — *Laws* (1): 106, Ine, c. 42. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 78[m]. — *Ælf. Hept.* (2): *Ex.* 16.23; *Judges* 3.20[a]. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (1): 15.149. — *Mat.* (1): 20.22.

hatan, *command:* U. (1124): *Bede* (66): 36.3[a, b] = 19.6; 38.5 = 20.3; 40.18 = 21.21; 44.8 = 25.10; 46.5[a, b] = 27.19; 50.26 = 31.5; 58.19 = 0; 88.28 = 0; 90.20 = 70.20; 104.4[a, b] = 84.23; 104.22[a, b] = 85.18; 104.26, 27 = 85.26; 110.12 = 90.12; 114.12 = 92.16; 116.7, 8 = 93.12, 13; 116.17 = 93.24; 126.25 = 107.30; 136.12 = 112.25; 140.22 = 115.16; 166.6, 7 = 138.20; 166.28 = 139.16; 168.12[a, b] = 140.4, 5; 172.7, 8 = 142.7, 8; 188.21[a, b] = 152.1; 194.1, 29 = 154.20, 155.27; 196.13 = 156.14; 238.27 = 180.4; 254.5 = 202.11; 308.14 = 237.26; 326.20[a] = 250.12[a]; 344.20 = 0; 344.21, 22 = 260.17[a, b]; 344.34 = 260.29; 366.28 = 272.4; 388.21 = 283.29; 388.25[a, b] = 283.32[a, b]; 388.27 = 284.2; 388.33 = 284.10; 406.5 = 293.3; 416.28[a, b] = 300.23, 24; 418.17, 18 = 301.12, 13; 440.2[a] = 312.16[b]; 456.5 = 325.2; 458.8 = 326.2; 460.5[a, b] = 326.27, 28; 460.30 = 0; 470.19[a, b, c] = 346.6[a, b, c]; 470.21 = 346.8. — *Boeth.* (12): 3.3 = 0; 7.11 = 0; 37.8[a, b] = 41.35; 39.19 = 43.2[a]; 39.22 = 43.2[b]; 66.32, 67.1 = 61.30; 99.8 = 0; 144.30[a, b, c] = 0. — *Greg.* (3): 3.1 = 0; 3.2 = 0; 9.14 = 0; — *Oros.* (81): 1.19 = 0; 3.18 = 0; 5.25 = 0; 44.8 = 45.6; 44.13 = 0; 52.24[a, b] = 53.19; 54.31, 32 = 0; 68.10, 11, 12 = 69.8, 9; 76.31, 32 = 77.19, 20; 80.26 = 0; 84.4 = 83.34; 96.18 = 0; 108.12 = 0; 114.33 = 0; 120.33 = 121.26; 122.1 = 121.27; 126.21 = 127.23; 128.16 = 129.15; 130.17 = 131.15; 132.25 = 133.20; 148.24 = 0; 150.11 = 151.5; 156.7 = 157.3; 164.32, 33 = 165.27; 168.27 = 169.25; 174.15, 16[a, b] = 175.12; 186.19[a, b] = 187.15; 196.31 = 0; 198.30[a, b] = 199.30; 202.23[a, b] = 203.11; 212.10[a, b] = 213.15, 16; 218.12 = 219.12; 218.32[a, b] = 219.31, 32; 224.15, 16 = 225.14; 228.8[a, b] = 229.7; 242.17, 18 = 243.16; 242.23 = 0; 246.1 = 245.32; 246.23 = 247.26; 246.24[a, b] = 247.28; 246.32 = 0; 250.13 = 0; 256.4 = 257.2; 258.3 = 259.2; 260.20 = 261.19; 260.23 = 261.22; 260.30 = 261.29; 264.22 = 265.20; 266.14 = 267.13; 268.22 = 269.19; 268.28 = 269.29; 270.8 = 271.8; 270.13 = 271.13; 274.4 = 275.3; 282.16 = 0; 282.32 = 283.30; 284.7[a, b] = 285.7; 286.30 = 0; 288.12 = 289.8; 290.4 = 0; 290.5[a, b] = 291.2; 290.30 = 291.28; 290.31 = 0. — *Chron.* (58): 12[t], 449 A[b, c]; 25[m], 626 E[a, b]; 26[m], 643 A; 28[b], 650 E; 30[t], 656 E[c]; 39[m], 685 E; 54[m], 792 A; 90[m], 897 A[a]; 90[b], 897 A[b]; 91[m], 897 A[c]; 92[t], 901 A; 94[t], 905 A; 96[m], 913 A; 100[m], 919 A; 101[t], 921 A[a, b, c]; 103[b], 922 A[a]; 104[t], 922 A[b, c]; 104[t], 923 A[a, b, c]; 104[m], 924 A[a, b, c]; 112[b], 952 D[a, b]; 119[t], 969 E; 121[m], 975 E[a]; 127[m], 992 E; 127[b], 993 E; 128[b], 995 F[d]; 135[t], 1002 E; 136[m], 1006 E[a]; 139[m], 1009 E[b]; 145[t], 1014 E[a]; 145[b], 1014 E[c]; 146[t], 1015 E[a, b]; 155[t], 1017 E; 164[b], 1046 C[a]; 190[b], 1065 C[a]; 229[m], 1094 E[c]; 231[t], 1095 E[a]; 231[m], 1095 E[b]; 231[b], 1095 E[c, d, e]; 231[b], 1095 E[f, g]; 232[t], 1095 E[h, i]; 232[m], 1096 E[a, b, c]. — *Laws* (2): 46, Ælfred, Intr., c. 49, § 9[a]; 182, VI Æthelstan, c. 12, § 1. — *Wærf.* (24): 39.10, 11 = 173 D; 50.29, 30 = 185 A; 51.17, 18 = 185 A[2]; 60.33[a] = 192 B[2]; 123.19 = B. 154 B; 158.16 = B. 184 C; 159.14 = 186 A[2]; 182.10 = 220 C; 193.22 = 236 C; 195.17 = 237 C[2]; 198.7, 8, 9 = 241 C[1, 2, 3]; 201.19 = 245 B[2]; 201.25, 26 = 245 B[4, 5]; 202.1 = 245 B[6]; 202.7 = 245 C[1]; 202.13 = 245 C[2]; 240.19 = 293 B[2]; 318.10 = 384 B. — *Bened.* (3): 15.8 = 26.19; 86.15 = 154.17; 88.18 = 156.20. — *Bl. Hom.* (20): 15.21; 95.13; 175.1; 177.2; 177.4[a, b]; 179.29, 30; 183.3, 16, 19, 26, 27; 187.12, 15; 189.20, 33, 35; 243.30; 247.27. — *Pr. Gu.* (2): II. 43; XX. 9. — *Mart.* (145): 4.11; 6.11[a, b], 13, 14; 10.5, 16[a, b]; 20.1; 22.25, 26[a, b]; 24.19, 22, 23, 27; 26.3, 5, 24; 28.17[a, b], 24, 28, 30; 30.18; 38.1; 42.7; 46.25; 54.2; 56.17; 58.6, 8, 19; 60.8; 64.22, 23, 24[a]; 66.10, 11[a, b]; 68.3; 70.18, 25, 26, 27; 78.25; 80.25; 82.8, 13; 90.13, 16; 92.4, 19, 20[a, b]; 96.5, 6, 21, 22; 98.23, 24; 100.23, 24; 106.5[b], 16, 28; 114.10, 24, 26; 118.8, 18, 26; 120.9; 122.23, 24; 124.3, 4; 130.16; 132.6, 7, 8[b]; 134.1, 12; 140.5; 142.2, 3; 144.18, 24; 148.7, 15; 150.20; 152.17,

21; 154.3, 8; 156.1, 12, 13[a. b], 23; 158.8, 14; 162.6; 166.15[a], 17, 21; 168.4, 18; 170.27; 172.17; 174.6, 22; 178.8, 9; 188.15; 194.16; 196.14[a. b], 21, 22; 198.24; 200.7, 8, 11; 202.25, 26; 204.23; 208.20; 210.6, 7; 212.6, 7; 214.7, 8, 9, 14, 30; 216.21[a. b], 22, 25; 218.6, 7, 17, 23. — *Ælf. Hom.* (153): I. 32[b], 58[b 1. 2], 60[m], 66[b], 74[b 1. 2], 82[t], 86[b 1. 2. 3], 88[t 1. 2], 142[t], 152[b], 186[b], 190[t], 208[t 1. 2], 210[t], 266[b 2], 376[t], 380[t 2. 3], 382[t 1. 2], 416[t], 420[t], 424[t 1. 2], 426[t], 426[m], 426[b 2], 428[t 1. 2], 428[m], 428[b 2], 432[t 1. 2], 432[b 2. 4. 5. 6], 434[m], 442[t], 458[t], 458[m], 464[m], 464[b], 468[b 1. 2], 470[t], 478[t 1. 2], 484[t 2], 508[b], 524[b 1. 2], 560[b 1. 2], 570[t 1. 2], 572[m], 574[t 2], 588[t], 590[t], 590[b 2], 592[b], 594[m 1. 2. 3], 594[b]; II. 20[t 1. 2. 3], 40[t 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6], 122[b], 144[t 1. 2], 166[t], 166[m], 168[t], 170[b 4], 174[b], 178[b 2], 186[b 1. 2. 3], 192[t], 198[b 2. 3], 210[m], 252[b], 274[b 1. 2], 290[t 1. 2. 3], 304[m], 304[b 1. 2], 304[b 4], 308[t], 308[b 2. 3. 4], 310[t 1. 2], 310[b 1. 2. 3], 312[t 1. 2], 336[t], 358[t 1. 2], 376[b 1. 2], 384[t 1. 2], 406[b 2], 408[b 2. 3], 422[t], 422[m], 422[b 2], 424[b 2. 3], 434[b], 436[m 1. 2], 478[b], 480[m], 482[m], 484[t 1. 2. 3], 484[b], 486[t], 488[b 2], 490[t], 490[b 1. 2], 502[m], 514[b], 572[t], 572[b]. — *Ælf. L. S.* (276): 28.74; 30.113; 36.191; 42.298; 46.363, 378; 48.389, 390, 396; 56.94; 58.126; 62.190, 191, 195, 214, 215; 68.297; 74.409; 76.438; 86.606; 96.120, 121; 100.178, 181, 182; 104.243, 249, 251, 263; 106.270; 108.300, 301, 332, 333; 110.334, 353, 363, 364; 112.369, 392, 393; 114.403, 420; 124.134; 128.183; 140.371, 374, 383; 142.410; 144.422, 423, 424; 146.450, 455; 154,112; 156.165; 160.206, 209, 211; 162.237; 174.82, 92; 178.141, 142, 143[a. b]; 182.218, 219; 184.244; 186.289; 190.365; 194.418[a. b]; 196.9; 198.39, 69; 200.92, 101; 202.112, 113, 122, 123, 128, 129; 204.154, 168, 170; 206.182; 214.81; 216.104, 106, 117, 118, 126; 218.144; 230.169; 238.280, 291; 240.38; 242.54, 63, 66; 244.99, 111; 246.131; 252.245, 246; 254.260; 278.248; 308.8; 310.42, 43, 44, 45, 46[a. b], 48, 49, 60; 312.83, 84[a. b], 86, 87, 88[a. b]; 316.131, 152; 388.92; 390.125; 398.233; 402.317; 404.337, 345,350; 406.365, 369, 377, 378[a. b]; 410.430; 414.6; 416.33, 45; 418.74, 82; 422.130; 438.86; 480.135, 136, 137, 142; 484.194, 203; 488.20; 498.178, 179, 191[a. b]; 500.228; 502.264; 504.295; 506.316; 514.444; 534.758, 761; XXIV. 9, 29[a. b], 40, 41, 47, 51, 63, 133; XXV. 24, 115, 116[a. b], 117[a. b], 118, 130, 380, 448, 835; XXVI, 96[a. b], 162, 163; XXVII. 37, 76; XXVIII. 26, 98; XXIX. 200, 211, 230, 231, 237, 239, 241, 245, 249, 252, 253, 256, 257, 277, 278, 283, 284, 314, 327, 328; XXX. 294, 296, 378, 409[a. b], 414, 416, 421[a. b], 422, 456, 458; XXXI. 116, 364, 509, 553, 656, 782, 1176, 1409; XXXII. 122, 215, 234; XXXIII. 41, 208, 264; XXXIV. 204, 211, 215, 217, 280, 308, 343[a. b]; XXXV. 47, 49, 136, 138, 188, 194, 195, 225[a. b], 226, 227, 294, 311, 312, 324, 325, 326[a. b], 335, 337; XXXVI. 117, 119, 210, 360, 366, 390, 397; XXXVII. 46, 52, 156, 157. — *Ælf. Hept.* (38): *De V. T.* 8.26; *De N. T.* 15.19, 16.16, 16.17, *Gen.* 12.18, 20.2, 27.42[a], 27.45[a], 37.3, 40.19, 40.22, 41.10; *Ex.* 2.5, 4.22, 5.1, 8.1, 9.7, 12.31, 15.25[a], 16.33[a. b], 19.23[a. b], 32.24, 33.7; *Num.* 21.32, 24.10, 25.5, 31.18; *Jos.* 2.1, 2.3, 4.9, 7.2, 8.29, 10.18[a. b], 10.27. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (8): *Ælf. Gr.* (1): 125.7; *Napier's Ad. to Th.* (7): 101.318[b], 321[t 1]; 102.35[b 1], 38[t 2. 4], 41[m], 42[b]. — *Gosp.* (10); *Mat.* (3): 18.25; 27.58; 27.64; — *Mk.* (4): 5.43[b]; 6.17; 8.7; 10.49; — *L.* (3): 8.55[a]; 18.40; 19.15. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. I* (15): 5.132, 157; 7.187; 8.10, 76, 103, 125, 189, 210[a. b], 223; 9.153[a. b], 154, 341. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (27): 13.102[a]; 15.14; 15.77[a. b] = 210.68; 15.88[a. b] = 210.80; 15.95, 96 = 210.84; 15.118, 119[a. b] = 211.100[a. b]; 15.152[a. b] = 212.134; 15.153 = 212.135; 15.169 = 212.159; 15.280[a] = 0; 15.282 = 217.312[c]; 15.287[a] = 0; 15.287[b] = 217.320; 15.304 = 218.342; 16.26[a. b], 230, 236[a. b], 257, 278. — *Wulf.* (6): 99.8, 25; 148.20, 21; 237.1; 263.2. — *Læce.* (1): 88.7. — Minor Prose (50): *Alex.* (25): 151(?), 233[b], 248, 252, 274, 279[a. b], 282, 283, 294, 382, 383, 385, 387, 417, 457, 460, 495[a], 528, 551[a. b. c], 563, 598(?), 636; — *Apol.* (17): 21.3 = 39[b]; 21.35[a. b] = 40[t]; 22.17 = 40[b]; 26.2[a] = 43[b]; 27.10, 12[a], 19, 22 = 44, 45; 28.23, 29.1 = 46[t]; 32.25, 26 = 49[b]; 33.5, 25, 26, 29 = 50; — *Benediktiner-Offizium* (1): 64.23; — *Nic.* (7): 472.2, 9, 15; 474.17; 476.24, 482.19, 514.14. — *Beow.* (18): 199; 386; 391; 674; 1036; 1054; 1115; 1116[a. b]; 1807; 1808; 1920; 2152; 2190; 2337; 2892; 3095; 3110. — *Gen.* (8): 960; 1060; 1856; 1859; 1867; 2455; 2628; 2866. — *Dan.* (11): 53; 126; 225; 229; 242; 511; 512; 514; 519; 521; 704. — *Chr.* (2): 253; 1375. — *El.* (25): 45[a. b]; 80; 104; 106; 107; 108; 109; 129; 276; 279; 510; 691; 692; 862; 864; 876; 1003; 1023; 1025; 1052; 1160; 1174; 1198; 1204. — *Ju.* (23): 142[a. b]; 143; 161; 187; 188; 228[a. b]; 231; 254; 265; 303; 309; 333; 532; 575; 577; 579; 580; 584; 603; 604; 613. — *Gu.* (3): 661; 1344; 1348. — *And.* (8): 587; 1146; 1229; 1230; 1272; 1390; 1633; 1634. — *Jud.* (1): 35. — *Met.* (5): 1.43, 73; 9.9, 24, 30. — *Ps.* (6): 50.18[a. b] (Cot.); 50.21 (Cot.); 54.8; 103.25; 118.138. — *Fates of Apostles* (2): 46; 69. — *Gifts* (1): 60. — *H. L.* (2): 12; 20. — *Maldon* (3): 30; 102[a. b]. — *S. & S.* (5): 173; 275; 277; 278; 458. — *W. C.* (1): 15. — I. (0).

heran: see *hieran.*

hieran [-e-, -y-], *hear:* U. (26): *Bede* (4): 190.7 = 152.18; 348.26 = 262.20; 426.3 = 305.16; 430.12 = 307.26. — *Oros.* (3): 138.18 = 139.18; 156.9 = 0; 286.7 = 287.7. — *Chron.* (7): 30[t], 656 E[b]; 64[b], 851 A; 205[t], 1070 E[b. c]; 207[b], 1070 E; 245[m], 1114 E[d]; 267[m], 1140 E[d]. — *Wærf.* (1): 2.16 = 0. — Minor Prose (1): *Cato,* Zusätze (1): 53.21. — *Beow.* (4): 38; 273; 582; 875. — *Chr.* (1): 73. — *El.* (2): 671; 853. — *And.* (1): 1176. — *Hol.* (1): 83. — *Partridge* (1): 1. — I. (0).

higian, *strive for, be intent on:* U. (0). — I. (3): *Greg.* (1): 105.14 = 72.18. — *Wærf.* (2): 178.3$^{a, b}$ = B. 204 C^{2}.

hogian [hohgian], *think, intend, determine:* U. (6): *Solil.* (1): 35.19. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXXVI. 363. — *Gen.* (3): 691; 692$^{a, b}$. — *Jud.* (1): 274. — I. (0).

hohgian: see *hogian.*

hyran: see *hieran.*

ieldan [e-, y-], *delay:* U. (0). — I. (5): *Bede* (3): 132.16 = 110.24; 430.33$^{a, b}$ = 308.13$^{a, b}$. — *Wærf.* (1): 119.1 = B. 148 C^{1}. — *Bl. Hom.* (1): 7.33.

læran, *teach:* U. (0). — I. (4): *Bede* (2): 258.8 = 204.20; 276.6^{b} = 214.27^{b}. — *Boeth.* (1): 79.17 = 0. — *Lœce.* (1): 35.10.

lætan, *permit, cause:* U. (121): *Boeth.* (3): 38.12 = 42.53; 133.25 = 113.142; 134.31 = 114.174. — *Greg.* (2): 229.1 = 172.16; 349.12 = 270.3. — *Oros.* (3): 258.18, 19 = 0; 296.29 = 297.27. — *Chron.* (56): 28^{m}, 648 F; 36^{b}, 675 E^{a}; 37^{t}, 675 E^{b}; 115^{b}, 963 E^{a}; 116^{t}, 963 E^{c}; 157^{b}, 1023 C^{b}; 158^{m}, 1035 C; 159^{b}, 1036 D; 162^{t}, 1040 C$^{a, b}$; 162^{t}, 1041 C; 162^{b}, 1043 C; 168^{b}, 1049 C$^{a, b}$; 175^{m}, 1052 D^{b}; 176^{t}, 1048 E^{a}; 178^{m}, 1052 C^{a}; 184^{m}, 1053 C; 185^{b}, 1055 D$^{a, b}$; 186^{t}, 1055C^{a}; 186^{m}, 1055 C^{b}; 192^{m}, 1065 C^{d}; 204^{b}, 1071 D; 209^{m}, 1073 D; 211^{b}, 1076 D; 212^{t}, 1075 E; 214^{b}, 1079 D; 215^{b}, 1083 E^{b}; 216^{t}, 1085 E$^{a, b}$; 216^{m}, 1085 E$^{c, d}$; 216^{b}, 1085 E^{e}; 220^{b}, 1086 E$^{d, e}$; 225^{t}, 1087 E^{e}; 229^{t}, 1094 E^{a}; 233^{b}, 1097 E^{b}; 236^{m}, 1100 E$^{d, e, f}$; 237^{b}, 1102 E; 243^{b}, 1112 E$^{a, b}$; 244^{t}, 1114 E^{a}; 246^{b}, 1116 E^{a}; 250^{t}, 1121 E; 251^{t}, 1123 E^{b}; 253^{b}, 1124 E^{a}; 254^{t}, 1124 E^{b}; 256^{m}, 1126 E^{a}; 256^{m}, 1126 E$^{b, c}$; 256^{b}, 1127 E^{a}; 265^{m}, 1137 E^{e}. — *Wærf.* (1): 341.36 = 416 B. — *Bened.* (1): 110.19 = 0. — *Bl. Hom.* (4): 13.9; 33.10; 33.17^{a}; 85.2. — *Ælf. Hom.* (3): I. 150^{b}, 598^{m}; II. 488$^{b\ 4}$; — *Ælf. L. S.* (8): 106.272; 128.204; 130.213; 512.417; 530.680; XXV. 239; XXXI. 523; XXXIII. 22. — *Ælf. Hept.* (3): *Ex.* 12.23; *Deut.* 32.39; *Judges* 16.18. — *Mat.* (2): 5.45; 27.26. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. I.* (4): 8.155, 205, 298; 9.137. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II.* (2): 16.231; 17.29. — *Wulf.* (10): 23.4; 45.25; 110.14, 15; 111.1; 125.13; 195.9; 230.19; 271.5, 7. — *Lœce.* (14): 37.36; 47.4; 80.6; 82.6; 86.27^{b}; 88.28; 105.24; 106.9; 126.13; 138.2, 3$^{a, b, c}$, 4. — Minor Prose (2): *Benediktiner-Offizium* (1): 74.6; — *Chad,* Anhang (1): 5. — *And.* (1): 397. — *Ps.* (1): 103.13. — *Whale* (1): 65. — I. (0).

lefan: see *liefan.*

leornian, *learn:* U. (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 416^{b}. — I. (7): *Bede* (1): 246.7 = 194.29. — *Greg.* (2): 441.17 = 368.15; 441.28 = 368.25. — *Ælf. L. S.* (2): 132.242; 344.127^{b}. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. I* (2): 1.253^{b}, 256.

liefan, *allow:* U. (0). — I. (4): *Greg.* (1): 451.29 = 382.10. — *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Num.* 21.22. — *Mat.* (1): 19.8. — *Wulf.* (1): 174.7.

lofian, *praise,* but here *allow* (?): U. (0). — I. (1): *Chron.* (1): 185^{b}, 1054 D.

lyfan: see *liefan.*

lystan, *desire:* U. (1): *Wærf.* (1): 45.22 = 180 B^{1}. — I. (0).

murnan, *care for, lament:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Laws* (1): 474, Judex, c. 3.

mynnan, *direct one's course to, intend:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Gu.* (1): 1062. — *And.* (1): 295.

myntan, *think, intend:* U. (17): *Bede* (1): 392.20 = 286.1. — *Wærf.* (3): 12.11 = 15 A^{2}; 123.1 = B. 154 A; 254.35 = 312 A^{1}. — *Bl. Hom.* (4): 223.7, 11, 16; 225.12. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (3): 13.57, 167,251. — Minor Prose (1): *Alex.* (1): 334. — *Beow.* (3): 713; 763; 764. — *Chr.* (1): 1058. — *Met.* (1): 26.72. — I. (1): *Chron.* (1): 265^{m}, 1137 E^{f}.

nytan: see *witan.*

oferhogian, *despise:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Laws* (2): 453, Gerefa, Inscr., c. 3, § 1$^{a, b}$.

ofseon, *see:* U. (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 184^{b}. — I. (0).

ondrædan, *fear:* U. (3): *Bede* (2): 72.9^{b} = 52.2; 326.15 = 250.8. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXIII B. 552. — I. (8): *Greg.* (1): 49.18 = 26.23. — *Solil.* (1): 43.3. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 104^{b}. — *Mat.* (2): 1.20; 2.22. — *Wulf.* (2): 248.14; 286.27. — Minor Prose (1): *Nic.* (1): 500.15^{m}.

onfon, *undertake, begin:* U. (0). — I. (5): *Bede* (2): 334.4, 5 = 254.3. — *Wærf.* (1): 75.33 = 204 A. — *Bened.* (1): 14.17 = 26.1. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (1): 10.550.

ongietan, *understand:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXIII B. 801.

onginnan [an-, -y-], *begin, attempt:* U. (977): *Bede* (121): 24.23 = 0; 28.17 = 12.10; 34.19 = 18.18; 40.19 = 21.22; 44.10$^{a, b, c}$ = 25.25; 48.23 = 29.22; 48.27 = 29.31; 52.17$^{a, b}$ = 32.5; 54.9 = 33.8; 56.1 = 42.24; 56.2$^{a, b}$ = 42.25; 56.16 = 43.9; 62.6$^{a, b, c, d}$, 7$^{a, b}$ = 47.14$^{a, b, c}$, 15$^{a, b, c}$; 62.11 = 47.19; 62.14$^{a, b}$ = 47.23^{b}; 88.2 = 61.13; 98.16, 17 = 81.16; 106.19 = 86.29; 106.25 = 87.6; 106.27$^{a, b}$ = 87.8; 112.4 = 91.8; 118.10 = 94.26; 122.30$^{a, b}$ = 99.22$^{a, b}$; 122.33 = 99.25; 138.25$^{a, b}$ = 114.13; 148.30 = 125.22; 154.34 = 129.11; 172.31 = 143.6; 174.12 = 143.19; 176.3 = 144.9; 178.19$^{a, b}$ = 145.31$^{a, b}$; 178.28, 30 = 146.8, 9; 180.3$^{a, b}$ = 146.17$^{a, b}$; 180.16$^{a, b}$ = 147.3;

180.29 – 147.17; 182.8 – 147.27; 182.30 – 148.24; 184.24, 25[a, b] – 149.23[a, b]; 184.27 – 149.24; 190.14, 15 – 152.28; 198.4, 5 – 157.5, 6; 200.12 – 158.13; 210.21 – 164.11; 242.25 – 193.3; 246.22, 23, 24 – 195.18, 19, 21; 250.10, 11[a, b] – 199.19[a, b]; 256.24 – 203.30; 258.26 – 205.13; 276.6[a] – 214.27[a]; 284.2[a, b] – 219.22; 286.12 – 221.9; 286.22 – 221.21; 286.23 – 221.22; 288.10 – 222.12; 290.14 – 223.19; 294.26 – 226.8; 296.18 – 226.33; 318.12 – 244.5; 326.10 – 250.3; 326.20[b, c] – 250.12[b]; 328.4, 5 – 250.27[a, b]; 342.12 – 259.5; 344.30[a, b] – 260.25; 352.21 – 264.18; 354.33, 356.1 – 265.29, 30; 358.13 – 267.11[a]; 362.29 – 269.33; 390.9 – 284.18; 394.1 – 286.15; 400.1 – 289.23; 400.16 – 290.7; 402.20[b, c] – 291.9; 406.29 – 295.4; 414.3 – 299.3; 426.2 – 305.14; 426.8[b] – 305.22[a]; 428.24 – 307.6; 428.29 – 307.11; 430.11 – 307.25; 438.4 – 311.17; 442.27 – 314.14; 444.5[a, b] – 314.20; 450.30[a, b] – 323.4[a, b]; 454.4 – 324.3; 454.15 – 324.15; 462.17 – 329.4; 466.22 – 331.34. — *Boeth.* (80): 3.6 – 0; 3.22 – 0; 7.17[a, b] – 0; 8.5 – 0; 9.9, 10 – 6.48; 9.16 – 0; 9.19 – 0; 9.29 – 0; 14.5 – 22.55; 19.14 – 0; 21.1 – 0; 25.9 – 34.65; 26.22 – 0; 27.15 – 0; 33.21 – 0; 34.11 – 40.30; 39.16 – 0; 41.8 – 0; 45.5 – 46.65; 45.10[a, b] – 46.70; 46.2[a] – 0; 47.4 – 0; 48.22 – 0; 51.27 – 0; 52.16 – 51.2; 57.2 – 0; 57.12, 13 – 55.13, 14; 58.5 – 0; 60.27 – 0; 61.2 – 0; 61.23 – 0; 64.24 – 0; 65.2 – 0; 67.26 – 0; 68.7 – 0; 69.17 – 0; 70.2 – 0; 71.4 – 0; 71.10 – 0; 73.22 – 0; 74.16 – 0; 79.8 – 70.100; 82.19 – 0; 89.5 – 0; 91.2 – 78.39; 94.26 – 0; 94.29 – 81.3; 101.19 – 0; 101.26 – 0; 102.11, 12 – 0; 102.15[a, b] – 0; 102.18 – 0; 102.25 – 0; 102.26 – 87.33; 102.28[a, b] – 0; 104.31 – 89.34; 105.4 – 0; 107.16[b] – 0; 111.11 – 0; 112.3 – 0; 112.13 – 0; 115.11 – 0; 116.8 – 0; 116.13 – 0; 124.2 – 0; 125.31 – 0; 126.25 – 0; 127.2 – 107.5; 127.33 – 108.20; 135.23 – 0; 137.14 – 0; 141.10 – 0; 147.2 – 0. — *Greg.* (15): 7.18 – 0; 25.20 – 6.9; 67.3, 4[a] – 40.25, 26; 197.10 – 146.31; 213.8 – 160.2; 225.25, 227.1 – 170.25; 227.11[a, b] – 172.3; 333.1 – 256.17; 341.4[a, b] – 262.26; 445.27 – 374.12; 447.4 – 374.22. — *Oros.* (29): 1.3 – 0; 5.12 – 0; 28.27 – 29.26; 52.3 – 0; 56.32[a, b] – 59.1; 60.18 – 61.19; 60.30, 31 – 0; 62.2 – 63.4; 74.9 – 75.9; 94.34 – 0; 106.6 – 0; 110.6 – 111.6; 116.28 – 0; 124.30 – 125.27; 142.1 – 141.33; 144.30 – 145.30; 160.9[a, b] – 0; 164.25 – 0; 182.7 – 183.6; 204.24 – 205.24; 218.14 – 219.15; 222.25 – 223.26; 232.17 – 233.17; 252.11 – 0; 262.16 – 263.17; 288.1 – 0. — *Solil.* (1): 10.6. — *Pr. Ps.* (2): 3.4 – 3.6; 31.3. — *Chron.* (6): 20[m], 597 A; 28[m], 654 A; 38[m], 685 A; 130[b], 995 F[a]; 135[m], 1003 E; 175[t], 1052 D[e]. — *Laws* (1): 306, I Cnut, c. 26, § 1. — *Wærf.* (225): 2.20[a, b] – 0; 7.34 – 153 A[1]; 11.14 – 153 C[2]; 11.27[a, b] – 156 A[1]; 14.14 – 157 B; 14.27, 28, 15.1 – 157 C[1, 2]; 16.15 – 160 A; 17.27 – 160 B[1]; 27.3 – 165 C[2]; 28.30[a, b] – 168 B; 31.13 – 169 A; 32.18 – 169 B[2]; 36.18, 19, 20 – 173 A[1, 2]; 37.6 – 173 A[3]; 38.4 – 173 B; 38.12 – 173 C[2]; 42.28 – 177 A[3]; 47.3, 4 – 180 C[1, 2]; 53.24 – 188 A; 58.21, 22 – 189 C[3, 4]; 58.33 – 189 C[3]; 64.2, 3 – 193 C[1]; 64.23, 24[a, b] – 193 C[2], D[1]; 64.34, 65.1 – 196 A[1, 2]; 65.10 – 196 A[3]; 68.27 – 197 B[3]; 69.1 – 197 B[3]; 69.18 – 197 C; 72.29 – 201 A; 73.21 – 201 B[1]; 73.25 – 201 B[2]; 74.4 – 201 B[4]; 75.6 – 201 C; 84.10 – 209 A[4]; 84.18 – 209 A[5]; 88.27 – 212 C[3]; 89.3, 4 – 212 C[4]; 89.18 – 213 A; 97.10 – B. 128 A; 99.7 – B. 130 A[1]; 100.19[a, b] – B. 132 B[1]; 102.4 – B. 132 C; 104.11 – B. 136 A; 104.27[a, b] – B. 136 A[2]; 104.29 – B. 136 A[3]; 106.33 – B. 138 A; 111.2[b], 3[a] – B. 140 C[2, 3]; 111.7 – B. 140 C[3]; 111.20 – B. 142 A; 113.11 – B. 144 A[3]; 114.8 – B. 144 C[3]; 115.33 – B. 146 B; 117.13, 14 – B. 148 A[1, 2]; 118.28, 29 – B. 148 B[2, 4]; 123.31[a, b] – B. 154 C[2, 3]; 126.8, 9 – B. 156 C; 130.4[a, b] – B. 160 A[1, 2]; 130.28 – B. 160 C[1]; 143.10 – B. 170 C; 144.5, 6 – B. 172 A[1, 2]; 144.13[a, b] – B. 172 A[3, 4]; 145.17[a, b] – B. 172 C[2, 3]; 156.15, 16 – B. 182 C[1, 2]; 163.19 – B. 190 B[2]; 164.2[a, b] – B. 190 B[3]; 164.14 – B. 190 C[1]; 164.18 – B. 190 C[4]; 165.17 – B. 192 B[1]; 165.20[a, b] – B. 192 B[2]; 168.9[a, b] – B. 194 D, 196 A[1]; 168.22 – B. 196 A[2]; 181.1, 2, 3 – 217 C[2, 3, 4]; 183.11[a, b], 12[a, b] – 221 C[1, 2, 3]; 184.5 – 224 B[2]; 184.11 – 224 B[4]; 184.16 – 224 C[1]; 184.18 – 224 C[2]; 185.2 – 225 A[2]; 185.7[a, b] – 225 A[3, 4]; 187.22 – 228 C; 188.24 – 229 B[2]; 189.9 – 229 C; 192.22 – 233 D; 195.4 – 237 B[2]; 200.12, 13 – 244 C[2, 3]; 200.20[a, b] – 244 D; 200.27 – 245 A[1]; 200.29[a, b] – 245 A[2]; 206.28 – 252 C[2]; 207.3 – 252 C[3]; 207.6 – 252 C[5]; 207.10 – 252 C[6]; 211.12 – 257 B[1]; 211.15 – 257 B[2]; 211.16 – 257 C[1]; 213.22 – 260 D; 214.17 – 261 B; 216.14[a, b] – 264 B[1, 2]; 216.21[a, b], 22 – 264 C[1, 2, 3]; 219.6 – 268 A[1]; 219.10[a, b] – 268 A[3]; 221.23 – 269 D[1]; 221.26, 27 – 272 A[1, 2]; 222.22, 28 – 272 B[2], C[2]; 224.25 – 273 C[2]; 228.18 – 280 B[1]; 229.1 – 280 B[2]; 229.20 – 281 A; 232.14 – 284 B; 234.12 – 285 C[1]; 237.2 – 289 A[2]; 237.23[a, b], 24 – 289 C[1, 2]; 238.4, 5 – 289 C[3, 4]; 240.12 – 293 B[1]; 242.14 – 296 C[2]; 243.4 – 297 A[1]; 244.8 – 297 C[2]; 245.6 – 300 B[2]; 250.28 – 308 A[2]; 251.18 – 308 B; 255.1 – 312 B[1, 2]; 255.11 – 312 B[2]; 266.28 – 325 B; 276.23[a, b] – 337 A[1, 2]; 278.8[a, b] – 340 A[1, 2]; 278.11 – 340 A[2]; 279.9 – 340 C; 282.3 – 341 D; 285.9 – 345 C; 286.22, 23 – 348 B[2, 3]; 288.13[a, b] – 349 A[2, 3]; 289.15[a, b] – 349 C[4]; 290.7 – 349 D[2]; 290.9 – 352 A[1]; 292.14 – 353 A; 293.11 – 353 C; 298.18 – 360 C; 298.29 – 360 D; 299.4 – 361 A; 308.20 – 372 C[2]; 308.22 – 372 C[3]; 309.1 – 372 C[4]; 312.3, 4 – 376 C[1, 2]; 314.8 – 380 A[2]; 317.2 – 381 C[1]; 320.12 – 385 B; 321.27 – 388 B[2]; 322.4 – 388 B[3]; 324.20 – 392 A[1]; 324.22, 23[a, b] – 392 A[3, 4]; 325.2 – 392 A[3]; 325.7 – 392 B[1]; 325.8[a, b] – 392 B[2, 3]; 325.29 – 392 C[2];

325.30, 31[a. b. c. d] = 392 C[a. 4. 5. 6. 7]; 326.12[b], 13 = 393 A[2]; 331.5 = 397 D; 341.31 = 416 A; 342.9[a. b] = 416 C[1]; 343.34 = 417 C[2]; 344.23[a] = 420 B[1]; 345.18, 19[a. b] = 421 A[2. 4]; 345.20[a. b] = 421 A[3]. — *Bl. Hom.* (24): 55.10[a. b]; 105.6; 113.15, 31[a. b. c]; 143.8; 149.29, 33; 151.1, 4; 157.18; 165.22; 187.28; 199.19[a]; 201.22; 221.6, 8, 12[a. b], 18; 229.22; 239.19. — *Pr. Gu.* (10): II. 100, 105; III. 17, 34; IV. 27, 34; XIV. 16; XVII. 13; XX. 33, 45. — *Mart.* (21): 10.24; 26.23; 34.12; 70.16, 24; 80.22; 82.5; 88.7; 92.27; 98.13; 106.4[a], 25; 120.11; 140.22; 152.27, 28; 154.15; 170.6; 178.15; 206.22; 214.6. — *Ælf. Hom.* (32): I. 48[t], 50[t], 62[b], 380[m], 414[t 2. 3. 4. 5], 428[t 2], 534[b]; II. 8[t], 32[b 2], 130[m 2], 138[b], 140[m], 170[b], 294[b], 296[t 1. 2], 298[b], 300[m 2], 300[b], 414[b], 472[b], 488[b 2], 494[m 1. 2], 494[b], 496[t], 502[b 2], 514[b 2], 518[t 2]. — *Ælf. L. S.* (47): 32.118; 34.153; 118.48, 49, 51; 124.118; 252.247; 426.199; 488.27; 520.546; XXIII B. 65, 190, 234, 243, 249, 265, 275, 322, 323[a. b], 326, 402, 405, 407, 410, 411, 420, 427, 428[a. b], 508, 532, 615, 687[a. b], 723, 736, 748, 767, 777; XXVIII. 92; XXXI. 157, 1365; XXXIII. 178, 202, 239, 311. — *Ælf. Hept.* (2): *Gen.* 4.26; *Deut.* 3.23[a]. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): *Napier's Ad. to Th.* (1): 102.35[b 2]. — *Gosp.* (55): *Mat.* (12): 4.2, 17[a. b]; 11.7[a], 20; 12.1; 16.21[a]; 20.11; 22.15; 26.37[a. b]; 27.3; — *Mk.* (27): 1.45[a. b]; 2.23; 4.1; 5.18, 20; 6.2, 34; 8.11, 31[a], 32; 10.32, 47[a. b]; 11.15; 12.1; 13.5; 14.19[a. b], 33[a. b], 69, 71[a. b], 72; 15.8, 18; — *L.* (16): 3.8; 4.21; 7.15, 38; 11.38[a. b], 53[a. b], 54; 13.26; 14.18; 15.24, 28; 19.37, 45; 20.9. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (17): 10.62, 100, 159, 566, 567; 13.102[b], 103, 113, 259; 18.152, 160, 225, 271, 311, 330, 331, 345. — *Wulf.* (23): 9.5[a. b]; 44.26, 27; 141.3[a. b], 20; 191.9; 206.19; 210.15; 213.11, 13; 217.29; 222.2; 236.2, 3; 237.20; 250.17; 255.9; 262.11, 12; 277.18[a. b]. — *Læce.* (3): 14.27; 60.31; 63.36. — Minor Prose (14): *Alex.* (5): 535, 536, 640, 641, 728; — *Apol.* (6): 23.35 = 42[t]; 27.12[b], 14, 28 = 45; 31.28[a. b] = 48[b]; — *Chad.* (1): 1; — *Neot* (2): 58, 59. — *Beow.* (19): 101; 244; 872; 873; 874; 1607; 1985; 2045; 2046; 2112; 2211; 2312; 2313; 2702; 2713[a. b]; 2791; 2879; 3144. — *Gen.* (58): 21; 30; 31[a. b]; 77; 259; 262; 275; 294; 298; 408; 442; 495; 590; 592; 649; 650; 706; 717; 863; 966; 995; 1057; 1118; 1132; 1171; 1228; 1239; 1249; 1302; 1316; 1355; 1413; 1498; 1556; 1557; 1594; 1681; 1823; 1880[a. b]; 1881[a. b]; 1899; 2238; 2241; 2282; 2405; 2635; 2716; 2750; 2811; 2846; 2860; 2866; 2887; 2901[a. b]. — *Ex.* (1): 584. — *Dan.* (7): 49; 170; 190; 468; 539; 599; 750. — *Chr.* (2): 1363; 1414. — *El.* (21): 157; 199; 226; 287; 303; 306; 311; 385; 559; 560; 570; 697; 828; 849; 900; 1067; 1093; 1148; 1156; 1163; 1205. — *Ju.* (14): 27; 270; 271; 291; 298; 346; 537[a. b]; 538; 595; 630; 631; 638[a. b]. — *Gu.* (16): 73; 261; 533; 542; 699; 975; 983; 1035; 1083; 1088; 1089[a. b]; 1119; 1130; 1175; 1214. — *And.* (20): 13; 353; 428; 450; 469; 671; 764; 850; 1022; 1127; 1128; 1170; 1315; 1342; 1419; 1556; 1607; 1608; 1698[a. b]. — *Met.* (12): 1.60; 7.1; 8.3; 13.29[a. b]; 14.12; 25.50, 69; 26.73, 80, 84; 28.77. — *Ps.* (25): 68.27; 75.5; 76.1, 6, 9, 10; 77.2, 11; 97.8[a]; 101.6; 104.21, 24; 105.12, 14, 17[a. b], 27[a. b]; 106.36; 118.145, 148, 161; 128.2; 138.16; 146.7. — *Rid.* (5): 10.4; 23.8; 29.11; 32.9; 55.10. — *Jud.* (6): 42; 81; 270[a. b]; 271; 281. — *Ph.* (3): 188; 189; 225. — *Cal.* (1): 73. — *Charms* (2): VI. 13, 14. — *Doomsday* (1): 97. — *D. R.* (6): 20; 27; 65; 67; 73; 116. — *Fallen Angels* (2): 78; 248. — *F. I.* (4): 33; 44; 60; 76. — *Gnomic Sayings* (1): 52. — *Har.* (2): 279; 280. — *Hūl.* (2): 2; 36. — *H. L.* (1): 25. — *Maldon* (8): 12; 17; 86; 90; 91; 228; 261; 265. — *Pharao* (1): 3. — *Prayers* (1): III. 16. — *S. & S.* (1): 451. — *Song of Runes* (2): 92[a. b]. — *Versuchung* (2): 67[a. b]. — *Wald.* A (1): 27. — *W. C.* (1): 11. — I. (37): *Boeth.* (1): 127.23 = 108.16. — *Greg.* (1): 423.8 = 344.29. — *Pr. Ps.* (1): 48.7. — *Chron.* (2): 30[t], 656 E[a]; 147[t], 1016 E[a]. — *Bened.* (1): 62.5 = 116.9. — *Ælf. Hom.* (13): I. 50[m]; 140[m], 150[t], 314[t], 448[b]; II. 78[b], 128[b], 160[t], 178[b 4], 486[b 1. 2], 488[b 2], 488[b 7]. — *Ælf. L. S.* (4): 228.154; 328.112; 538.820; XXVI. 45. — *Ælf. Hept.* (3): *Jos.* 3.7, 16; *Judges* 13.5. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (5): *Ælf. Gr.* (3): 212.3, 4, 7; — *Napier's Ad. to Th.* (2): 102.31[b], 37[b 2]. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (2): 12.143, 146. — *Wulf.* (3): 195.1; 199.8; 200.1. — Minor Prose (1): *Nic.* (1): 476.25.

ongynnan: see *onginnan.*

onmedan, *presume, undertake:* U. (1): *Rid.* (1): 56.16. — I. (0).

onscunian, *shun, fear:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 346[t 2]. — *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Ex.* 8.26.

reccan, *care (for):* U. (0). — I. (2): *Laws* (1): 40, Ælfred, Intr., c. 40. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 440.122.

secan, *seek:* U. (5): *Bl. Hom.* (1): 167.2. — *Gosp.* (2): *Mat.* (1): 12.46; — *L.* (1): 20.19. — *Wald.* A. (2): 18; 20. — I. (11): *Pr. Ps.* (2): 34.4; 36.32. — *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Ex.* 2.15. — *Gosp.* (8): *L.* (1): 6.19; — *J.* (7): 5.18; 7.19, 20, 25, 30; 8.37, 40.

sellan [-ie-, -y-], *grant, allow:* U. (1): *Beow.* (1): 3056. — I. (1): *Schöpf.* (1): 30.

seon, *see:* U. (2): *Rid.* (2): 14.1; 53.1. — I. (0).

siellan: see *sellan.*

sirwan, *plot:* U. (0). — I. (1): Minor Prose (1): *Apol.* (1): 31.34 = 48[b 2].

smeagan [**smean**], *think upon, meditate:* U. (0). — I. (3): *Greg.* (1): 55.22 = 32.10. — *Pr. Ps.* (1): 18.12 = 0. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 146[t].

smean: see *smeagan*.
swerian, *swear:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Chron.* (2): 268[m], 1140 E[1, 2].
syllan: see *sellan*.
tacan, *take:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Chron.* (1): 263[m], 1135 E.
tæcan, *teach, direct:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Greg.* (1): 165.10 = 120.12. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 216[b].
tellan, *account, consider:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 158[b].
teohhian: see *tih(h)ian*.
teolian: see *tilian*.
teon, *accuse:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Laws* (1): 102, Ine B, c. 30.
tih(h)ian [tioh(h)-, teoh(h)-], *think, determine:* U. (0). — I. (8): *Boeth.* (3): 51.6 = 51.15[b]; 116.12 = 0; 143.19 = 0. — *Greg.* (3): 305.4 = 232.12; 305.5 = 232.13; 445.8 = 372.20. — *Solil.* (1): 36.12 = 0. — *Pr. Ps.* (1): 39.16 = 39.15.
tiohhian: see *tih(h)ian*.
tilian [teolian], *strive after, attempt:* U. (8): *Bede* (1): 230.26 = 175.23. — *Greg.* (1): 233.22 = 176.20. — *Pr. Ps.* (1): 25.5. — *Bl. Hom.* (2): 165.31[a, b]. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXIII B. 403[a]. — *Met.* (2): 10.22; 11.79. — I. (28): *Bede* (4): 210.32 = 164.23; 372.12 = 275.2; 372.14 = 275.4; 486.13 = 8.17. — *Boeth.* (5): 23.1[b] = 32.22; 31.16 = 37.60; 43.15 = 45.33; 133.14 = 0; 135.5 = 114.180. — *Greg.* (11): 61.18 = 36.20; 273.3[a] = 206.2; 363.1 = 280.19; 363.10 = 282.1; 393.26 = 310.24; 419.24 = 342.8; 423.2, 3 = 344.26; 453.23 = 384.18; 453.26 = 384.21; 463.5 = 398.11. — *Pr. Ps.* (4): 25.3; 34.14[a, b]; 48.12. — *Bl. Hom.* (1): 219.18. — *Mart.* (1): 104.11. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXIII B. 686. — Minor Prose (1): *Alex.* (1): 131.
tweogan [tweon], *doubt:* U. (1): *Bede* (1): 308.26 = 238.7. — I. (0).
ðeahti(g)an [smeagan and —], *think upon, meditate:* U. (1): *Greg.* (1): 55.22 = 32.10. — I. (0).
ðencan, *think:* U. (92): *Bede* (2): 36.8 = 19.11; 456.2 = 324.32. — *Boeth.* (3): 93.31 = 80.99; 93.32 = 80.100; 103.20 = 0. — *Greg.* (2): 55.12 = 32.2; 343.21 = 266.1. — *Oros.* (17): 44.32 = 45.30; 54.21 = 55.18; 78.30 = 79.26; 132.12 = 0; 150.12 = 151.7; 182.25 = 183.23; 200.17 = 201.9; 212.3 = 213.5; 230.2 = 0; 236.12 = 0; 242.6 = 0; 258.15 = 259.14; 258.29 = 0; 282.9[b] = 283.8; 286.6 = 0; 292.3 = 293.2; 292.29 = 293.29. — *Wærf.* (1): 239.6 = 292. B[2]. — *Bened.* (1): 23.3 = 46.4. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXXI. 1059. — *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Gen.* 48.17[b]. — *L.* (1): 1.1. — Minor Prose (2): *Benediktiner-Officium* (1): 62.24; — *Cato* (1): 46. — *Beow.* (8): 355; 448; 541; 739; 800; 801; 964; 1535. — *Gen.* (5): 401; 1274; 1275; 2437; 2891. — *Ex.* (1): 51. — *Ju.* (1): 637. — *El.* (1): 296. — *Gu.* (4): 260; 274; 277; 298. — *And.* (5): 150; 151; 152; 213; 693. — *Met.* (1): 1.12. — *Ps.* (17): 61.4; 63.3; 88.22, 30; 93.20[a, b]; 102.13; 107.8; 118.91, 107, 109; 131.15; 141.3; 149.7[a, b], 8[a, b]. — *Jud.* (2): 59; 208. — *Charms* (2): *V. C.* 16, 17. — *D. R.* (1): 121. — *Fallen Angels* (5): 183; 184; 208; 209; 364. — *Gnomic Sayings* (1): 116 (Exeter). — *L. P.* (1): II. 25. — *Maldon* (3): 258; 316; 319. — *Seaf.* (1): 52. — *Wald. B.* (2): 5; 7. — I. (34): *Boeth.* (1): 53.11 = 0. — *Greg.* (3): 11.14 = 32.6; 433.31[b] = 360.1; 447.17 = 376.5. — *Oros.* (5): 56.22 = 0; 212.29 = 0; 282.9[a] = 283.8; 292.28[b] = 293.29; 296.4 = 297.6. — *Solil.* (1): 42.23 = 0. — *Chron.* (5): 190[b], 1065 C[b]; 222[b], 1087 E[a]; 224[m], 1087 E[c]; 229[b], 1094 E[d]; 233[m], 1097 E[a]. — *Laws* (1): 206, IV Edgar, c. 1, § 2. — *Wærf.* (3): 119.9 = B. 148 C[3]; 252.4 = 308 C; 253.7 = 309 A[2]. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 454[b 2]. — *Ælf. Hept.* (5): *Gen.* 27.41, 42[b]; 37.18, 21; 48.17[a]. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. I* (2): 1.261; 5.30. — *Ps.* (1): 118.59. — *Charms* (6): V. C. 4[a, b, c, d], 5[a, b].
underfon, *undertake:* U. (0). — I. (6): *Greg.* (4): 77.4 = 50.6; 161.12 = 116.25; 293.3[a, b] = 220.26. — *Wærf.* (2): 113.22 = B. 144 C; 325.10 = 392 B[4] (or final?).
understandan [-o-], *understand:* U. (0). — I. (1): Minor Prose (1): *Apol.* (1): 19.19.
wandian, *hesitate, be neglectful:* U. (0). — I. (6): *Chron.* (1): 178[t], 1052 E[b]. — *Laws* (1): 138, I Eadweard, Prol. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 554[t 2]. — *Ælf. L. S.* (2): XXXI. 699, 1036. — *Wulf.* (1): 191.6.
warenian, *shun:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Bede* (1): 474.20 = 348.9.
weddian, *contract, agree:* U. (0). — I. (1): *L.* (1): 22.5.
wenan, *hope, expect:* U. (3): *Beow.* (1): 934. — *Met.* (1): 1.83. — *Ps.* (1): 123.4. — I. (1): *Chron.* (1): 267[b], 1140 E[a].
wi(e)rnan, *desist from:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Greg.* (1): 381.6 = 296.9.
wil(l)nian, *desire:* U. (45): *Bede* (14): 182.17 = 148.9; 208.9 = 162.20; 218.6 = 167.31; 234.1[a] = 176.29; 274.3 = 213.21; 294.23 = 226.6; 324.10 = 246.33; 358.12 = 267.9; 404.20 = 292.15; 406.14 = 294.10[a]; 418.28 = 301.26; 420.5[a, b] = 302.2[a, b]; 456.8 = 325.5; — *Boeth.* (9): 5.1 = 0; 14.19 = 23.22; 31.24 = 38.66; 52.19 = 52.5; 52.20 = 0; 118.10 = 0; 118.11, 12 = 0; 135.24 = 115.2. — *Greg.* (14): 11.13 = 32.5; 17.19 = 246.11; 27.5 = 6.13; 43.1 = 20.25; 49.16

= 26.21; 55.14 = 32.5; 63.20 = 38.15; 101.22[a, b] = 70.10; 129.5 = 90.15; 143.6 = 102.12; 147.22 = 106.21; 149.7 = 108.1; 241.3 = 182.5. — *Solil.* (1): 13.1. — *Pr. Ps.* (2): 13.9 = 13.4; 14.6 = 14.5. — *Ælf. Hom.* (2): I. 432[b 1, 2]. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXXIII. 142. — *L.* (1): 23.8. — *Met.* (1): 29.3. — I. (76): *Bede* (1): 68.13 = 50.12. — *Boeth.* (26): 41.4, 5 = 0; 42.12 = 44.20; 46.2[b] = 46.1; 53.10 = 0; 53.12 = 0; 55.23 = 53.52; 56.4 = 53.58[b]; 56.19 = 54.67; 56.20 = 54.68; 92.17 = 79.70; 93.27 = 80.96; 93.29 = 0; 94.7 = 80.106; 103.15[a, b] = 0; 106.25 = 91.26; 106.31 = 91.32; 107.16[a] = 0; 108.5 = 0; 110.29[a, b], 30 = 95.130; 124.11 = 105.6; 133.15 = 0; 133.17 = 0. — *Greg.* (18): 11.11 = 28.23; 25.9 = 4.8; 53.3 = 28.23; 55.18 = 32.7; 93.26 = 64.12; 145.12 = 104.17; 203.8[b] = 152.6; 247.15 = 186.27; 249.20[a, b] = 188.25; 327.25 = 252.29; 333.6 = 256.21; 371.21 = 288.19; 383.29 = 298.28; 399.3 = 316.20; 453.32[a, b] = 384.30; 463.36 = 400.18. — *Oros.* (1): 54.16 = 55.16. — *Solil.* (19): 2.22; 31.25; 32.20; 35.6; 37.1; 41.3; 46.7, 18, 19; 49.9; 50.3; 56.5; 57.2; 59.35; 63.15, 18, 26; 67.4, 11. — *Pr. Ps.* (1): 40, Intr. = 0. — *Ælf. L. S.* (3): XXIII B. 223[a, b]; XXXIII. 253. — *Mat.* (1): 20.28[a]. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (1): 13.241. — Minor Prose (4): *Alex.* (3): 107, 231, 409; — *Cato* (1): 25. — *Met.* (1): 19.44.

witan [nytan], *know [know not]:* U. (0). — I. (7): *Oros.* (1): 220.9 = 0. — *Chron.* (1): 224[m], 1087 E[d]. — *Laws* (2): 166, V Æthelstan, Prol., 3; 180, VI Æthelstan, c. 8, § 8. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 506[b]. — *Gen.* (1): 243. — *Ju.* (1): 557.

wiðcweðan, *refuse:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 516[b].

wiðsacan, *refuse:* U. (0): — I. (1): *Greg.* (1): 383.19 = 298.17.

wunian, *use, be wont:* U. (1): *Bede* (1): 230.23 = 175.19. — I. (0).

yldan: see *ieldan.*

2. With Passive Verbs.

Given in full in Chapter II, pp. 59–60.

B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

1. With Active Finite Verb.

aginnan [-y-], *begin* (1): *L.* (1): 12.45[d].

geearnian, *earn, merit* (2): *Bede* (2): 372.34 = 275.21; 406.16 = 294.10[b].

gewilnian, *desire, wish* (2): *Wærf.* (1): 204.4 = 249 A[1]. — *Mat.* (1): 20.28[b].

habban, *have* (1): *L.* (1): 12.50.

onginnan [-y-], *begin* (15): *Bede* (3): 88.3 = 61.14; 128.12 = 108.18[a]; 358.14 = 267.11[b]. — *Wærf.* (11): 48.6 = 181 B; 74.3 = 201 B[2]; 160.12 = B. 186 C[2]; 175.16 = B. 202 A[1]; 201.6 = 245 A[4]; 206.14 = 252 B[1]; 206.24 = 252 B[2]; 222.13 = 272 B[1]; 222.27 = 272 C[1]; 223.7 = 272 C[2]; 284.23 = 345 B. — *Mk.* (1): 13.4.

wil(l)nian, *desire, wish* (2): *Bede* (1): 234.1[b] = 176.30. — *Greg.* (1): 302.18 = 230.1.

witan, *know* (1): *Bede* (1): 402.24 = 291.13.

2. With Passive Verbs.

Given in full in Chapter II, p. 72.

III. Other Substantival Uses of the Infinitive.

Given in full in Chapter III, pp. 73–78.

IV. The Predicative Infinitive with Auxiliary Verbs.

A. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

1. With Active Finite Verb.

A few illustrative examples of the uninflected predicative infinitive with auxiliary verbs are given in Chapter IV, p. 80; and the examples of the inflected predicative infinitive are given in full in the same chapter, pp. 80–82.

B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

1. The Infinitive Made Up of "Beon" + a Past Participle.

cunnan, *know* (1): *Greg.* (1): 113.22 = 78.26.

dear(r), *dare* (2): *Wærf.* (2): 132.17 = B. 162 A[3]; 232.7 = 284 A.

gedafenian, *be fitting* (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXIII B. 743.

gewunian, *be wont* (4): *Bede* (3): 172.28 – 143.3; 270.33 – 212.9; 474.14 – 348.4. — *Wærf.* (1): 183.17 – 224 A.

magan, *may, can* (269): *Bede* (36): 20.14 – 243.2; 44.34 – 27.12; 50.7 – 30.14; 68.2 – 50.2; 76.2 – 54.17; 76.26 – 55.4; 78.8 – 55.20; 80.28 – 57.18; 90.23 – 70.22; 92.6 – 71.13; 92.11 – 71.19; 114.5, 6 – 92.9, 10; 120.23 – 98.10; 186.25 – 151.3; 230.11 – 175.5; 250.12 – 199.20; 254.21 – 202.28; 254.32 – 203.5; 288.18 – 222.20; 296.30 – 227.15; 300.28, 29 – 230.6, 7^{b}; 308.12 – 237.25; 320.26 – 245.19; 328.30 – 251.17; 328.34 – 251.19; 334.18^{b} – 254.21; 336.20 – 255.22; 350.17 – 263.14; 366.18 – 271.26; 388.19 – 283.26; 400.26 – 290.16; 428.18 – 306.31; 442.4 – 313.21; 472.10 – 346.31. — *Boeth.* (3): 15.17 – 0; 38.10 – 42.51; 100.31 – 85.96. — *Greg.* (6): 85.20 – 56.27; 87.20 – 58.18; 147.14 – 106.13; 153.23 – 112.2; 225.22 – 170.21; 393.10 – 310.11. — *Oros.* (1): 238.4 – 0. — *Chron.* (1): 229^{t}, 1094 E^{b}. — *Wærf.* (103): 13.7, 8 – 156 C^{3}; 40.17 – 176 B; 54.30 – 188 B^{3}; 55.2 – 188 B^{4}; 60.20 – 192 B^{2}; 60.33^{b} – 192 B^{4}; 65.19 – 196 B; 78.1 – 204 C; 84.2 – 209 A^{2}; 90.23 – 213 B^{2}; 90.26 – 213 C^{1}; 91.1 – 213 C^{2}; 100.21 – B. 132 B^{2}; 111.2^{a} – B. 140 C^{1}; 118.25 – B. 148 B^{2}; 123.4 – B. 154 A^{2}; 129.5 – B. 158 D^{1}; 131.27 – B. 160 D; 134.28 – B. 164 A; 139.24 – B. 166 D^{1}; 139.26 – B. 166 D^{2}; 145.11 – B. 172 C^{1}; 163.13 – B. 190 B^{1}; $164.16^{a, b}$ – B. 190 $C^{2, 3}$; 174.8, 9 – B. 200 B; 177.8 – B. 204 A^{1}; 184.3 – 224 B^{2}; 191.18 – 233 A; 195.5 – 237 B^{4}; 210.21 – 257 A; 213.1 – 260 B^{1}; 213.8 – 260 C^{1}; 219.9 – 268 A^{2}; 220.25 – 269 A^{3}; 223.25 – 273 A; 226.14 – 276 C; 231.22 – 284 A; 238.8 – 289 D; 239.27^{b} – 292 C^{3}; 247.10 – 301 C; 256.23 – 313 C; 263.8 – 321 A^{3}; 264.7 – 321 B; 268.12 – 328 B; $269.15^{a, b}$, 16^{a} – 329 $A^{1, 2, 3}$; 270.12 – 329 B^{2}; 270.17 – 329 B^{3}; 290.18 – 352 A^{2}; 291.21 – 352 C^{2}; 294.26 – 356 C^{1}; 295.10 – 356 D; 295.16 – 357 A^{1}; 301.24 – 364 C^{1}; 303.8 – 365 B^{2}; 303.22 – 365 D; 304.1, 3 – 368 $A^{1, 2}$; $304.26^{a, b}$ – 368 $B^{1, 2}$; 312.6 – 376 C^{3}; 313.22 – 377 B; 314.19 – 380 B^{1}; 314.28 – 380 B^{3}; 315.1^{b} – 380 B^{4}; 315.19 – 380 D; 318.5 – 384 A^{1}; 319.7 – 384 C; 320.17 – 385 B^{2}; 321.15 – 388 B^{1}; 321.23 – 388 B^{2}; 322.14 – 388 C^{1}; 322.25^{a} – 388 D^{1}; 323.6 – 389 A^{1}; 323.12 – 389 B^{1}; 326.12^{a} – 393 A^{1}; 327.12 – 393 C^{2}; 327.14 – 393 C^{3}; 328.9 – 396 A^{2}; 328.10, 11 – 396 B^{1}; 328.13 – 396 B^{2}; 330.14 – 396 B^{3}; 333.12 – 401 A^{1}; 336.5 – 404 C^{4}; 336.6 – 404 C^{5}; 339.13^{b}, 14^{b} – 412 A^{1}; 340.27^{a} – 413 A^{1}; 340.27^{b}, 28 – 413A^{2}; 341.1 – 413 B; $344.2^{a, b}$ – 417 C^{4}; 344.15 – 420 A^{3}; 344.23^{b} – 420 B^{2}; 345.17^{a} – 421 A^{2}; 348.31 – 428 A^{1}; 348.33 – 428 A^{2}; 348.34 – 428 A^{3}. — *Bened.* (4): 5.16 – 10.26; 18.19 – 36.8; 65.1 – 122.14; 136.27 – 0. — *Bl. Hom.* (6): 19.22; 69.7^{b}, 8; 73.15^{b}; 111.1; 161.20. — *Pr. Gu.* (1): V. 266. — *Mart.* (4): 74.13, 14; 110.21; 176.25. — *Ælf. Hom.* (44): I. 26^{m}, 48^{b}, 94^{b}, 130^{b}, 176^{t}, 236^{t}, 280^{t}, 282^{m}, 286^{t}, 286^{b}, $292^{b\,2}$, 314^{b}, 320^{b}, 342^{t}, 346^{b}, 500^{t}, $544^{t\,1, 2}$, 552^{m}, $582^{b\,2}$, $588^{b\,2}$, $594^{t\,2}$; II. 28^{t}, 48^{t}, 120^{t}, 204^{b}, 234^{t}, 236^{m}, 268^{t}, 284^{b}, 336^{m}, $344^{b\,2}$, 362^{t}, 366^{b}, $388^{t\,2, 3}$, 406^{b}, 410^{b}, $428^{t\,2}$, 560^{m}, $562^{b\,2}$, 576^{m}, 590^{b}, 606^{b}. — *Ælf. L. S.* (15): 22.207; 98.137; 174.85; 196.31; 198.68; 202.119; 214.71; 282.287; 286.44; 524.604; XXIII B. 722; XXXI. 735, 736, 1213; XXXV. 10. — *Ælf. Hept.* (2): *Deut.* 3.23^{b}; — *Lev.* 10.8. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (17): *Ælf. Gr.* (15): 5.12, 12.17, 99.2, 107.10; 130.2, 4; 223.2, 242.11, 246.4^{a}, 250.17, 257.17, 267.15, 273.9, 278.1, 280.1; — *Ælf. Int.* (2): 160; 336. — *Gosp.* (11): *Mat.* (4): 5.14; $26.9^{a, b}$, 54^{a}; — *Mk.* (3): 10.38; $14.5^{a, b}$; — *L.* (1): 8.43; — *J.* (3): $3.4^{a, b}$; 10.35. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. I* (1): 8.72. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (3): 10.207; 11.54; 13.236. — *Wulf.* (1): 96.8. — *Lacc.* (4): 48.5; 52.15; 56.30; 83.40. — Minor Prose (6): *Alex.* (3): 34, $55^{a, b}$; — *Apol.* (1): 23.32; — *Neot* (2): $9^{a, b}$.

mot, *may, must* (24): *Bede* (7): 70.2 – 50.28^{b}; 72.11 – 52.6; 74.16 – 53.30; 182.31 – 148.26; 290.2 – 223.7; 290.24 – 223.28; 374.3 – 275.23. — *Boeth.* (1): 121.19^{b} – 103.93^{b}. — *Greg.* (1): 171.18 – 126.13. — *Wærf.* (3): 35.19 – 172 B^{2}; 112.25 – B.144 A^{1}; 276.9 – 336 C^{2}. — *Bl. Hom.* (1): 185.4. — *Ælf. Hom.* (6): I. 56^{t}, 292^{b}, $414^{b\,2}$, 546^{b}; II. 46^{b}, 602^{t}. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 270.142. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): *Ælf. Gr.* (1): 246.4^{b}. — *Wulf.* (3): 32.9, 10; 228.22.

nyllan: see *willan*.

sculan, *shall* (275): *Bede* (37): 18.16 – 219.10; $44.28^{a, b}$ – 27.5; 68.28 – 50.28^{a}; $74.1^{a, b}$ – 53.4; 74.11 – 53.26; 74.23 – 54.7; 76.5 – 54.19; 78.2 – 55.15; 78.7 – 55.19; 78.29 – 56.6; 80.21 – 57.13; $80.26^{a, b}$ – 57.17; 84.9; – 59.10; 96.28, 29 – 80.18, 19; $110.32^{a, b}$ – $90.34^{a, b}$; 156.10 – 129.23; 190.16 – 152.29; 194.30 – 155.28; 230.9 – 175.3; 246.8 – 194.30; 270.8 – 211.14; 288.22 – 222.24; 308.20 – 238.2; 350.15 – 263.12; $354.30^{a, b}$ – 265.26; 374.8 – 275.30; 380.4 – 278.23; 396.20 – 288.9; 396.28^{b} – 288.16^{b}; 442.23 – 314.12; 468.22 – 333.2. — *Boeth.* (3): 36.32 – 41.34; 43.27 – 45.40; 95.15 – 81.12. — *Greg.* (25): 77.6 – 250.8; $77.9^{a, b}$ – 50.11; 77.11 – 50.13; 81.20, 21 – 54.14; 83.8 – 54.28; 83.22, 24 – 56.10; 91.17 – 62.5; 93.4 – 62.17; 93.7 – 62.20; 107.10 – 74.6; 117.20 – 82.10; 137.13 – 98.14; 161.24, 25 – 118.11; 169.1 – 124.3; 171.15 – 126.10; 251.1 – 190.1; 253.18 – 192.8; 305.9 – 232.17; 308.4 – 236.14; 329.9 – 254.10; 395.22 – 312.29. — *Oros.* (3): 20.33 – 0; 148.23 – 0; 206.4 – 207.2. — *Pr. Ps.*

(5): 22. Intr.; 26. Intr.; 26.2; 28. Intr.; 29. Intr. — *Chron.* (4): 129^{b}, 995 F^{e}; 145^{t}, 1014 E^{b}; 181^{b}, 1051 F; 261^{t}, 1130 E. — *Laws* (3): 106, Ine, c. 40; 448, Rectitudines, c. 5, § 3; 449, Rectitudines, c. 6, § 3. — *Wœrf.* (43): 13.6 = 156 C^{1}; 33.14 = 169 C; 38.10 = 173 C^{1}; 46.4 = 180 B^{2}; 54.18 = 188 B^{1}; 55.28 = 188 C^{1}; 55.34 = 188 C^{2}; 118.12 = B. 148 B; 123.30 = B. 154 C^{1}; 181.7 = 220 A^{2}; 184.27 = 225 A^{1}; 208.12 = 253 C^{1}; 213.4 = 260 B^{2}; 220.20 = 269 A; 225.2$^{a, b}$ = 273 C^{2}; 227.27 = 277 D^{2}; 239.3 = 292 B^{1}; 245.5 = 300 B^{1}; 253.9 = 309 A^{2}; 259.4 = 317 A; 267.22 = 325 D; 282.5 = 344 A; 288.19 = 349 B^{1}; 294.14$^{a, b}$ = 356 B; 297.16 = 360 A^{2}; 302.15 = 365 A^{2}; 310.4 = 373 B; 314.6 = 380 A^{1}; 314.23 = 380 B^{2}; 314.29 = 380 B^{4}; 315.1^{a} = 380 B^{5}; 316.17 = 381 B; 317.12 = 381 C^{2}; 324.21 = 392 A^{2}; 331.22 = 400 A; 335.11 = 404 B; 336.33 = 405 B^{1}; 337.16 = 405 C^{1}; 338.40, 41 = 409 A; 339.13^{a}, 14^{a} = 412 A^{1}. — *Bened.* (12): 6.21 = 72.17; 6.22 = 74.10; 6.23 = 76.1; 31.11 = 58.15; 39.13 = 72.17; 40.3 = 74.10; 40.18 = 76.1; 43.20 = 80.24; 43.25 = 82.2; 112.22$^{a, b}$ = 180.2; 127.4 = 194.11. — *Bl. Hom.* (25): 5.17, 23; 9.3, 6, 8; 19.14; 21.20; 33.23$^{a, b}$; 69.7^{a}, 19$^{a, b}$; 71.16, 17, 20; 73.16; 85.17; 95.20; 101.20^{b}; 163.11; 183.20; 189.27; 191.5, 6, 7. — *Pr. Gu.* (1): XX. 28. — *Mart.* (7): 24.8; 80.15; 96.27; 112.16; 176.23$^{a, b}$; 220.1. — *Ælf. Hom.* (39): I. 24^{b}, 88^{b}, 96^{m}, 124$^{b\ 2}$, 152^{t}, 152$^{b\ 2}$, 172^{t}, 180^{m}, 188^{b}, 202$^{b\ 1, 2}$, 204^{t}, 204^{b}, 214^{b}, 236^{b}, 248^{b}, 262^{t}, 266^{t}, 322^{t}, 428^{b}, 594$^{t\ 1}$, 596$^{b\ 2}$, 604$^{t\ 5}$; II. 12^{b}, 18^{b}, 38$^{b\ 2}$, 48$^{b\ 2}$, 130^{m}, 200^{t}, 212$^{t\ 1, 2}$, 278^{t}, 338$^{b\ 1, 2}$, 422^{b}, 424^{m}, 464^{b}, 532$^{t\ 1, 2}$. — *Ælf. L. S.* (14): 30.82; 46.372; 176.120$^{a, b}$; 204.156; 368.74; 512.428; XXIV. 120; XXX. 20, 21, 198; XXXI. 667, 1160; XXXIV. 98. — *Ælf. Hept.* (3): *De V. T.* 4.29; *Gen.* 27.45^{b}; *Lev.* 6.21. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (6): *Ælf. Gr.* (3): 255.12, 14^{a}; 279.8; — *Napier's Ad. to Th.* (3): 101.315^{b}, 102.29$^{b\ 1, 2}$. — *Gosp.* (3): *Mat.* (1): 3.14; — *Mk.* (1): 2.22; — *L.* (1): 22.37. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. I* (2): 9.408, 409. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (8): 10.560; 11.99$^{a, b}$; 12.100, 142; 13.109, 143; 18.266. — *Wulf.* (16): 96.5, 6, 17; 135.21; 141.2; 192.17; 194.6; 196.16; 218.15; 241.3; 248.16; 261.11$^{a, b}$; 291.16; 295.15; 300.17. — *Læce.* (5): 58.21; 60.38; 61.18; 89.12; 127.8. — Minor Prose (10): *Alex.* (1): 658; — *Neot* (3): 6, 7, 146; — *Nic.* (6): 474.5, 500.23, 504.8; 510.8, 10$^{a, b}$. — *Chr.* (1): 213.

ðurfan, *need* (9): *Greg.* (2): 83.16 = 56.3; 413.16 = 334.8. — *Wœrf.* (4): 222.15 = 272 B^{2}; 269.16^{b} = 329 A^{4}; 336.28 = 405 A; 345.17^{b} = 421 A^{2}. — *Bl. Hom.* (1): 135.25. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 48^{b}. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 176.130.

weorðan, *become* (1): *Wulf.* (1): 217.9.

willan [nyllan], *wish [not], will [not]* (53): *Bede* (4): 112.12 = 91.16; 112.18 = 91.22; 308.3 = 237.16; 366.5 = 271.12. — *Boeth.* (2): 36.2 = 41.17; 51.8 = 51.15^{a}. — *Greg.* (1): 135.26 = 96.29. — *Oros.* (1): 128.5 = 129.3. — *Wœrf.* (6): 83.2 = 208 B^{2}; 88.34 = 212 C^{2}; 110.14 = B. 140 B; 243.22 = 297 B; 279.3 = 340 B^{1}; 279.4 = 340 B^{2}. — *Bened.* (2): 112.14 = 178.16; 112.16 = 178.20. — *Bl. Hom.* (2): 33.13; 217.14. — *Pr. Gu.* (1): XX. 65. — *Ælf. Hom.* (16): I. 32$^{t\ 2}$, 34^{t}, 62^{t}, 80^{b}, 84$^{b\ 1, 2}$, 196^{t}, 480^{t}, 484^{t}, 522$^{b\ 2}$, 598^{t}, 604^{b}; II. 38^{b}, 40^{b}, 506^{t}, 512^{b}. — *Ælf. L. S.* (2): 444.58; XXXII. 88. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (5): *Ælf. Gr.* (5): 119.3; 143.19, 20; 144.5, 6. — *Gosp.* (5): *Mat.* (3): 2.18; 16.21^{b}; 19.21; — *Mk.* (1): 12.38^{b}; — *L.* (1): 7.6. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (3): 16.200; 18.134, 297. — *Wulf.* (3): 105.32; 194.3; 277.3.

wunian, *be accustomed* (1): *Bede* (2): 340.7$^{a, b}$ = 257.10$^{a, b}$.

2. The Infinitive Made Up of "Weorðan" + a Past Participle.

Given in full in Chapter IV, pp. 84 ff.

3. The Infinitive Made Up of "Wesan" + a Past Participle.

Given in full in Chapter IV, pp. 84 ff.

V. The Predicative Infinitive with Verbs of Motion and of Rest.[1]

Only the uninflected infinitive, active, is found.

1. Verbs of Motion.

becuman [bi-], *come* (4):

— blican, *shine* (1): *And.* (1): 789.

— hlynnan, *resound* (1): *Beow.* (1): 2553.

— rinnan, *run* (1): *Chr.* (1): 1114.

[1] In this section, besides the finite verb (the initial word) I cite the infinitive, also.

becuman sneowan, *hasten* (1): *And.* (1): 1668.
bicuman: see *becuman.*
cuman, *come* (70):
— astigan, *descend* (1): *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (1): 15.329.
— blican, *shine, beam* (4): *Chr.* (1): 903. — *Ju.* (1): 564. — *And.* (1): 838. — *Ph.* (1): 95.
— drifan [-y-], *drive* (1): *Bede* (1): 400.28 = 290.19.
— dryfan: see *drifan.*
— faran, *go* (3): *Beow.* (2): 2915; 2945. — *And.* (1): 1279.
— feran, *go* (5): *Gen.* (2): 852; 2759. — *Dan.* (1): 698. — *Jud.* (1): 12. — *Fallen Angels* (1): 110.
— fleogan, *fly* (7): *Pr. Gu.* (1): X. 5. — *Mart.* (2): 26.10; 200.12. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (1): 15.292 = 217.326. — *Gen.* (1): 1479. — *Ps.* (1): 104.35. — *Charms* (1): IV. 53.
— gan [gangan, gongan], *go, walk* (16): *Boeth.* (1): 8.16 = 4.2. — *Mart.* (1): 90.14. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (1): 15.178 = 0. — Minor Prose (1): *Apol.* (1): 29.10. — *Beow.* (6): 324; 711; 1163; 1642; 1644 (or final, as Shearin, *l. c.*, p. 237, holds?); 1974. — *Dan.* (1): 737. — *Ps.* (1): 104.30. — *Rid.* (2): 55.1; 86.1. — *Charms* (2): VI. 9, 15.
— gengan [geongan], *go* (2): *And.* (2): 1095; 1311.
— geongan: see *gengan.*
— glidan, *glide* (1): *Ph.* (1): 102.
— hweorfan [-u-], *wander, go* (1): *Dan.* (1): 110.
— hwurfan: see *hweorfan.*
— iernan [yrnan], *run* (3): *Pr. Gu.* (1): I. 26. — *Mart.* (1): 182.4. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXXI. 1039.
— liðan, *go by water, sail* (4): *And.* (1): 256. — *Met.* (1): 26.60. — *Rid.* (1): 34.1. — *Gnomic Sayings* (1): 109.
— lixan, *shine, glisten* (2): *Ph.* (1): 94. — *Ps.* (1): 76.15.
— ridan, *ride* (1): *Rid.* (1): 23.2.
— sc(e)acan, *shake, move quickly* (1): *Beow.* (1): 1803.
— scinan [-y-], *shine* (2): *Chr.* (1): 901. — *Gu.* (1): 1257.
— scriðan, *glide, go* (3): *Beow.* (2): 650; 703. — *Cal.* (1): 77.
— scynan: see *scinan.*
— sigan, *descend, go* (1): *Chr.* (1): 550.
— siðian, *travel, go* (4): *Beow.* (1): 720. — *Gen.* (3): 154; 1577; 1844.
— slidan, *slide* (1): *Pr. Gu.* (1): V. 7.
— sneowan, *hasten* (1): *And.* (1): 242.
— snican, *creep* (1): *Charms* (1): IV. 31.
— stigan, *descend* (1): *Dan.* (1): 510.
— swimman [-y-], *swim* (1): *Beow.* (1): 1624.
— swymman: see *swimman.*
— þringan, *crowd, throng* (1): *Gu.* (1): 868.
— wadan, *advance, go* (2): *And.* (1): 1271. — *Schöpf.* (1): 61.
dælan, *distribute* (1):
— scinan, *shine* (1): *Gen.* (1): 2192 (or final?).
fleon, *fly* (1):
— slincan, *creep* (1): *Doomsday* (1): 240.
gewitan, *go* (49):
— drefan, *stir up (water)* (1): *Beow.* (1): 1904 (or final?).
— faran, *go* (3): *Beow.* (1): 124. — *S. & S.* (1): 501[b]. — *Schöpf.* (1): 69.
— feran, *go* (12): *Wærf.* (1): 63.28 = 193 B[4]. — *Beow.* (2): 27; 301. — *Gen.* (5): 1211; 1731; 1779; 2398; 2849. — *And.* (1): 786; — *Rid.* (2): 30.11; 40.6. — *W. C.* (1): 9[a].
— ferian, *carry* (1): *Gen.* (1): 2154 (or final?).
— fleogan, *fly* (2): *Gen.* (1): 1471. — *Ph.* (1): 163.
— gan [gangan, gongan], *go, walk* (13): *Wærf.* (2): 84.20 = 209 A[6]; 84.25 = 209 A.[7] — *Gen.* (6): 858; 1050; 1345; 1487; 2574; 2592. — *Az.* (1): 180. — *Chr.* (1): 533. — *And.* (2): 238; 1059. — *Finns.* (1): 45.
— glidan, *glide* (2): *And.* (2): 1248; 1304.
— lecgan lastas, *travel* (1): *Gen.* (1): 2850.
— ridan, *ride* (2): *Beow.* (2): 234; 855.
— sc(e)acan, *shake, move quickly* (3): *Gen.* (1): 135. — *And.* (1): 1594. — *Jud.* (1): 291.
— scriðan, *glide, go* (2): *Beow.* (1): 2569. — *And.* (1): 1457.

gewitan scyndan, *hasten* (2): *Beow.* (1): 2570. — *Doomsday* (1): 238.
— **siðian**, *travel, go* (3): *Gen.* (2): 2018; 2161. — *Dan.* (1): 632.
— **þringan**, *throng* (1): *Rid.* (1): 4.61.
— **wadan**, *go* (1): *Gen.* (1): 2886.

2. Verbs of Rest.

licgan, *lie* (1):
— **slapan**, *sleep* (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 512.417.
standan, *stand* (3):
— **geomrian**, *mourn* (1): *Pr. Gu.* (1): V. 274[b].
— **reotan**, *weep* (1): *And.* (1): 1712.
— **wepan**, *weep* (1): *Pr. Gu.* (1): V. 274[a].

VI. The Predicative Infinitive with "(W)uton."

Only the uninflected infinitive is found.

A. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

acerran: see *acierran*.
acierran [-e-], *turn, go* (1): *Fallen Angels* (1): 217.
acræftan, *devise* (1): *Oros.* (1): 82.1 = 0.
acsian [**ahsian**], *ask* (3): *Bened.* (1): 3.13 = 6.16. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 318[4]. — *Wulf.* (1): 150.14[c].
acwellan, *kill* (1): *Bl. Hom.* (1): 149.34[b].
adon, *destroy* (1): *Bl. Hom.* (1): 95.27[a].
adylgian [-i-], *destroy* (1): *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (1): 16.106[c].
ælan, *burn* (1): *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Gen.* 11.3[b].
ændian: see *endian*.
afierran [-y-], *remove* (1): *Bl. Hom.* (1): 95.28.
agan, *own* (1): *Fallen Angels* (1): 253.
agifan [-y-], *give* (2): *Boeth.* (1): 103.5 = 87.42. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (1): 16.151.
ahebban, *raise, lift* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 124[m 5].
ahieldan [-y-], *bend, incline* (1): *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (1): 16.150.
ahsian: see *acsian*.
alesan: see *aliesan*.
aliesan [-e-, -y-], *release* (2): *Wulf.* (2): 119.9; 209.6.
alysan: see *aliesan*.
andbidian, *expect, wait for* (1): *A. S. Hom. & L. S. I* (1): 9.219.
andettan, *confess* (3): *Laws* (1): 298, I Cnut, c. 18, § 1. — *Wulf.* (2): 115.12; 150.9.
arisan, *arise* (2): *Bl. Hom.* (1): 149.34[a]. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 534.747.
ascunian, *shun* (3): *Wulf.* (3): 115.11[b]; 145.33[b]; 188.15.
asendan, *send* (1): Minor Prose (1): *Nic.* 488.32.
asettan, *set aside* (1): *Bl. Hom.* (1): 125.6.
aspendan, *spend* (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 52.51.
astandan, *stand up* (1): *Bened.* (1): 2.4 = 4.9.
awendan, *turn* (3): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 124[b 1]. — *Ælf. L. S.* (2): 260.362; XXVIII. 174.
aweorpan [-worp-, -wurp-, -wyrp-], *throw away, reject* (7): *Pr. Ps.* (1): 2.3[b]. — *Laws* (1): 269, IX Æthelred, Expl[a]. — *Ælf. Hom.* (3): I. 602[4 3], 604[4 1, 3]. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (1): 11.112. — *Wulf.* (1): 272.29[b].
aworpan, **awurpan**: see *aweorpan*.
axian: see *acsian*.
bebyrian, *bury* (2): *Wulf.* (2): 119.11; 209.8.
began: see *biegan*.
begitan, *get, acquire* (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXX. 85[b].
behawian, *look carefully* (1): *Bened.* (1): 40.21. = 76.4.
behealdan, *behold, consider* (3): *Ælf. Hom.* (2): I. 160[b 3]; II. 240[4]. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 18.123.
belucan, *lock up* (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 70.328.
beon, *be* (22): *Laws* (1): 300, I Cnut, c. 20[b]. — *Bl. Hom.* (3): 95.26, 28[b]; 131.1. — *Ælf. Hom.*

(7): I. 414^{b}; II. 22$^{b\ 1}$, 36^{m}, 50^{t}, 292$^{b\ 4}$, 328^{b}, 408^{b}.— *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (1): 16.105.— *Wulf.* (10): 109.12; 112.1; 119.3, 4, 12^{b}; 129.10^{b}; 145.33^{c}; 182.2^{b}; 209.1; 268.30^{b}.

beorgan [**beorhgan**], *preserve, protect* (8): *Wulf.* (7): 94.11^{a}; 144.25; 145.17; 166.2; 167.7; 178.6^{b}; 188.12^{a}. — *Chr.* (1): 771.

beorhgan: see *beorgan*.

besceawian, *consider* (2): *Bened.* (1): 45.9 = 84.10. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 84$^{t\ 2}$.

betan, *amend* (5): *Laws* (1): 298, I Cnut, c. 18, § 1^{d}. — *Bl. Hom.* (1): 125.4. — *Wulf.* (3): 115.13^{a}; 166.5^{a}; 303.5.

bidan, *abide, await* (1): *Bede* (1): 348.16 = 262.9.

biddan, *ask, pray* (37): *Bede* (2): 98.27^{a} = 81.29^{a}; 154.30 = 129.8. — *Solil.* (1): 64.27. — *Laws* (1): 246, V Æthelred, c. 35^{a}. — *Bl. Hom.* (5): 125.5; 159.32; 205.29; 209.26; 211.7. — *Ælf. Hom.* (15): I. 158$^{b\ 2,\ 3}$, 204$^{b\ 2}$, 364^{t}, 434^{b}, 500^{b}, 556^{m}, 562^{t}, 564^{m}, 598^{b}; II. 302^{b}, 380$^{m\ 2}$, 444$^{b\ 3}$, 498^{m}, 518^{b}. — *Ælf. L. S.* (3): 80.516; 390.107; XXVI. 20. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (2): 10.700; 11.114^{b}. — *Wulf.* (6): 80.6; 115.7; 142.13; 175.2; 299.17^{b}; 306.7. — Minor Prose (1): *Neot* (1): 217. — *Chr.* (1): 774.

began: see *biegan*.

biegan [**-e-**], *bend* (1): *Bede* (1): 154.29 = 129.6.

blissian, *rejoice* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 292$^{b\ 2}$.

bringan, *bring* (2): *Bede* (1): 234.30^{b} = 177.26. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 116$^{b\ 3}$.

brucan, *enjoy* (2): *Oros.* (1): 86.1 = 85.33. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 618$^{b\ 1}$.

bugan, *bow* (2): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 52.52. — *Wulf.* (1): 272.26^{a}.

cestian [**ciest-, cyst-**], *put in coffin* (2): *Wulf.* (2): 119.10; 209.7^{b}.

cierran [**-y-**], *turn* (1): *Wulf.* (1): 265.4^{b}.

ciestian: see *cestian*.

cigean, *call* (1): *Bl. Hom.* (1): 247.3^{a}.

clænsian, *cleanse, purify* (2): *Wulf.* (2): 144.23; 167.4.

clipian, **clipigan**: see *clypian*.

clypian [**clip-, -igan**], *cry out* (4): *Ælf. Hom.* (2): I. 452^{b}; II. 84$^{t\ 3}$. — *Ælf. L. S.* (2): 242.81; XXV. 349.

cuman, *come* (6): *Greg.* (1): 415.6 = 336.4. — *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Gen.* 11.7. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (1): 11.114^{a}. — Minor Prose (1): *Nic.* (1): 494.8^{b}. — *Ps.* (2): 73.8^{a}; 82.4.

cunnian, *try* (2): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 450^{m}. — *Ps.* (1): 70.10.

cweman, *please* (2): *Laws* (1): 368, II Cnut, c. 84, § 3. — *Ps.* (1): 94.1^{a}.

cweðan, *say, speak* (3): *Bened.* (1): 31.16 = 58.20. — *Bl. Hom.* (1): 247.3^{b}. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (1): 16.153^{b}.

cyrran: see *cierran*.

cystian: see *cestian*.

cyðan, *make known* (1): *Fallen Angels* (1): 298.

dælan, *deal out, distribute* (1): *Bl. Hom.* (1): 241.22.

don, *do, make, cause* (47): *Boeth.* (1): 75.16^{a} = 68.22. — *Laws* (3): 268, VIII Æthelred, c. 43^{a}; 300, I Cnut, c. 20^{a}; 354, II Cnut, c. 68^{a}. — *Bened.* (2): 21.9 = 42.7; 40.4 = 0. — *Bl. Hom.* (2): 205.28; 241.21^{b}. — *Ælf. Hom.* (4): I. 180$^{b\ 1,\ 2}$; II. 52^{b}, 100$^{b\ 2}$. — *Ælf. L. S.* (2): 362.364; XXX. 368. — *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Gen.* 37.20^{b}. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (1): 13.199^{b}. — *Wulf.* (31): 20.1^{a}; 28.20^{a}; 29.2^{b}; 38.14^{a}; 40.23; 94.10; 109.5^{a}, 11; 112.1^{a}, 14; 115.13^{c}; 119.12; 122.4^{a}; 124.11^{a}; 125.17^{a}; 127.9^{a}; 129.10^{a}; 134.24^{a}; 136.26^{a}, 28$^{a,\ b}$; 143.19; 150.10^{b}; 152.2; 166.1, 3; 169.9; 178.6^{a}; 182.1^{a}; 189.1^{a}; 268.30^{a}.

earnian, *earn, merit* (2): *Wulf.* (1): 155.30. — *Partridge* (1): 13^{b}.

efstan, *hasten* (7): *Bl. Hom.* (1): 109.9. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 526^{b}. — *Wulf.* (4): 40.24^{b}; 75.21; 141.29^{b}; 145.7. — *Beow.* (1): 3101.

endian [**ændian**], *end, finish* (1): *Solil.* (1): 49.10^{a}.

etan, *eat* (1): *L.* (1): 15.23^{a}.

fadian, *arrange* (3): *Wulf.* (3): 143.22; 144.22; 167.3.

fægnian, *rejoice* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 292$^{b\ 3}$.

faran, *go* (13): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 422^{b}. — *Ælf. L. S.* (2): XXX. 85^{a}, 160^{b}. — *Ælf. Hept.* (4): *Gen.* 33.11; *Ex.* 5.8^{a}; 14.5^{b}; *Num.* 13.31^{a}. — *Gosp.* (4): *Mat.* (1): 26.46; — *Mk.* (1): 4.35; — *L.* (1): 2.15^{a}; — *J.* (1): 11.7. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (1): 16.106^{a}. — Minor Prose (1): *Nic.* (1): 488.27^{b}.

feallan, *fall, bow* (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXVI. 19^{a}.

feligian: see *folgian*.

feogan [**feon**], *hate* (1): *Partridge* (1): 13[a].
feohtan, *fight* (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXV. 661.
feran, *go* (1): *Beow.* (1): 1380.
fleon, *fly* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 124[m 1].
folgian [**feligian, fylian, fyligean**], *follow* (6): *Bl. Hom.* (1): 169.17. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 160[b 4]. — *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Deut.* 13.2[b]. — *Wulf.* (3): 143.21[c]; 146.2[c]; 166.6[b].
fón, *seize upon, begin* (3): *Solil.* (1): 55.4[b]. — *Ælf. Hom.* (2): I. 114[b], 148[b].
forbugan, *avoid, turn away from* (3): *Wulf.* (3): 112.2[b]; 134.24; 188.14.
fordrencan, *intoxicate* (1): *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Gen.* 19.32[a].
forfleon, *avoid* (3): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 602[b 1]. — *Wulf.* (2): 115.8; 145.19.
forgeofan: see *forgiefan.*
forgiefan [**-geofan**], *give up* (1): *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (1): 13.201[b].
forhradian, *hasten* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 124[m 4].
forlætan, *leave, forsake* (7): *Solil.* (1): 49.12. — *Bl. Hom.* (1): 247.2. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 380[m 2]. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (2): 13.201[a]; 14.112. — *Wulf.* (2): 141.28[a]; 166.4[b].
forstandan, *oppose, withstand* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 336[t 2].
frefrian, *comfort* (2): *Wulf.* (2): 119.8[a]; 209.5.
friðian, *protect* (1): *Laws* (1): 280, I Cnut, c. 2[b] (*uton* to be supplied).
fylian, **fyligean**: see *folgian.*
gan [**gangan**], *go* (18): *Bl. Hom.* (1): 247.1. — *Mart.* (1): 166.3. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 534.748. — *Ælf. Hept.* (4): *Gen.* 4.8; *Deut.* 13.2[a], 6[a]; *Judges* 3.20[b]. — *Gosp.* (6): *Mat.* (1): 21.38[a]; — *Mk.* (2): 6.37[b]; 14.42; — *J.* (3): 11.15, 16[a]; 14.31. — Minor Prose (2): *Nic.* (2): 494.4, 8[a]. — *Beow.* (1): 2648. — *Gen.* (1): 839. — *And.* (1): 1356.
gangan: see *gan.*
geagnian [**geahnian**], *possess* (1): *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Num.* 13.31[b].
geahnian: see *geagnian.*
gearcian, *prepare* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 606[b].
gebeodan, *offer* (1): *Ps.* (1): 94.1[c].
gebeorgan, *protect* (1): *Wulf.* (1): 141.26.
gebetan, *amend* (1): *Solil.* (1): 55.4[a].
gebiddan, *pray* (3): *Solil.* (1): 45.22[a]. — *Bl. Hom.* 139.30. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 22[b 2].
geblissian, *rejoice* (1): Minor Prose (1): *Nic.* (1): 496.26.
gebugan, *turn, incline* (5): *Wulf.* (5): 112.3[a]; 129.11[b]; 155.30[a]; 166.4[a]; 268.31.
geceosan, *choose* (1): Minor Prose (1): *Nic.* 488.27[a].
geci(e)rran [**-y-**], *turn* (4): *Laws* (1): 298, I Cnut, c. 18, § 1[a]. — *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Num.* 14.4[b]. — *Wulf.* (2): 115.6; 174.29.
gecnawan, *know* (1): *Wulf.* (1): 189.3.
gecuman, *come* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 126[t 2].
gecyrran: see *gecierran.*
gedon, *do, cause* (3): *Wulf.* (1): 188.13. — *Gen.* (1): 404[b]. — *Ps.* (1): 136.7.
geearnian, *earn, merit* (7): *Ælf. Hom.* (3): I. 294[t], 618[b 2]; II. 332[t]. — *Wulf.* (4): 76.3; 112.14; 144.26; 167.8.
geedlæcan, *repeat* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 380[m 4].
geefenlæcan, *imitate* (2): *Ælf. Hom.* (2): I. 52[b], 158[b 1].
gefaran, *go* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 40[t 1].
gefremman, *assist* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 602[b 2].
gegearwian, *prepare* (1): *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (1): 11.107.
gehealdan, *keep, preserve* (1): *Wulf.* (1): 253.3.
gehienan [**-y-**], *oppress* (1): *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Ex.* 1.10.
gehieran [**-y-**], *hear* (4): *Bl. Hom.* (2): 83.28; 165.16. — *Ælf. Hom.* (2): I. 280[t 2]; II. 272[b].
gehyran: see *gehieran.*
geinseglian, *seal* (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 70.329.
gelædan, *lead* (1): Minor Prose (1): *Nic.* (1): 494.9[a].
gelæstan, *perform, pay* (3): *Wulf.* (3): 38.14[b]; 116.1; 144.21[b].
geliefan [**-y-**], *believe* (3): *Solil.* (1): 55.6. — *Ælf. Hom.* (2): I. 134[t 1], 228[b].
gemunan, *remember* (5): *Bl. Hom.* (2): 125.3, 7. — *Ælf. Hom.* (2): II. 84[t], 124[m 2]. — *Wulf.* (1): 283.18.
geneosian, *visit* (2): *Wulf.* (2): 119.9[b]; 209.7[a].
geniman, *take* (1): *Bl. Hom.* (1): 149.34[c].

geoffrian, *offer* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 116^{b} ^{1}.
geomrian, *mourn* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 348^{b} ^{2}.
gereccan, *account, consider* (1): *Boeth.* (1): 75.16^{b} = 68.22.
gesceawian, *see, examine* (1): *Bl. Hom.* (1): 167.4.
gescieldan [-y-], *protect* (1): *Wulf.* (1): 145.17.
gescyldan: see *gescieldan*.
geseon, *see* (4): *Ælf. Hom.* (2): I. 40^{b} ^{2}, 40^{b}. — *Gosp.* (2): *Mat.* (1): 27.49; — *L.* (1): 2.15^{b}.
gesettan, *provide* (1): *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Num.* 14.4^{a}.
geswican, *cease, desist from* (10): *Laws* (1): 298, I Cnut, c. 18, § 1^{c}. — *Wulf.* (9): 29.4; 112.2^{a}; 115.13^{b}; 129.11^{a}; 130.7; 150.10^{a}; 174.30^{a}; 188.12^{b}; 268.30^{b}.
geðencan [-ðencean], *think, consider* (19): *Laws* (1): 146, I Æthelstan, c. 2^{a}. — *Bl. Hom.* (6): 83.29; 91.13, 18; 97.1; 115.5^{a}, 20. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (2): 13.262; 14.113. — *Wulf.* (9): 109.14; 112.6; 135.14, 19; 136.9, 26^{b}; 144.20; 182.2; 272.29^{b}. — *Har.* (1): 278.
geðencean: see *geðencan*.
geðeodan, *attack, join* (1): *Wulf.* (1): 147.19.
gewistfullian, *feast* (1): *L.* (1): 15.23^{b}.
gewitnian, *punish* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 124^{m} ^{2}.
gewrecan, *avenge* (1): *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (1): 16.106^{b}.
gewyrcan, *make, do* (3): *Laws* (1): 300, I Cnut, c. 20^{d}. — *Ælf. Hom.* (2): I. 16^{b}, 288^{b}.
gi(e)man [-y-], *take care (of), observe* (2): *Laws* (1): 268, VIII Æthelred, c. 43, § 1^{b}. — *Wulf.* (1): 112.15.
gladian, *rejoice* (2): *Wulf.* (2): 112.12; 169.10^{a}.
griðian, *protect* (1): *Laws* (1): 280, I Cnut, c. 2^{a} (*uton* to be supplied).
gyman: see *gi(e)man*.
habban, *have* (17): *Ælf. Hom.* (2): I. 512^{b} ^{2}; II. 46^{m}. — *Mat.* (1): 21.38^{c}. — *Wulf.* (13): 28.20^{b}; 101.23; 112.12^{b}; 122.4^{b}; 124.11^{b}; 125.17^{b}; 127.9^{b}; 137.20; 151.9; 167.5; 282.5; 299.17^{a}; 306.8. — *Ps.* (1): 73.8^{b}.
halsian, *entreat* (1): Minor Prose (1): *Nic.* (1): 494.9^{b}.
healdan, *hold* (16): *Boeth.* (1): 138.5 = 118.30. — *Laws* (4): 181, VI Æthelstan, c. 8, § 5; 246, V Æthelred, c. 35^{a}; 268, VIII Æthelred, c. 44, § 1; 269, IX Æthelred, Expl^{c}. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXXV. 21. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (1): 13.199^{a}. — *Wulf.* (8): 20.2; 29.2^{a}; 144.24^{a}; 152.3^{b}; 167.5; 169.10^{a}; 189.2; 272.27^{b}. — *Ps.* (1): 117.25^{b}.
hebban, *raise* (1): *Boeth.* (1): 146.26 = 0.
helpan, *help* (8): *Laws* (1): 354, II Cnut, c. 68^{b}. — *Wulf.* (6): 40.24^{a}; 94.11^{b}; 119.5; 129.13; 155.29; 209.2. — *Beow.* (1): 2649.
heran: see *hieran*.
herian [**herigean**], *praise, honor* (2): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 380^{m} ^{1}. — *Ps.* (1): 94.1^{b}.
herigean: see *herian*.
hieran [-e-, -y-], *hear* (1): *Bl. Hom.* (1): 115.22^{a}.
hiertan [-y-], *encourage* (1): *Wulf.* (1): 119.8^{b}.
hleotan, *cast lots* (1): *J.* (1): 19.24.
hliewan [-y-], *warm* (2): *Wulf.* (2): 119.6^{a}; 209.3^{a}.
hiywan: see *hliewan*.
hogian, *reflect, consider* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 38^{b}.
hycgan, *reflect, consider* (3): *Har.* (1): 229. — Predigtbruchstück über Psalm 28 (1): 44^{a}. — *Seaf.* (1): 117.
hyhtan, *hope* (1): Predigtbruchstück über Psalm 28 (1): 44^{b}.
hyran: see *hieran*.
iecan [**ecan**], *increase* (1): *Boeth.* (1): 75.15 = 68.21.
lætan, *allow, leave* (3): *Boeth.* (1): 88.32^{a} = 0. — *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Ex.* 14.5^{d}. — *Wulf.* (1): 145.33^{a}.
latian, *delay* (1): *Wulf.* (1): 75.22^{b}.
libban [-y-], *live* (1): *Wulf.* (1): 150.13^{b}.
licgan, *lie, recline* (1): *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Gen.* 19.32^{b}.
lufian, *love* (22): *Laws* (2): 268, VIII Æthelred, c. 43, § 1^{a}; 269, IX Æthelred, Expl^{a}. — *Ælf. Hom.* (2): I. 52^{b} ^{2}; II. 316^{b} ^{2}. — *Wulf.* (17): 20.2^{b}; 29.1; 94.13; 109.6; 115.11^{a}; 124.12; 127.10; 143.4, 20; 145.32; 146.2^{a}; 150.13^{a}; 152.3^{a}; 166.6^{a}; 189.1^{b}; 239.6; 272.26^{b}. — *Hymn* (1): 3.
lybban: see *libban*.
niman, *take* (4): *Laws* (1): 268, VIII Æthelred, c. 43^{b}. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 164^{b} ^{2}. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXX. 160^{a}. — *Wulf.* (1): 174.9.

oferhogian, *despise* (1): *Laws* (1): 268, VIII Æthelred, c. 44^{b}.
oferhycgan, *despise* (1): *Fallen Angels* (1): 252.
offrian, *offer* (2): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 116^{b} ^{2}. — *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Ex.* 5.8^{b}.
ofslean, *slay* (5): *Ælf. Hept.* (2): *Gen.* 37.20^{a}; *Ex.* 14.5^{c}. — *Gosp.* (3): *Mat.* (1): 21.38^{b}; — *Mk.* (1): 12.7; — *L.* (1): 20.14.
oliccan, *please* (1): *Partridge* (1): 12.
oncnawan, *know, understand* (2): *Bl. Hom.* (1): 115.5.^{b} — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 254^{b}.
ondrædan, *fear* (1): *Wulf.* (1): 136.28^{b}.
onettan, *hasten* (1): *Wulf.* (1): 141.29^{a}.
oðwendan, *take away* (1): *Gen.* (1): 403^{a}.
ræran, *raise* (2): *Laws* (1): 300, I Cnut, c. 20^{c}. — *Wulf.* (1): 119.14^{a}.
rihtan, *rectify* (1): *Wulf.* (1): 75.22^{a}.
rihtlæcan, *correct* (1): *Wulf.* (1): 174.30^{b}.
sceawian, *examine* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 58^{t} ^{1}.
sceofan [**scufan**], *shove, push* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 300^{m} ^{2}.
sceotan, *refer* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 338^{b} ^{2}.
scieldan [-**y**-], *shield, guard* (3): *Laws* (1): 368, II Cnut, c. 84, § 3^{b}. — *Wulf.* (2): 115.10; 134.19.
scyldan: see *scieldan*.
scyndan, *hasten* (1): *Reimlied* (1): 84.
secan [**secean**], *seek* (6): *Laws* (1): 280, I Cnut, c. 2^{c} (*utan* to be supplied). — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (1): 10.450. — *Wulf.* (2): 146.2^{b}; 150.14^{a}. — *Ps.* (1): 94.2. — *Whale* (1): 87.
secean: see *secan*.
secgan, *say* (4): *Solil.* (1): 49.10^{b}. — *Bl. Hom.* (1): 115.22^{b}. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 330^{b}. — *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Gen.* 37.20^{c}.
seglian, *sail* (1): *L.* (1): 8.22.
sellan [-**y**-], *give* (5): *Bede* (1): 234.30^{a} = 177.26. — *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Gen.* 31.44. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (1): 16.153^{a}. — *Wulf.* (2): 119.7; 209.4.
sendan, *send, put* (2): *Bl. Hom.* (1): 241.20. — *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Deut.* 1.22.
settan, *set* (1): *Ps.* (1): 117.25^{a}.
singan, *sing* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 126^{t} ^{3}.
smeagan [**smeagean**], *reflect, consider* (4): *Laws* (2): 254, VI Æthelred, c. 31; 314, II Cnut, c. 8. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 348^{b} ^{2}. — *Wulf.* (1): 169.11.
smeagean: see *smeagan*.
spirian: see *spyrian*.
sprecan, *speak* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 216^{b} ^{2}.
spurian: see *spyrian*.
spyrian [-**i**-, -**u**-], *follow* (2): *Solil.* (1): 45.22^{b}. — *Wulf.* (1): 130.11.
standan, *stand, arise* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 126^{t} ^{1}.
staðelian, *establish* (1): *Chr.* (1): 864.
suwian, *be silent* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 348^{b} ^{1}.
sweltan, *die* (1): *J.* (1): 11.16^{b}.
syllan: see *sellan*.
teolian: see *tilian*.
teon, *draw* (1): *Bl. Hom.* (1): 241.21^{a}.
tilian [**teolian**, **tiligean**], *strive, attempt* (6): *Bl. Hom.* (2): 111.18^{b}; 129.36. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (2): 13.197, 265. — *Wulf.* (1): 109.5^{b}. — *Ps.* (1): 138.17.
tiligean: see *tilian*.
timbrian, *build* (1): *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Gen.* 11.4^{a}.
tobrecan, *break, destroy* (1): *Pr. Ps.* (1): 2.3^{a}.
todælan, *confound* (1): *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Gen.* 11.7^{b}.
toweorpan [-**wurp**-, -**wyrp**-], *disperse, destroy* (2): *Ps.* (2): 73.8^{c}; 82.4^{b}.
towurpan, **towyrpan**: see *toweorpan*.
tylian: see *tilian*.
ðencan, *think* (2): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXVIII. 119. — *Wulf.* (1): 232.20.
ðeowian, *serve* (2): *Ælf. Hept.* (2): *Deut.* 13.2^{c}, 6^{b}.
ðingian, *intercede* (1): *Wulf.* (1): 130.8.
understandan, *understand* (7): *Ælf. Hom.* (2): I. 160^{b} ^{1}; II. 58^{t} ^{2}. — *Wulf.* (5): 38.8; 112.3^{b}; 144.24^{b}; 167.6, 11.

upastigan, *ascend* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 300^{m} [1].
wæfan, *clothe* (2): *Wulf.* (2): 119.6^{b}; 209.3^{b}.
warnian, *take warning, beware of* (4): *Wulf.* (4): 80.4; 130.14; 147.18; 188.11.
wendan, *wend, turn* (3): *Wulf.* (3): 141.27; 142.9; 265.4^{a}.
wenian, *accustom, train* (1): *Wulf.* (1): 76.1.
weorðan, *become* (1): *Wulf.* (1): 169.11^{b}.
weorðian [**wurð-**], *honor* (7): *Laws* (2): 268, VIII Æthelred, c. 44^{a}; 269, IX Æthelred, Expl^{a}. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 446^{b}. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 260.363. — *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Gen.* 11.4^{b}. — *Wulf.* (2): 143.21^{a}; 272.27^{a}.
werian, *defend* (2): *Laws* (1): 246, V Æthelred, c. 35^{b}. — *Wulf.* (1): 143.22^{b}.
wilnian, *wish, desire* (1): *Chr.* (1): 773.
wircean: see *wyrcean.*
wistfullian, *feast, delight* (1): Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): *Ælf. Gr.* 263.16.
wiðstandan, *withstand* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 604^{t} [4].
wuldrian, *honor, glorify* (1): *Hymn* (1): 1.
wurcæn: see *wyrcan.*
wurðian: see *weorðian.*
wynsumian, *rejoice* (1): *Bl. Hom.* (1): 91.8.
wyrcan [**-i-, -u-, -cean**], *work, make, do* (21): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 160^{b} [2]. — *Ælf. Hept.* (6): *Pref. to Gen.* 23.25, 26; — *De V. T.* 11.41; — *Gen.* 1.26; 2.18^{b}; 11.3^{a}. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (4): *Ælf. Int.* (4): 163, 169, 170, 173. — *Gosp.* (3): *Mat.* (1): 17.4^{b}; — *Mk.* (1): 9.5; — *L.* (1): 9.33. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. I* (1): 7.322. — *Wulf.* (6): 41.1; 94.14; 109.7; 119.14^{b}; 124.13^{b}; 127.11.
wyrcean: see *wyrcan.*

B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

Given in full in Chapter VI, p. 95.
Note 1. *"Ute" and the Infinitive:* given in full in Note 4 to Chapter VI, p. 96.
Note 2. *"(W)uton" with the Infinitive to Be Supplied:* see Note 6 to Chapter VI, p. 96.

VII. The Predicative Infinitive with "Beon" ("Wesan").

A. THE INFINITIVE DENOTES NECESSITY OR OBLIGATION.

I. The Infinitive Passive in Sense.

Sporadically the infinitive is uninflected, but normally it is inflected.

1. The Infinitive Uninflected.

Given in full in Chapter VII, p. 98.

2. The Infinitive Inflected.

aberan, *bear with:* P.[1] (1): *Wærf.* (1): 108.32^{a} = B. 138 C^{1}. — I. (0).
ademan, *judge:* P. (1): *Bede* (1): 430.32^{a} = 308.12^{a}. — I. (0).
adreogan, *tolerate:* P. (1): *Wærf.* (1): 108.32^{b} = B. 138 C^{1}. — I. (0).
agietan, *consider:* P. (1): *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (1): 12.31. — I. (0).
ahabban, *abstain:* P. (0). — I. (1): *Bede* (1): 82.6 = 57.31.
ahsian, *ask, inquire:* P. (1): *Bened.* (1): 22.1 = 44.5. — I. (0).
aleogan, *deny:* P. (1): *Laws* (1): 46, Ælfred, c. I, § 1. — I. (0).
aliesan [**-y-**], *redeem:* P. (2): *Laws* (2): 14, Wihtraed, c. 28^{c}; 98, Ine, c. 20^{c}. — I. (0).
alysan: see *aliesan.*
anlætan, *continue:* P. (1): *Bened.* (1): 66.1 = 124.10. — I. (0).
anscunian: see *onscunian.*
apinsian, *ponder, weigh:* P. (0). — I. (1): *Wulf.* (1): 245.9^{b}.
arædnan, *tolerate:* P. (1): *Bede* (1): 72.7 = 51.34. — I. (0).
aræran, *raise, erect:* P. (2): *Bened.* (1): 23.4 = 46.5. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 498^{t} [1]. — I. (0).

[1] Throughout this section, P. indicates that the subject is personal; I., that the subject is impersonal.

areccan, *relate:* P. (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXIII B. 330. — I. (0).
arian, *honor:* P. (3): *Boeth.* (2): 72.25 = 0; 72.27[a] = 0. — *Wærf.* (1): 98.27 = 244 A. — I. (0).
arisan, *arise:* P. (0). — I. (1): *Bened.* (1): 32.12 = 60.9.
arweorðian [-wurð-], *honor:* P. (1): *Wærf.* (1): 13.25[b] = 157 A.[1] — I. (0).
arwurðian: see *arweorðian*.
asmeagan, *consider:* P. (1): *Bede* (1): 86.23 = 61.1. — I. (1): *Wulf.* (1): 245.9[a].
aðwean, *wash:* P. (1): *Bede* (1): 84.31 = 59.32. — I. (0).
baðian [beðian], *bathe:* P. (1): *Læce.* (1): 62.11. — I. (0).
bebeorgan, *avoid:* P. (1): *Bl. Hom.* (1): 63.32. — I. (0).
begangan: see *began*.
began [-gangan, -gongan], *practise, exercise:* P. (2): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 100[b]. — *S. & S.* (1): 54. — I. (0).
beginnan, *begin:* P. (3): *Bened.* (3): 33.2 = 0; 33.7 = 0; 37.10 = 70.7. — I. (0).
begongan: see *began*.
behealdan, *consider:* P. (1): *Bened.* (1): 75.11 = 142.19. — I. (1): *Greg.* (1): 139.4 = 100.1.
belean, *forbid, destroy:* P. (1): *Greg.* (1): 203.9 = 152.7. — I. (0).
bemænan, *lament:* P. (1): *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (1): 12.119. — I. (0).
beran, *bear, carry:* P. (1): *Wærf.* (1): 84.1 = 209 A[1]. — I. (0).
besceawian, *consider:* P. (1): *Læce.* (1): 63.22[a]. — I. (2): *Bened.* (1): 116.16 = 184.2. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 486[m].
besceawigan: see *besceawian*.
bescerian [bi-, -scyrian, -igan], *deprive:* P. (2): *Bede* (2): 70.31 = 51.24; 72.6 = 51.33. — I. (0).
bescyrian: see *bescerian*.
betan, *improve, correct:* P. (1): *Laws* (1): 474, Judex, c. 2[a]. — I. (1): *Laws* (1): 274, Cnut, c. 14 (or with adjective?).
beðian: see *baðian*.
biddan, *pray, request, seek:* P. (2): *Solil.* (1): 30.8 = 0. — *Bened.* (1): 55.19 = 104.12. — I. (0).
biscergan: see *bescerian*.
blinnan, *cease:* P. (0). — I. (1): *Wærf.* (1): 178.1 = B. 204 C[1].
blissian [-igan], *rejoice:* P. (0). — I. (2): *Greg.* (1): 409.11 = 328.21. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 82[t].
blissigan: see *blissian*.
bodian, *announce:* P. (0). — I. (1): *Wærf.* (1): 120.3 = B. 150 A.
bregan, *terrify:* P. (2): *Greg.* (2): 181.7 = 134.22; 183.3[b] = 136.15. — I. (0).
celan, *cool:* P. (1): *Læce.* (1): 25.30[a]. — I. (0).
clænsian [-igan], *cleanse:* P. (4): *Bede* (1): 430.32[b] = 308.12[b]. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 552[t 2]. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (1): 12.123. — *Læce.* (1): 78.19. — I. (0).
clænsigan: see *clænsian*.
cuman, *come:* P. (0). — I. (1): *Wærf.* (1): 185.19 = 225 B[1].
cweðan, *say, call:* P. (4): *Bede* (1): 370.16 = 274.6. — *Bened.* (2): 6.25 = 78.4; 41.19 = 78.4. — *Wulf.* (1): 185.7. — I. (4): *Bede* (2): 88.23 = 62.1; 334.28 = 254.28. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 228.133. — *Wulf.* (1): 158.16.
cyðan, *make known:* P. (3): *Greg.* (3): 187.16 = 140.11; 263.9 = 198.12; 287.3 = 216.19. — I. (17): *Greg.* (17): 189.1 = 140.20; 201.15 = 150.15; 201.18 = 150.18; 201.19 = 150.19; 253.8 = 192.4; 281.23 = 212.25; 299.2 = 226.4; 299.5 = 226.5; 301.14 = 228.6; 305.13 = 232.21; 305.15 = 232.23; 305.18 = 232.25; 306.2 = 234.2; 311.14 = 238.27; 315.20 = 242.27; 349.5 = 268.27; 441.11 = 368.8.
deman, *judge:* P. (1): *Bede* (1): 78.34 = 56.11. — I. (0).
don, *do:* P. (26): *Bede* (10): 50.10[a] = 30.16; 72.26 = 0; 112.27 = 91.32; 124.20 = 100.12; 124.23[a] = 100.15 (or with adjective?); 128.13 = 108.18[b] (or with adjective?); 132.18 = 110.26 (or with adjective?); 162.30 = 137.10; 216.11 = 167.4; 248.5 = 196.7. — *Chron.* (1): 215[t],1083 E[a]. — *Laws* (1): 368, II Cnut, c. 84[a]. — *Bened.* (2): 15.4 = 26.14; 39.5 = 72.12. — *Bl. Hom.* (1): 199.30. — *Ælf. Hom.* (3): I. 314[b 2], 502[b], 506[b]. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXXVI. 206. — *Wulf.* (5): 51.20[a]; 57.15; 123.15[a]; 150.15; 290.4[a]. — *Læce.* (2): 9.27; 62.21. — I. (2): *Bede* (1): 68.7 = 50.7. — *Wulf.* (1): 173.4.
drohtnigan, *pass life, live:* P. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 130[b].
eadgian, *bless:* P. (1): *Bl. Hom.* (1): 11.11[b]. — I. (0).
efstan, *hasten:* P. (0). — I. (4): *Bede* (1): 98.30 = 81.32. — *Bened.* (1): 5.8[a] = 10.16[a]. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (1): 12.135. — *Wulf.* (1): 36.1.
erí(g)an, *plough:* P. (0). — I. (1): Ælfric's Minor Prose: *Ælf. Gr.* (1): 135.5.
fæstan, *fast:* P. (1): *Mart.* (1): 72.24. — I. (0).

findan, *find:* P. (1): *Wærf.* (1): 8.6 = 153 A^2. — I. (0).
fleogan, *flee:* P. (1): *Læce.* (1): 9.19. — I. (0).
fleon, *flee:* P. (1): *Læce.* (1): 63.31. — I. (0).
forbeodan, *forbid:* P. (1): *Læce.* (1): 63.28. — I. (0).
forberan, *bear with, tolerate:* P. (2): *Bede* (1): 70.11 = 51.3. — *Greg.* (1): 153.1 = 110.8. — I. (1): *Greg.* (1): 151.10^b = 108.21.
forbugan, *avoid:* P. (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 234^m. — I. (0).
foreseon, *foresee;* P. (0). — I. (1): *Bede* (1): 66.4^b = 49.8^b.
foreswigian: see *forswigian.*
forgan, *forego:* P. (11): *Laws* (1): 368, II Cnut, c. 84^b. — *Wulf.* (1): 123.15^b. — *Læce.* (9): 5.27; 44.20^a, 21; 48.44; 50.20^b, 38; 63.17, 24; 76.35. — I. (0).
forgiefan [-y-], *forgive:* P. (1): *Laws* (1): 474, Judex, c. 2^b. — I. (0).
forgietan [-y-], *forget:* P. (1): *Chron.* (1): 220^m, 1086 E^c. — I. (0).
forgyfan: see *forgiefan.*
forgytan: see *forgietan.*
forlætan, *pass over:* P. (15): *Bede* (3): 70.12 = 51.3; 82.21^b = 58.27; 292.14 = 224.20. — *Greg.* (1): 23.1 = 388.21. — *Wærf.* (3): 23.18 = 164. B^2; 67.3 = 196 C^2; 109.18 = B. 140 A^1. — *Pr. Gu.* (2): XVII. 1; XIX. 1. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXXI. 463. — *Wulf.* (3): 51.20^b; 57.16^b; 290.4^b. — *Læce.* (2): 5.28; 60.12. — I. (0).
forseon, *despise:* P. (1): *Boeth.* (1): 75.12 = 67.18. — I. (1): *Boeth.* (1): 56.3 = 53.58^a.
forseon, *foresee, provide:* P. (1): *Bede* (1): 76.24 = 55.1. — I. (0).
forswigian [fore-, -u-, -y-], *pass over in silence:* P. (8): *Bede* (4): 96.3 = 79.25; 326.2 = 249.23; 380.28 = 279.19; 398.14 = 289.6. — *Wærf.* (4): 157.2 = B. 184 A; 248.10 = 304 B; 301.15 = 364 B; 344.3 = 420 A^1. — I. (2): *Bede* (2): 182.9 = 147.30; 308.5 = 237.18.
forswugian: see *forswigian.*
forðyldigan, *bear patiently:* P. (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 552^b [2]. — I. (0).
forwiernan [-y-], *forbid:* P. (0). — I. (1): *Læce.* (1): 16.12.
forwyrnan: see *forwiernan.*
frefran, *comfort:* P. (1): *Greg.* (1): 181.6^a = 134.22. — I. (0).
fylgan, *follow:* P. (1): *Bede* (1): 98.29 = 81.31. — I. (0).
gan, *go:* P. (0). — I. (1): Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): *Ælf. Æthelw.* (1): 113.
gebeodan, *offer:* P. (1): *Bened.* (1): 130.12 = 200.20. — I. (0).
gebeoran: see *geberan.*
geberan [-beoran], *bring:* P. (1): *Bede* (1): 76.25^a = 55.2. — I. (0).
gebetan, *reform:* P. (2): *Bede* (1): 74.3 = 53.5. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXIII B. 635. — I. (0).
gebiddan, *pray:* P. (1): *Wulf.* (1): 197.24^a. — I. (1): *Wærf.* (1): 336.2 = 404 C^2.
gebindan, *bind:* P. (1): *Greg.* (1): 275.11 = 208.6. — I. (0).
gefaran, *travel:* P. (1): *Bened.* (1): 5.22 = 12.2. — I. (0).
geferan, *go, travel:* P. (0). — I. (1): Minor Prose (1): *Alex.* (1): 603.
gefremman, *perform, administer:* P. (2): *Bede* (2): 76.25^b = 55.2; 86.10^b = 60.8. — I. (0).
gegearwian, *prepare:* P. (1): *Bened.* (1): 130.11 = 200.20. — I. (0).
gehælan, *heal:* P. (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 498^t [2]. — I. (0).
gehealdan, *observe:* P. (1): *Wulf.* (1): 102.13. — I. (0).
geheran: see *gehieran.*
gehieran [-e-, -y-], *hear:* P. (4): *Greg.* (1): 315.23 = 244.1. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 302^t. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): *Ælf. Gr.* (1): 255.13. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. I* (1): 1.101. — I. (4): *Wærf.* (1): 177.9 = B. 204 A^2. — *Greg.* (1): 439.31 = 366.16. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 518^m. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 540.831.
gehycgan, *think, consider:* P. (0). — I. (2): *Wærf.* 63.4 = 193 B^1; 348.9^b = 425 C.
gehyran: see *gehieran.*
gelæstan, *perform, do:* P. (1): *Laws* (1): 46, Ælfred, c. 1, § 1^b (or with adjective?). — I. (0).
gelefan: see *geliefan.*
geleoran, *depart, die:* P. (2): *Bede* (2): 286.29 = 221.30; 318.27 = 244.20. — I. (0).
geliefan [-e-, -y-], *believe:* P. (5): *Bede* (2): 224.22 = 172.6; 372.27 = 275.16. — *Boeth.* (1): 84.2 = 73.32. — *Wærf.* (1): 328.6 = 396 A^1. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 100.176. — I. (21): *Bede* (2): 228.23 = 174.9; 234.13 = 177.4. — *Chron.* (1): 158^b, 1036 C. — *Wærf.* (11): 146.2 = B. 174 A; 246.19^b = 301 A^2; 275.18 = 336 A^2; 288.21 = 349 B^2; 288.23 = 349 B^2; 303.5 = 365 B^2; 303.17 = 365 C; 327.20 = 393 C^4; 328.14 = 396 B^2; 332.10 = 400 C^1; 333.13 = 401 A^1. — *Bl. Hom.* (3): 29.15; 31.2; 209.18. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 442^b. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXII B. 108. — *A. S. Hom. L. S. II* (1): 11.66 — *Seizure and Death of Alfred* (1): 13.

gelyfan: see *geliefan.*
geopenian, *reveal:* P. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXIII B. 104.
geortriewan [-y-], *despair of:* P. (1): *Bede* (1): 316.26 = 243.19. — I. (0).
gerestan, *rest:* P. (0). — I. (1): *Wærf.* (1): 178.2 = B. 204 C^1.
gerihtan, *correct:* P. (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXIII B. 634. — I. (0).
geswencan, *mortify:* P. (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 408^b. — I. (0).
geðafian, *allow, tolerate:* P. (1): *Greg.* (1): 135.21 = 96.24. — I. (0).
geðencan, *think, consider:* P. (7): *Boeth.* (1): 52.2 = 0. — *Greg.* (2): 29.6 = 0; 385.24 = 302.1. — *Bl. Hom.* (3): 19.31; 27.26; 29.2. — *Rid.* (1): 42.8. — I. (16): *Bede* (1): 84.3^b = 59.5. — *Boeth.* (1): 76.1 = 0. — *Greg.* (4): 53.17 = 30.15; 59.21^a = 34.27; 119.3 = 82.17; 302.20 = 230.3. — *Wærf.* (6): 239.27^a = 292 C^2; 270.11 = 329 B^1; 328.26 = 396 C^1; 348.9^a = 425 B; 349.19 = 428 B; 349.27^b = 428 C. — *Bl. Hom.* (4): 31.20; 33.25; 35.10; 39.1.
gewiscan: see *gewyscan.*
gewitan, *know:* P. (0). — I. (3): *Ælf. Hom.* (3): I. 538^b [a]; II. 556^b, 562^b.
gewyscan [-i-], *wish, desire:* P. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 612^b.
gieman [-y-], *take care:* P. (0). — I. (3): *Greg.* (3): 123.24 = 86.17; 455.10 = 386.15; 455.28 = 388.7.
gi(e)rnan, *yearn for:* P. (0). — I. (1): *Boeth.* (1): 90.13 = 77.20.
gyman: see *gieman.*
habban, *have, keep:* P. (7): *Boeth.* (1): 68.26 = 63.17. — *Greg.* (2): 249.7 = 188.11; 351.16 = 272.4. — *Wærf.* (1): 8.7 = 153 A^2. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 2^b. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 270.131. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): *Ælf. Gr.* (1): 255.14^b. — I. (0).
haldan: see *healdan.*
halgian [**haligian**], *hallow, consecrate:* P. (1): *Bl. Hom.* (1): 29.5. — I. (0).
halsian [**heals-**], *supplicate:* P. (1): *Bened.* (1): 45.17 = 84.19. — I. (0).
healdan [**haldan**], *hold, preserve:* P. (28): *Bede* (3): 68.15^b = 50.14; 124.23^b = 100.16; 132.19 = 110.27. — *Greg.* (1): 119.2^a = 82.16. — *Bened.* (17): 6.16 = 64.10; 6.17 = 66.1; 6.18 = 68.13; 6.19 = 70.1; 6.20 = 72.9; 7.4 = 90.13; 12.18 = 0; 34.5 = 64.10; 35.1 = 66.1; 36.9 = 68.13; 37.4 = 70.1; 37.5 = 70.4; 39.2 = 72.9; 48.14 = 90.13; 49.3 = 92.1; 60.11 = 112.14; 110.5 = 176.11. — *Mart.* (1): 74.3. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): *Ælf. Æthelw.* (1): 6. — *Wulf.* (3): 270.16; 282.7; 295.7. — *Læce.* (2): 49.1; 63.18. — I. (0).
helan, *conceal:* P. (1): *Wærf.* (1): 278.22 = 340 B^1. — I. (0).
herian [**herigan**], *praise:* P. (8): *Bede* (1): 78.33^b = 56.10^b. — *Boeth.* (2): 32.28 = 39.89; 69.3 = 0. — *Greg.* (2): 237.7 = 178.22; 353.25 = 274.6. — *Bl. Hom.* (2): 63.21^a; 223.27. — *Wulf.* (1): 197.24^b. — I. (2): *Boeth.* (1): 64.19 = 60.44. — *Greg.* (1): 53.19 = 30.17.
hiersumian [-y-], *obey, serve:* P. (0). — I. (1): *Bened.* (1): 1.15 = 4.3.
hogian, *think, consider:* P. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 558^m.
hopi(g)an, *hope:* P. (0). — I. (1): Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): *Ælf. Int.* (1): 270.
hradian, *hasten:* P. (0). — I. (1): *Bened.* (1): 5. 8^a = 10.16^a.
hycgan, *think, consider:* P. (2): *Rid.* (2): 29.12; 32.23. — I. (1): *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (1): 12.2.
hyrsumian: see *hiersumian.*
ieldan [**yldan**], *delay:* P. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 350^m.
lacnian, *treat medically:* P. (3): *Læce.* (3): 25.30^b; 73.36^a; 78.22. — I. (0).
læran, *teach:* P. (9): *Greg.* (9): 25.15 = 6.1; 119.2^b = 82.17; 179.21 = 134.24; 205.21 = 154.13; 233.23 = 176.21; 277.3 = 208.21; 341.15 = 264.7; 409.24 = 330.3; 441.6 = 368.1. — I. (1): *Boeth.* (1): 127.25 = 108.15.
lætan, *let* (*blood*): P. (4): *Læce.* (4): 26.1; 44.20^b; 76.26; 77.3. — I. (0).
laðian, *invite:* P. (1): *Wærf.* (1): 263.4 = 321 A^1. — I. (0).
lean, *blame:* P. (2): *Laws* (1): 254, VI Æthelred, c. 29^a. — *Bl. Hom.* (1): 63.21^b. — *I.* (0).
libban [**lifgan**], *live:* P. (0). — I. (2): *Bede* (1): 424.4 = 304.14. — *Wærf.* (1): 317.15 = 381 D.
liefan [-y-], *believe:* P. (0). — I. (1): *Bl. Hom.* (1): 11.12.
lifgan: see *libban.*
lufian, *love:* P. (12): *Bede* (2): 66.24, 25 = 49.29. — *Boeth.* (2): 108.21 = 0; 113.14 = 97.25. — *Greg.* (2): 133.15 = 94.18; 441.15 = 368.12. — *Pr. Ps.* (1): 18.9 = 18.11. — *Laws* (1): 254, VI Æthelred, c. 29^b. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 310.38^a. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): *Ælf. Gr.* (1): 144.11. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. I* (1): 3.573. — *Wulf.* (1): 73.8^a. — I. (0).
mærsian [**-igan**], *glorify, praise:* P. (2): *Bl. Hom.* (1): 161.6^a. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 324^t. — I. (0).

manian [monian], *admonish:* P. (243): *Bede* (2): 70.26 - 51.19; 72.4 - 51.31. — *Greg.* (241): 13.20, 22, 24 - 130.6, 8, 9; 15.1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22 - 130.10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20; 17.3, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 17, 20, 24 - 130.23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 132.1, 3, 6; 19.1, 3, 7, 12, 17, 20, 23 - 132.7, 8, 11, 15, 18, 20, 21; 21.1, 4, 7, 11, 15, 18 - 132.23, 25, 27, 29, 134.1, 3; 177.11 - 132.8; 179.14, 15, 19 - 134.10, 14; 181.3, 5 - 134.20, 21; 187.12, 14 - 140.8, 9; 189.12, 14 - 142.2, 3; 191.12, 16, 19, 21 - 142.21, 23, 24; 195.15, 25 - 146.13, 22; 197.4 - 146.26; 201.7, 9, 10, 11, 13 - 150.8, 9, 10, 11, 13; 203.3, 5, 6, 8[a] - 152.2, 3, 4, 5; 205.19 - 154.12; 209.1, 4 - 156.13, 14; 215.3, 5 - 162.2, 3; 220.18 - 166.28; 229.3, 10, 12, 13 - 172.19, 26, 27, 28; 231.15 - 174.24; 237.4, 6, 14 - 178.20, 21, 23; 247.3, 5, 6, 11, 14 - 186.17, 18, 19, 24, 27; 251.20 - 190.20; 253.23 - 192.12; 255.13 - 192.25; 257.19 - 194.19; 261.1 - 196.15; 263.1, 6, 7, 14 - 198.7, 9, 10, 17; 265.14 - 200.10; 271.6, 9 - 204.12, 13; 273.2 - 206.1; 275.2 - 206.23; 281.16, 18, 19, 21 - 212.20, 21, 22, 23; 287.20, 22 - 218.5, 6; 289.4 - 218.11; 291.3, 4 - 218.26, 220.2; 299.1, 3 - 226.2, 3; 302.13, 15 - 228.27, 28; 305.10, 12 - 232.19, 20; 307.4, 7, 19 - 234.21, 24, 236.8; 308.13, 16 - 236.21, 33; 313.6, 18 - 240.21, 29; 315.8 - 242.15; 319.11, 14, 16 - 246.11, 13, 15; 321.5 - 246.26; 227.12, 24 - 252.18, 29; 335.1, 5, 9 - 258.13, 16, 19; 337.5 - 260.16; 339.6, 22, 24 - 262.7, 21; 341.8 - 262.29; 345.4, 6, 7 - 266.8, 9, 10; 349.18 - 270.10; 351.3, 18 - 270.20, 272.6; 355.8, 11 - 274.14, 16; 357.12, 14, 15 - 276.18, 19, 20; 361.5 - 278.30; 363.8 - 280.27; 365.1, 5, 7, 13 - 282.16, 18, 20, 26; 369.1, 22, 25 - 286.3, 24, 27; 371.28 - 286.27, 288.7; 375.12, 17, 21, 22 - 292.2, 5, 7, 8; 383.20, 31, 34 - 298.19, 27, 30; 387.1, 5, 8, 16 - 302.16, 18, 21, 304.1; 389.28 - 306.16; 393.13, 20, 22, 23 - 310.13, 20, 21, 22; 395.31 - 314.7; 397.8 - 314.20; 399.36 - 318.23; 401.1 - 318.23; 401.22, 31 - 320.12, 21; 403.7, 10, 11, 18, 27 - 322.5, 7, 8, 15, 24; 405.7 - 324.10; 407.19, 22, 27 - 326.25, 27, 328.3; 409.22, 28 - 330.3, 8; 411.20 - 332.4; 413.3, 5, 6, 14, 22, 32 - 332.21, 23, 24, 334.6, 15, 26; 415.8 - 336.6; 417.3, 31 - 338.8, 340.5; 419.17, 20, 22 - 342.2, 4, 6; 421.24, 36 - 344.13, 23; 423.29 - 346.23; 427.8, 11, 12, 17, 20 - 350.13, 16, 18, 23, 25; 429.2, 7, 29, 33 - 352.18, 24, 354.19, 21; 431.1, 11 - 354.23, 356.4; 433.31[a] - 360.1; 435.29 - 362.6; 437.1, 5, 7, 23, 32, 33 - 362.11, 14, 17, 364.14; 439.7, 9, 17 - 364.21, 366.2; 441.1, 4 - 366.25, 27; 445.4, 26 - 372.17, 374.11; 447.22, 26, 28, 31 - 376.10, 12, 15, 18; 449.11, 20, 22 - 378.7, 19. — I. (0).

manigan
manigean } : see *manian.*

metan, *measure, compare:* P. (3): *Boeth.* (2): 29.4 - 36.28; 72.12 - 0. — *Met.* (1): 21.42 (or absolute?). — I. (0).

midligan, *bridle:* P. (1): *Greg.* (1): 275.10 - 208.5. — I. (0).

monian: see *manian.*

myndgian, *remind:* P. (1): *Greg.* (1): 303.7 - 230.5 — I. (0).

nemnan, *name:* P. (1): *Bened.* (1): 139.29 - 0. — I. (0).

niman, *take:* P. (1): Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): *Ælf. Æthelw.* (1): 5. — I. (0).

oferbugan, *deceive:* P. (1): *Greg.* (1): 295.21 - 224.2. — I. (0).

offrian [-igan], *offer:* P. (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 310.38[b]. — I. (0).

offrigan: see *offrian.*

onbærnan, *incite:* P. (1): *Bede* (1): 74.2 - 53.5. — I. (0).

ondrædan, *dread, fear:* P. (8): *Bede* (1): 86.9 - 60.7. — *Greg.* (1): 105.25 - 72.26. — *Wærf.* (1): 63.14 - 193 B[2]. — *Ælf. Hom.* (4): I. 322[t 1], 522[b 1], 592[t 1, 2]. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (1): 18.283. — I. (2): *Greg.* (2): 139.3 - 98.31; 383.26 - 298.24.

ongeotan: see *ongietan.*

ongietan [-eo-, -i-, -y-], *understand, consider:* P. (5): *Bede* (3): 224.24 - 172.7; 230.21 - 175.18; 440.30 - 313.16. — *Wærf.* (2): 295.22 - 357 A[2]; 322.25[b] - 388 D[2]. — I. (8): *Greg.* (1): 377.22 - 294.6. — *Wærf.* (5): 66.26 - 196 C[1]; 245.21 - 300 C[1]; 270.10 - 329 B[1]; 323.7 - 389 A[2]; 342.18 - 416 C[2]. — *Bl. Hom.* (1): 81.20. — *Lacc.* (1): 61.32.

ongitan: see *ongietan.*

ongytan: see *ongietan.*

onherian, *imitate:* P. (1): *Wærf.* (1): 13.25[b] - 157 A[2]. — I. (0).

onscunian [an-], *shun:* P. (3): *Boeth.* (1): 41.9 - 44.4. — *Bl. Hom.* (1): 65.13. — *Wulf.* (1): 242.2. — I. (0).

profian, *assume to be:* P. (2): *Laws* (2): 14, Wihtræd, c. 28[a]; 98, Ine, c. 20[a]. — I. (0).

rædan, *read:* P. (0). — I. (2): *Chron.* (1): 128[b], 995 F[a]. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): *Ælf. Gr.* (1): 135.6.

reccan [-cean], *give, direct, explain:* P. (2): *Bede* (1): 66.11[a] - 49.15. — *Greg.* (1): 265.22 - 200.16. — I. (1): *Greg.* (1): 441.12 - 368.9.

reccean: see *reccan*.
retan, *cheer:* P. (2): *Greg.* (2): 181.6^{b} = 134.23; 181.19 = 136.6. — I. (0).
rihtan, *correct:* P. (1): *Wærf.* (1): 263.3^{a} = 320 D. — I. (0).
sceawian, *consider, seek:* P. (1): *Wærf.* (1): 122.21 = B. 152 C^{2}. — I. (2): *Wærf.* (2): 239.26 = 292 C^{2}; 349.27^{a} = 428 C.
secan [-cean], *seek:* P. (6): *Bede* (2): 50.10^{b} = 30.17; 78.24 = 56.2. — *Greg.* (1): 171.8 = 126.5. — *Laws* (1): 320, II Cnut, c. 17, § 1. — *Wærf.* (1): 91.17^{a} = 216 A. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 120^{t}. — I. (2): *Greg.* (1): 151.11^{a} = 108.22. — *Wærf.* (1): 245.23 = 300 C^{2}.
secean: see *secan*.
secgan, *say:* P. (5): *Boeth.* (1): 41.3 = 0. — *Wærf.* (1): 139.32 = B. 168 A. — *And.* (1): 1481. — *Gu.* (2): 502; 510. — I. (14): *Bede* (3): 208.32 = 163.17; 298.12 = 228.6; 334.30 = = 254.31. — *Boeth.* (1): 39.10 = 42.63. — *Greg.* (8): 215.6 = 162.4; 215.12 = 162.9; 220.24 168.5; 231.4 = 174.11; 231.10 = 174.18; 233.16 = 176.14; 235.10 = 178.2; 261.3 = 196.16. — *Bl. Hom.* (1): 63.16. — *Wulf.* (1): 204.2.
sellan [-ie-, -y-], *give, distribute:* P. (9): *Bede* (1): 66.11^{b} = 49.15. — *Bened.* (1): 55.18 = 104.11. — *Mat.* (2): 17.22; 20.23^{b}. — *Læce.* (5): 62.22, 28; 63.33; 64.2; 68.31. — I. (1): *Læce.* (1): 63.22^{b}.
sendan, *send, put:* P. (1): *L.* (1): 6.38. — I. (0).
singan, *sing:* P. (4): *Greg.* (1): 409.10 = 328.21. — *Bened.* (3): 6.15 = 62.1; 33.6 = 62.1; 33.12 = 62.10.
siellan: see *sellan*.
slean, *slay:* P. (2): *Laws* (2): 14, Wihtræd, c. 28^{b}; 98, Ine, c. 20^{b}. — I. (0).
smeagan [-gean], *consider, weigh:* P. (6): *Greg.* (1): 153.13 = 110.20. — *Bened.* (1): 16.9 = 28.20. — *Ælf. Hom.* (3): I. 254^{t}, 340^{b}; II. 280^{m}. — *Wulf.* (1): 185.6^{a}. — I. (10): *Bede* (1): 84.3^{a} = 59.5. — *Greg.* (1): 59.21^{b} = 34.27. — *Bened.* (1): 15.6 = 26.16. — *Bl. Hom.* (1): 33.17. — *Ælf. Hom.* (4): I. 308^{m}, 328^{b}, 342^{m}; II. 276^{m}. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 282.284. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (1): 12.1.
smi(e)rwan, *anoint:* P. (1): *Læce.* (1): 73.36^{b}. — I. (0).
sorgian, *lament:* P. (2): *Bede* (1): 86.10^{a} = 60.8. — *Wulf.* (1): 185.6^{b}. — I. (0).
sparian, *spare:* P. (1): *Greg.* (1): 141.9 = 100.29. — I. (0).
sprecan, *speak:* P. (4): *Bede* (1): 66.8 = 49.14. — *Greg.* (1): 59.7 = 34.17. — *Wærf.* (1): 263.6 = 321 A^{2}. — Minor Prose (1): *Apol.* (1): 19.16. — I. (0).
stillan, *make calm:* P. (1) *Læce.* (1): 54.4. — I. (0).
swingan, *chastise:* P. (1): *Greg.* (1): 265.16 = 200.10. — I. (0).
sylian: see *sellan*.
tæcan, *teach:* P. (0). — I. (1): Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): *Ælf. Gr.* (1): 151.12.
tælan, *blame:* P. (0). — I. (1): *Boeth.* (1): 64.18 = 60.44.
talian, *consider:* P. (2): *Boeth.* (1): 56.7 = 54.61. — *Wulf.* (1): 25.6. — I. (0).
tellan, *account, reckon:* P. (6): *Boeth.* (5): 54.11 = 53.34; 56.66 = 53.60; 56.10 = 54.63; 110.20 = 95.125; 111.2 = 0. — *Bened.* (1): 77.5 = 144.23. — I. (0).
teweorpan [to-], *cast aside:* P. (1): *Greg.* (1): 443.33 = 372.10. — I. (0).
tilian, *strive:* P. (0). — I. (1): *Wærf.* (1): 349.6 = 428 A^{4}.
trahtnigan, *expound:* P. (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 332$^{t\ 2}$. — I. (0).
trymman, *strengthen:* P. (1): *Greg.* (1): 203.10 = 152.8. — I. (0).
tweogian, *doubt:* P. (0). — I. (1): *Bede* (1): 234.12 = 177.4.
ðafian, *allow:* P. (1): *Laws* (1): 128, Ælfred and Guthrum, c. 5. — I. (0).
ðencan, *think, consider:* P. (1): *Boeth.* (1): 16.19 = 26.43. — I. (4): *Bede* (1): 66.4^{a} = 49.8^{a}. — *Greg.* (2): 275.17 = 208.11; 463.32 = 400.14. — *Laws* (1): 146, I Æthelstan, c. 3.
ðicgan, *take, eat:* P. (7): *Læce.* (7): 50.20^{a}, 37; 63.27, 34; 74.7; 76.34; 79.17. — I. (0).
ðrafian, *reprove, correct:* P. (0). — I. (1): *Greg.* 151.12 = 108.23.
ðreagean, *rebuke:* P. (4): *Greg.* (3): 157.24 = 114.15; 159.17 = 116.1; 265.15 = 200.10. — *Wærf.* (1): 263.3^{b} = 320 D. — I. (0).
ðreagian: see *ðreagean*.
ðreatian [-gan]: P. (1): *Greg.* (1): 183.3^{a} = 136.15. — I. (1): *Greg.* (1): 151.11^{b} = 108.22.
ðreatigan: see *ðreatian*.
underfon, *receive:* P. (2): *Bede* (1): 182.25 = 148.19. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 336.222. — I. (0).
undersecan [-cean], *investigate:* P. (0). — I. (1): *Greg.* (1): 209.12 = 156.21.
understandan, *understand:* P. (17): *Bened.* (1): 23.7 = 46.9. — *Ælf. Hom.* (14): I. 92^{m}, 262$^{b\ 1,\ 2,\ 3}$, 264^{b}; II. 80^{t}, 210^{t}, 244^{m}, 270$^{b\ 1,\ 3}$, 362^{b}, 554$^{t\ 3}$, 564^{b}, 566^{m}. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): *Ælf. Int.* (1): 17^{c}. — *Wulf.* (1): 192.21. — I. (9): *Ælf. Hom.* (5): I. 132^{b}, 492^{b};

II. 204[t], 458[t], 538[m]. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (3): *Ælf. Int.* (3): 18, 145, 152. — *Wulf.* (1): 113.8.

wafian, *wonder at:* P. (5): *Wærf.* (5): 82.24 = 208 B[1]; 120.12 = B. 150 B; 172.22 = B. 198 C; 187.8 = 228 B; 240.24 = 293 C[2]. — I. (0).

wanian, *reduce:* P. (1): *Læce.* (1): 153.1. — I. (0).

warnian, *take care:* P. (0). — I. (9): *Laws* (1): 444, Wifmannes Beweddung, c. 9. — *Bened.* (2): 25.18 = 50.15; 129.4 = 198.12. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 536[t]. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (4): 11.24, 62, 119; 12.90. — *Wulf.* (1): 147.9.

wenan, *expect, hope:* P. (2): *Boeth.* (2): 39.9 = 42.62; 148.27 = 0. — I. (3): *Boeth.* (1): 37.30 = 42.43. — *Solil.* (1): 65.25. — *Ps.* (1): 77.10.

weorðian [**wurð-**], *honor:* P. (10): *Boeth.* (3): 72.27[c] = 0; 75.13 = 67.18; 75.14 = 0. — *Greg.* (1): 181.20 = 136.6. — *Oros.* (1): 126.32 = 0. — *Bl. Hom.* (2): 161.6[b]; 197.5[a]. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXXI. 462. — *Wulf.* (2): 73.8[b]; 197.24[c]. — I. (0).

weotan: see *witan.*

wiernan [**-y-**], *forbid:* P. (0). — I. (1): *Læce.* (1): 100.37.

wilnian, *wish, desire:* P. (2): *Boeth.* (1): 31.3 = 37.53. — *Wærf.* (1): 91.17[b] = 216 A. — I. (2): *Boeth.* (2): 39.11 = 43.64; 110.25 = 95.128.

witan [**weotan**], *know:* P. (5): *Bede* (1): 76.10 = 54.23. — *Wærf.* (1): 329.4 = 396 C[2]. — *Bl. Hom.* (1): 129.26. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (2): 11.86; 12.140. — I. (46): *Bede* (1): 334.26 = 254.27. — *Greg.* (8): 135.15 = 96.13; 151.8[a] = 108.18; 157.14 = 114.9; 269.19 = 204.1; 293.14 = 222.4; 306.18 = 234.16; 306.20 = 234.16; 459.6 = 392.4. — *Laws* (1): 442, Wifmannes Beweddung, Inscr., c. 2. — *Wærf.* (6): 281.3 = 341 B[1]; 291.24 = 352 D; 323.25 = 389 C; 339.1 = 409 B[1]; 348.4 = 425 B; 349.18 = 428 B. — *Bl. Hom.* (2): 63.35; 209.19. — *Ælf. Hom.* (4): I. 110[t]; II. 292[b], 546[t], 608[b]. — *Ælf. L. S.* (7): 424.155; 458.284; 460.307; 466.403; 470.464; XXV. 812; XXVII. 143. — *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Pref. to Gen.* 24.16. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (10): *Ælf. Gr.* (10): 18.20; 31.15; 60.2; 75.4; 113.13; 118.18; 154.1; 179.6, 16; 198.4. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (3): 11.49; 12.21, 33. — *Wulf.* (2): 201.23; 218.6. — Minor Prose (1): *Neot* (1): 195.

wiðmeotan: see *wiðmetan.*

wiðmetan [**-meotan**], *compare:* P. (5): *Bede* (1): 408.5 = 295.24. — *Ælf. Hom.* (4): I. 486[b 1, 2], 596[b]; II. 230[b]. — I. (0).

wuldrian, *glorify:* P. (1): *Bl. Hom.* (1): 197.5[b]. — I. (0).

wundrian [**wynd-**], *wonder at, admire:* P. (13): *Bede* (2): 178.11 = 145.23; 188.2 = 151.16. — *Boeth.* (2): 72.27[b] = 0; 104.4 = 88.12. — *Oros.* (2): 34.31 = 0; 134.24 = 0. — *Solil.* (1): 12.24. — *Wærf.* (3): 67.31 = 197 A; 90.19 = 213 B[1]; 240.23 = 293 C[1]. — *Bl. Hom.* (1): 33.12. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (1): 18.322. — Minor Prose (1): *Alex.* (1): 26. — I. (1): Minor Prose (1): *Nic.* (1): 492.30.

wyndrian: see *wundrian.*

wyrcan, *work, make:* P. (2): *Læce.* (2): 5.30; 70.28. — I. (0).

wyrnan: see *wiernan.*

yldan: see *ieldan.*

II. The Infinitive Active in Sense.

Given in full in Chapter VII, pp. 102–104.

B. THE INFINITIVE DENOTES FUTURITY.

Given in full in Chapter VII, pp. 104–105.

C. THE INFINITIVE DENOTES PURPOSE.

Given in full in Chapter VII, pp. 105–106.

VIII. The Predicative Infinitive with Accusative Subject.

AS OBJECT.

A. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

Normally the infinitive is uninflected, but sporadically it is inflected.

1. Uninflected.

æteawan, *show, demonstrate* (1): *Bede* (1): 84.2 = 59.4.
afindan, *find* (1): *A. S. Hom. & L. S. I* (1): 9.364.
alætan, *allow, permit* (2): *Beow.* (1): 2666. — *Dan.* (1): 591.
andettan: see *ondettan.*
bebeodan [bi-], *command* (16): *Pr. Ps.* (2): 41.9[a]; 43.6. — *Ex.* (6): 217[a, b]; 218[a, b]; 219[a, b]. — *El.* (1): 980. — *And.* (7): 729; 730; 773; 775[a, b]; 777; 779.
began [biegan], *urge, force* (1): *Ps.* (1): 143.14 (?).
behealdan [bi-], *behold, see* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 32[m].
bibeodan: see *bebeodan.*
biddan, *bid, request, command* (12): *Bede* (1): 6.13 = 16.3. — *Chron.* (1): 173[t], 1048 E[a]. — *Ælf. L. S.* (3): 76.439, 440; 266.70. — *Gen.* (1): 2031. — *Dan.* (2): 359; 542. — *El.* (1): 1101. — *Gu.* (1): 1133. — *And.* (1): 1614. — *Maldon* (1): 170.
bihealdan: see *behealdan.*
cweðan, *say* (1): *Wærf.* (1): 203.23 = 248 D.
don, *make, cause* (14): *Bede* (1): 98.27[b] = 81.29[b]. — *Laws* (1): 410, Judicium Dei IV, c. 4, § 1. — *Ælf. Hom.* (9): I. 64[m], 468[m 1, 2, 3, 4]; II. 216[m], 296[b], 442[b], 600[m]. — *Wulf.* (2): 196.1, 2. — *Ps.* (1): 103.30.
eowan, *show* (1): *Wærf.* (1): 200.14 = 244 C[t].
findan, *find, discover* (10): *Oros.* (1): 128.14 = 129.12. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 452[t]. — *L.* (1): 19.32. — *Beow.* (5): 119; 1268; 1415; 2271; 3034. — *Jul.* (1): 364. — *Jud.* (1): 278.
forbeodan, *forbid* (1): *Mat.* (1): 19.14.
foresecgan, *foretell, predict* (1): *Bede* (1): 406.21 = 294.23.
forlætan, *allow, permit* (53): *Bede* (1): 318.4 = 243.28. — *Greg.* (1): 467.11 = 404.1. — *Oros.* (1): 212.17 = 213.22. — *Solil.* (3): 5.6; 21.22; 62.27. — *Chron.* (1): 5[t], Intr. E. — *Wærf.* (1): 294.5 = 356 A[1]. — *Bl. Hom.* (6): 59.29; 75.26; 87.14; 127.22; 227.21; 249.15. — *Mart.* (1): 156.21. — *Ælf. Hom.* (4): II. 192[t 2], 194[t], 396[b 1, 2]. — *Ælf. L. S.* (6): 144.429; XXIII B. 389, 703; XXXI. 1062; XXXIII. 304; XXXIV. 355. — *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Judges* 3.21. — Ælf. Minor Prose (1): *Napier's Ad. to Th.* (1): 102.38[t]. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. I* (1): 9.101. — *Wulf.* (5): 232.17; 254.21; 256.4[a, b], 5. — *Beow.* (1): 3167. — *Gen.* (2): 1406; 1450. — *El.* (2): 598; 794. — *Ju.* (1): 489. — *Gu.* (1): 1148. — *And.* (2): 836; 1589. — *Rid.* (2): 39.4[a, b]. — *Ps.* (1): 124.3. — *D. R.* (1): 62. — *F. I.* (1): 75. — *Maldon* (3): 150; 156; 322. — *Prayers* (1): IV. 49. — *S. & S.* (1): 456. — *Schöpf.* (1): 101.
geacsian [geaxian], *learn by asking* (4): *Bl. Hom.* (2): 109.2[a, b]. — *Wulf.* (2): 2.2, 5.
geaxian: see *geacsian.*
gecyðan, *make known* (1): *Wærf.* (1): 137.7 = B. 166 A.
gedon, *make, cause* (2): *Bl. Hom.* (1): 239.16. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXXIII. 316.
gefelan, *feel, perceive* (2): *Bede* (1): 156.32 = 130.30. — *Wærf.* (1): 236.1 = 288 B.
gefricgan: see *gefrignan.*
gefrignan [gefricgan], *learn by inquiry, hear* (41): *Beow.* (9): 1012; 1029; 1970; 2485; 2695; 2754[a, b]; 2773; 2775. — *Gen.* (5): 1961; 2060; 2242; 2483; 2540. — *Ex.* (3): 7; 99; 286. — *Dan.* (6): 1; 2; 3; 57; 459; 739. — *Chr.* (1): 79. — *And.* (1): 1706. — *Rid.* (5): 46.1, 2[a, b, c]; 49.1. — *Jud.* (4): 8; 9; 247; 249. — *Har.* (1): 161. — *Fallen Angels* (1): 226. — *Finns.* (2): 40; 41. — *S. & S.* (2): 179; 181. — *Wids.* (1): 10.
gehatan, *promise* (4): *Bede* (3): 122.34 = 99.25; 316.29 = 243.22; 394.27 = 287.15. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXIII B. 693.
gehawian, *see* (1): *Wærf.* (1): 250.26 = 305 C.
geheran: see *gehieran.*
gehieran [-e-, -y-], *hear* (53): *Bede* (11): 156.21 = 130.19; 174.17 = 143.22; 212.9[a, b] = 164.31; 264.21 = 208.22; 264.28 = 208.29; 322.3 = 245.28; 352.10[a, b] = 264.7, 8; 400.18 = 290.8; 470.17 = 346.3. — *Wærf.* (3): 117.22 = B. 148 A[3]; 153.22 = B. 180 B; 329.9 = 396 D. — *Bl. Hom.* (4): 15.15; 19.18; 73.36; 75.1. — *Pr. Gu.* (1): XX. 74. — *Ælf.*

Hom. (4): I. 142^{b}, 314^{m}, 420^{m}; II. 518$^{t\ 2}$. — *Ælf. L. S.* (2): XXXI. 80, 1397. — *Mk.* (1): 14.58. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (3): 10.371; 15.297 = 217.337; 18.381. — Minor Prose (5): *Chad* (5): 103; 105; 111; 142; 145. — *Beow.* (2): 786; 787. — *Gen.* (3): 508$^{a.\ b}$; 2409. — *Chr.* (2): 797; 798. — *El.* (2): 443$^{a.\ b}$. — *Ju.* (2): 609; 629. — *Ps.* (1): 61.11^{a}. — *Met.* (2): 9.15; 13.47. — *Fallen Angels* (1): 134. — *Fates of Apostles* (1): 24. — *H. L.* (1): 22. — *S. & S.* (2): 425$^{a.\ b}$.

gehihtan: see *gehyhtan.*

gehyhtan [-i-], *hope* (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXIII B. 557.

gehyran: see *gehieran.*

gelefan: see *geliefan.*

geliefan [-e-, -y-], *believe* (1): *Wærf.* (1): 207.25 = 253 B.

gelyfan: see *geliefan.*

gemetan, *meet, find* (26): *Bede* (2): 386.3 = 282.5; 398.19 = 289.12. — *Boeth.* (1): 61.18 = 58.7. — *Greg.* (1): 415.23 = 336.22. — *Chron.* (1): 124^{b}, 982 C. — *Wærf.* (6): 99.23 = B. 130 B; 124.11 = B. 154 C^{4}; 156.10 = B. 182 B^{2}; 206.6 = 252 A^{4}; 330.3$^{a.\ b}$ = 397 B$^{1.\ 2}$. — *Bl. Hom.* (2): 237.18; 239.23. — *Pr. Gu.* (1): XX. 49. — *Mart.* (1): 112.5. — *Ælf. Hom.* (2): I. 502^{m}; II. 180^{b}. — *Ælf. L. S.* (2): XXX. 164; XXXIII. 185. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (2): *Napier's Ad. to Th.* (2): 102.31^{t}, 31^{m}. — Minor Prose (2): *Apol.* (1): 22.28; *Nic.* (1): 494.18. — *And.* (3): 145; 247; 1062.

gemittan, *meet, find* (2): *Gen.* (1): 2426. — *Spirit of Men* (1): 46.

gemunan, *remember, recall* (4): *Bede* (1): 322.19 = 246.9. — *Wærf.* (2): 281.9 = 341 B^{2}; 283.1 = 344 B. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 48^{m}.

geseon, *see* (319): *Bede* (25): 102.32 = 84.7; 112.8$^{a.\ b}$ = 91.10, 11; 128.16 = 108.22; 144.4 = 117.13; 174.7 = 143.14; 174.18 = 143.26; 184.33 = 149.30; 214.14 = 166.7; 270.24 = 211.32; 270.25 = 211.33; 296.6 = 226.21; 340.9 = 257.12; 342.23 = 259.16; 354.2 = 264.28; 418.11 = 301.7; 426.8^{a} = 305.22^{b}; 426.33$^{a.\ b}$ = 306.15; 430.31 = 308.11; 432.24$^{a.\ b}$ = 308.19$^{a.\ b}$; 434.2 = 309.14; 474.19$^{a.\ b}$ = 348.10$^{a.\ b}$. — *Boeth.* (4): 97.18 = 0; 105.27 = 90.30; 106.16 = 91.17; 111.13 = 95.1. — *Greg.* (3): 101.19 = 70.7; 255.24, 25 = 194.5. — *Oros.* (11): 3.24 = 0; 3.26$^{a.\ b}$ = 0; 42.33 = 43.33; 44.2 = 43.33; 142.15 = 143.15; 154.5 = 155.2; 162.6, 7 = 163.5; 188.25 = 189.23; 262.27 = 263.27. — *Pr. Ps.* (1): 48.8 = 48.11. — *Wærf.* (30): 26.25 = 165 C^{1}; 95.15 = B. 126 A; 101.13 = B. 132 B^{4}; 116.15 = B. 146 C; 119.6$^{a.\ b}$ = B. 148 C^{2}; 122.11 = B. 152 C^{1}; 156.28 = B. 182 C^{3}; 171.2, 4 = B. 198 B$^{1.\ 2}$; 181.22$^{a.\ b}$ = 220 B$^{1.\ 2}$; 217.1 = 264 C^{4}; 225.21, 22 = 276 B; 250.27 = 308 A^{1}; 267.27^{a} = 328 A^{1}; 271.24 = 332 B^{1}; 273.10 = 333 A^{1}; 273.15 = 333 A^{2}; 275.16 = 336 A^{1}; 280.5 = 340 D; 286.21 = 248 B^{1}; 288.10 = 349 A^{1}; 289.15^{a} = 349 C^{2}; 298.6 = 360 B; 304.7 = 368 A^{2}; 322.18 = 388 C^{2}; 325.28 = 392 C^{1}; 347.8 = 424 C. — *Bened.* (1): 25.20 = 50.18. — *Bl. Hom.* (19): 129.5, 7, 22; 177.15$^{a.\ b.\ c}$, 16$^{a.\ b}$, 17$^{a.\ b}$; 187.34; 191.23; 199.19^{b}, 26; 217.21; 227.24; 237.23; 239.21; 245.17. — *Pr. Gu.* (11): II. 55, 56, 57; V. 181, 196, 198, 273; VIII. 4; IX. 8; XI. 17; XXI. 23. — *Mart.* (18): 2.13, 15; 8.1; 16.25; 24.16, 18; 38.21$^{a.\ b}$; 56.9, 10, 19; 70.15; 82.11; 84.11; 96.9; 158.21; 168.20; 172.5. — *Ælf. Hom.* (29): I. 42^{b}, 48$^{t\ 2}$, 48$^{b\ 2}$, 68^{t}, 72$^{t\ 1.\ 2}$, 72^{b}, 74$^{b\ 2}$, 238^{m}, 310$^{t\ 1.\ 2}$, 330^{m}, 422^{m}, 562$^{t\ 2}$, 578^{b}, 584$^{b\ 1.\ 2.\ 3.\ 4}$; II. 28^{b}, 150^{b}, 272^{m}, 304^{t}, 468^{t}, 468^{m}, 514^{t}, 516$^{t\ 1.\ 2}$, 518^{t}. — *Ælf. L. S.* (20): 64.242; 80.503; 184.250; 394.164; 518.508; XXIII B. 174, 180, 401, 773; XXVI. 156; XXVII. 92; XXXI. 357, 682, 1091, 1184, 1314, 1315, 1364; XXXIII. 303; XXXIV. 272. — *Ælf. Hept.* (10); *Gen.* 28.12^{a}; 37.25; 41.2, 3, 5; — *Ex.* 2.13; 20.18; 23.5; — *Jos.* 5.13; 8.20. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (2): *Ælf. Gr.* (1): 150.16; *Napier's Ad. to Th.* (1): 102.34^{b}. — *Gosp.* (16): *Mat.* (1): 20.3; — *Mk.* (5): 5.15; 7.2; 13.14; 14.62^{a}; 16.14; — *L.* (3): 21.1, 2; 24.39; — *J.* (7): 5.6, 19; 6.19; 20.5, 6, 12; 21.9. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. I* (3): 2.115; 3.476; 5.134. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (7): 10.228; 13.127; 15.129, 130 = 211.116, 117; 15.207; 18.361, 376. — *Wulf.* (4): 140.12; 187.11$^{a.\ b}$; 199.14. — Minor Prose (7): *Alex.* (2): 255, 642; — *Apol.* (3): 18.19; 24.15, 36; — *Chad* (1): 214; — *Nic.* (1): 504.30. — *Beow.* (18): 222; 729; 1348; 1426; 1427; 1517; 1586; 1662; 2545; 2546; 2605; 2758; 2760; 2767; 2824; 3040; 3128; 3129. — *Gen.* (13): 109; 134; 548; 669; 773; 1321; 1822; 2088; 2403; 2578; 2778; 2877; 2927. — *Ex.* (7): 104; 156; 157$^{a.\ b}$; 160$^{a.\ b}$; 571. — *Dan.* (8): 22; 23; 24; 545; 553; 602; 603; 727. — *Chr.* (10): 498; 507; 513; 522; 741; 925; 1129; 1249; 1253; 1291. — *El.* (5): 244$^{a.\ b}$; 245; 246; 1111. — *Gu.* (2): 28$^{a.\ b}$. — *And.* (9): 495; 849; 882; 993; 1006; 1448; 1494; 1502; 1691. — *Rid.* (6): 30.2; 37.1; 57.2; 69.1; 75.1; 76.1. — *Jud.* (1): 137. — *Ps.* (1): 127.7. — *D. R.* (6): 5; 15; 22; 34; 36; 52. — *Fates of Men* (1): 47. — *Hól.* (2): 51; 53. — *S. & S.* (2): 235$^{a.\ b}$. — *Versuchung* (1): 51. — *Wald. A.* (3): 15$^{a.\ b}$; 16. — *Wand.* (3): 47$^{a.\ b}$; 48.

getreowan: see *getriewan.*

getriewan, *trust, hope* (1): *Bede* (1): 190.30 = 153.14.
geðafian, *allow* (4): *Bl. Hom.* (1): 45.19. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 92[t]. — *Ælf. L. S.* (2): 108.323, 324.
geðolian [gi-], *allow* (1): *Laws* (1): 412, Judicium Dei V, c. 2, § 4[b].
geunnan, *grant* (1): Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): *Ælf. Æthelw.* (1): 53.
gewitan, *perceive, observe* (1): *And.* (1): 802[a].
giðolian: see *geðolian*.
habban, *have* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 440[m].
hatan, *command, order* (448): *Bede* (26): 34.25[a, b] = 18.25; 58.9 = 45.17; 58.20 = 45.29; 58.28 = 46.5; 118.8, 9 = 94.22; 138.11[a, b] = 113.19[a, b]; 186.4[a, b] = 150.6, 7; 232.8 = 176.1; 260.32 = 206.27; 266.2 = 209.5; 320.3, 4 = 244.31; 340.23 = 257.28; 350.30 = 263.27; 366.17 = 271.24; 388.24 = 283.31; 388.28 = 284.3; 388.31 = 0; 392.28 = 286.8; 398.8 = 288.27[b]; 438.2 = 311.15; 462.19 = 329.5. — *Boeth.* (2): 36.21 = 41.26; 136.26 = 116.39. — *Greg.* (1): 279.19 = 210.26. — *Oros.* (9): 3.13 = 0; 68.23 = 0; 80.30 = 0; 202.2[a, b] = 201.32, 33; 202.8 = 203.1; 212.6 = 213.10; 222.3 = 0; 280.12 = 281.13. — *Solil.* (1): 49.1 = 0. — *Chron.* (9): 12[t], 449 A[a]; 22[m], 616 A[a, b]; 104[t], 923 A[d, e, f]; 121[b], 975 D; 130[m], 995 F[f]; 130[b], 995 F[g]. — *Wærf.* (12): 2.7 = 0; 10.4 = 0; 34.22 = 172 B[1]; 58.13 = 189 C[1]; 58.17 = 189 C[2]; 59.3 = 189 D; 80.13 = 205 C[1]; 144.20 = B. 172 A[5]; 175.18 = B. 202 A[3]; 297.9[a, b] = 360 A[1, 2]; 337.37 = 408 A. — *Bened.* (1): 70.18 = 134.7. — *Bl. Hom.* (10): 21.30; 41.34; 139.13; 173.11; 181.5; 217.26; 219.16[a, b]; 229.15; 247.26. — *Mart.* (25): 24.29; 32.5; 58.14, 15; 80.1[a, b]; 82.6[a]; 94.3; 96.14; 108.19, 20, 25; 114.20[a, b]; 118.9; 120.4; 132.8[a]; 136.16; 166.15[b]; 170.13; 184.23[a, b]; 214.10; 216.23, 24. — *Ælf. Hom.* (61): I. 28[t], 58[t], 234[m], 450[b 2], 460[b], 466[m], 526[b 1, 2]; II. 32[t 2], 32[b], 36[t], 66[t 1, 2], 106[m], 136[t 1, 2, 3], 146[b], 162[t], 168[b 2], 170[b 2], 178[t 2], 178[m], 178[b 2], 180[b 2, 3], 190[b], 196[t], 196[m], 198[b], 234[b 1, 2], 242[b 1, 2], 244[t 2], 246[b 1, 2], 248[m], 304[b 2], 310[b 4], 330[t], 338[t], 346[t 1, 2], 384[m 1, 2], 388[b 2], 390[b], 398[b], 416[t], 440[t], 470[b], 474[b 1, 2], 476[b], 486[t 2], 500[b 2], 510[b], 516[m 1, 2], 548[b]. — *Ælf. L. S.* (94): 38.215; 46.361; 64.235; 78.465, 474; 84.577; 94.66; 96.112; 98.142; 104.230; 108.329; 114.409; 116.14; 146.464[a, b], 467; 148.13; 190.357[a, b], 360; 194.411; 234.241, 242, 245[a, b]; 236.258; 240.15; 302.277; 308.24; 310.56; 314.104[a, b, c]; 320.12, 13, 16, 17; 344.127[a], 128; 354.262; 388.72; 390.96; 392.145; 394.163[a, b]; 406.375[a, b]; 462.342; 506.308; XXIV. 16, 62[a, b], 170[b], 174; XXV. 21, 23, 135, 217, 218[a, b], 689, 792, 848; XXVIII. 41, 55[a, b], 65, 105; XXIX. 79; XXX. 410; XXXI. 214, 538, 541, 554, 632, 914, 931, 1044, 1110, 1133, 1156[a, b]; XXXII. 52; XXXIV. 59, 86, 222, 223, 352; XXXV. 172[a], 277, 308, 309; XXXVI. 229; XXXVII. 122. — *Ælf. Hept.* (21): *De V. T.* 8.30, 38; *Gen.* 15.5; 22.6; — *Ex.* 7.25; 14.5[a]; 32.5[a, b]; — *Num.* 13.28; 25.4; 31.17; — *Jos.* 1.11[a]; 4.3; 8.4[a, b]; 23.2; — *Judges* 4.22[b]; 7.16[a, b]; 16.21, 25. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (11): *Ælf. Gr.* (3): 125.3[a, b]; 227.8; — *Ælf. Int.* (3): 493, 494[a, b]; — *Napier's Ad. to Th.* (5): 101.321[t 2] (or objective?), 321[b]; 102.36, 37[b 1] (?), 38[t 2]. — *Gosp.* (9): *Mat.* (8): 8.18; 14.19, 22[a, b], 28; 20.28[c, d]; 22.34; — *Mk.* (1): 8.6. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. I* (13): 1.123, 124, 241, 253[a], 257; 2.84; 8.129; 9.19, 266, 267, 268, 291, 303. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (5): 10.217; 15.49; 16.274, 280; 18.101. — *Wulf.* (3): 2.19; 235.16; 287.24. — *Læce.* (3): 55.25[a, b]; 126.9. — Minor Prose (22): *Alex.* (13): 186; 187; 212[a, b]; 237; 253; 276; 388; 485; 495[b]; 496[a, b](?); 558; — *Apol.* (3): 18.14 = 37[m]; 26.2[b] = 43[b]; 33.13 = 50[m]; — *Nic.* (6): 472.1, 13; 476.22; 478.21; 480.3; 510.32. — *Beow.* (8): 69; 71; 296; 1045; 1869[a, b]; 2802; 2812. — *Gen.* (28): 39; 45; 122; 145; 158; 346[a, b]; 517; 525; 537[a, b]; 538; 830; 832; 865; 942; 943; 1047; 2040; 2228; 2234; 2370; 2506[a, b]; 2508; 2783; 2785; 2799. — *Ex.* (3): 65; 177; 254. — *Dan.* (4): 79; 431; 515; 516. — *Az.* (1): 183. — *Chr.* (8): 295; 297; 888; 1024; 1026; 1227; 1342; 1343. — *El.* (4): 215; 216; 999; 1006. — *Ju.* (6): 60; 76[a, b]; 77[a, b]; 523. — *Gu.* (1): 676. — *And.* (16): 330; 365; 366; 367; 792; 795; 796; 809; 810; 822; 824; 931; 1467; 1576[a, b]; 1623. — *Rid.* (4): 7.5; 41.8, 39; 91.11. — *Jud.* (5): 54; 149; 150; 173; 174. — *Met.* (1): 1.71. — *Ps.* (7): 77.25[a, b], 68; 80.12; 104.34, 36; 118.4. — *Har.* (3): 156; 158; 237. — *Creed* (1): 32. — *D. R.* (1): 31. — *Gnomic Sayings* (1): 165 (Ex.). — *Maldon* (7): 2; 3[a, b]; 4; 62[a, b]; 74. — *W. C.* (1): 27.
heran: see *hieran*.
hieran [-e-, -y-], *hear* (13): *Bede* (1): 190.1 = 152.15. — *Chron.* (1): 258[m], 1127 E[h]. — *Beow.* (3): 1346; 1843; 2023. — *El.* (2): 241; 540. — *Ju.* (1): 1. — *Met.* (1): 8.32. — *Cal.* (1): 102. — *Panther* (3): 9; 11[a, b].
hyran: see *hieran*.
læran, *teach* (4): *Bede* (1): 460.3 = 326.27. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (2): 14.108[a, b]. — *L.* (1): 11.1.
lætan, *allow, permit* (occasionally *cause*) (414): *Bede* (2): 156.30 = 130.28; 256.29 = 204.4. — *Boeth.* (14): 6.10 = 0; 8.23 = 5.39; 23.7 = 33.31; 23.9 = 0; 26.7 = 34.83; 49.27 = 0; 49.30

= 0; 72.19 = 65.17; 88.32[b, c] = 0; 104.2 = 88.11; 117.6 = 100.4; 123.27 = 104.137; 136.9 = 0. — *Greg.* (17): 65.14 = 0; 139.8 = 100.4; 139.13 = 100.9; 139.25 = 100.20; 141.1 = 100.25; 171.1 = 124.24; 193.25 = 144.29; 279.14 = 210.22; 283.14 = 214.11; 287.12 = 216.26; 289.2 = 218.9; 306.9 = 234.6; 321.13 = 248.6; 327.6 = 252.12; 457.13 = 390.3; 457.23 = 390.15; 469.5 = 0. — *Oros.* (3): 126.15 = 0; 168.24 = 0; 290.23 = 0. — *Solil.* (5): 14.2; 48.19; 53.16; 59.23; 67.10. — *Pr. Ps.* (8): 15.10[a, b]; 29.1 = 29.2; 30.21 = 30.20; 35.11 = 35.12; 37. Intr. = 0; 41.11 = 41.10; 42.2. — *Chron.* (9): 133[t], 999 E; 139[t], 1009 E[a]; 161[b], 1038 D; 163[b], 1043 D; 164[b], 1046 C[b]; 199[m], 1066 D; 216[m], 1085 E[c]; 241[m], 1106 E; 256[b], 1127 E[b]. — *Laws* (4): 160, II Æthelstan, c. 20, § 6; 236, V Æthelred, c. 1, § 1; 270, X Æthelred, c. 2; 454, Gerefa, c. 7. — *Wærf.* (10): 24.13 = 164 C; 132.29 = B. 162 B; 188.21 = 229 B[1]; 206.1 = 252 A[1]; 234.3[a, b] = 285 B; 239.20[a, b] = 292 C[1]; 276.3 = 336 C[1]; 289.26 = 349 D. — *Bened.* (1): 120.8 = 186.13. — *Bl. Hom.* (10): 23.15; 51.3; 67.31; 69.11, 17; 75.31; 159.17[a, b]; 181.33, 34. — *Pr. Gu.* (2): V. 153[a, b]. — *Mart.* (2): 8.3; 10.25. — *Ælf. Hom.* (17): I. 10[m], 12[t, 1, 2], 20[m], 276[t], 292[b 2], 406[b 2], 522[b]; II. 208[b], 358[b 2], 408[t], 416[b 2], 426[b], 466[t], 486[m], 508[b], 594[t]. — *Ælf. L. S.* (34): 18.147; 20.173; 70.353, 354; 120.80; 130.231, 232[a, b], 233, 234; 176.113, 114; 250.187; 348.167, 168, 176, 177; 402.290; 530.681; XXVII. 72; XXVIII. 112; XXX. 134, 433, 442; XXXI. 387, 1004, 1452; XXXIII. 120, 293; XXXIV. 70; XXXV. 265, 275; XXXVI. 192; XXXVII. 48. — *Ælf. Hept.* (24): *De N. T.* 17.10; — *Gen.* 30.25; 38.16; 44.33; 45.24; — *Ex.* 5.17[a, b]; 6.10, 27; 7.13; 8.15; 9.24; 14.5[a]; 22.18; 23.11; — *Lev.* 1.15; 19.29; 23.10; — *Num.* 11.24; — *Deut.* 15.13; *Jos.* 2.18; 7.3; *Judges* 4.18[a]; 7.2. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): *Napier's Ad. to Th.* (1): 102.39. — *Gosp.* (13): *Mat.* (2): 8.22; 13.30[a]; — *Mk.* (4): 1.34; 5.37; 7.12; 10.14; — *L.* (5): 8.51; 9.60, 61; 10.40; 18.16; — *J.* (2): 11.44; 18.8. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. I* (1): 8.233. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (5): 15.67[a, b], 68 = 209.56, 57; 15.97 = 0; 15.176 = 213.172. — *Wulf.* (12): 10.7, 8; 14.3[a, b], 12; 84.11[a, b]; 185.14; 213.30; 224.16; 272.24[a, b]. — *Lacc.* (96): 6.31, 36; 7.5; 8.26, 36; 11.1, 4, 16, 23; 12.2, 6, 16; 13.2[a, b]; 14.20; 16.31; 21.3, 9; 23.20; 24.14; 27.21; 31.7; 32.18, 22; 33.28, 29; 35.36; 36.18, 31; 37.1; 38.8; 41.1[a], 37; 43.27; 54.16; 57.31; 61.15; 61.20[a]; 62.20; 65.36; 72.19; 79.42; 81.6, 16, 18, 30; 82.10; 86.19; 87.26; 94.29; 95.7; 95.25; 97.22; 99.23[a], 30; 100.2; 101.18; 102.27, 34[a]; 104.1; 105.7, 34; 106.1, 3; 108.3, 11, 13; 121.7, 13; 122.1; 127.19, 20, 34; 128.12, 19; 129.9, 22[a], 27[a], 29; 130.5; 131.8, 19; 135.22; 136.8, 15, 26; 138.5; 140.5; 141.21; 142.7; 144.30; 145.5, 21; 146.26; 150.15; 151.22. — Minor Prose (6): *Apol.* (1): 25.13; — *Cato* (2): 38, 69; — *Chad* (Anhang) (1): 21; *Nic.* (2): 480.18, 490.27. — *Beow.* (16): 48; 397; 864; 865; 1490; 1728; 1996; 2389; 2390; 2551; 2980; 3082; 3083; 3084; 3132; 3133. — *Gen.* (19): 239; 253; 258; 438[a]; 955; 1198; 1349; 1373; 1375[a], 1441; 2111; 2112[a, b]; 2130; 2167; 2231; 2471; 2664; 2796. — *Dan.* (2): 683; 722. — *Chr.* (3): 159; 344; 1596. — *El.* (3): 237; 253; 820. — *Ju.* (3): 200; 275; 622. — *Gu.* (7): 336; 491; 749; 921; 924; 1029; 1030. — *And.* (9): 832; 833; 957; 1099; 1181; 1293; 1295; 1331; 1503. — *Rid.* (10): 4.39; 4.46[b], 56; 14.11[a]; 21.14; 35.8, 9[a, b, c]; 51.10. — *Jud.* (1): 221. — *Met.* (4): 1.67; 4.50; 5.31; 11.80. — *Ps.* (6): 65.8; 77.21, 46; 104.12; 118.126; 140.4. — *Brun.* (2): 60; 63. — *Fates of Apostles* (1): 95. — *Fates of Men* (1): 83. — *F. I.* (3): 72; 83; 85. — *Har.* (2): 42; 78. — *Hól.* (1): 125. — *H. L.* (2): 23; 24. — *L. P.* (5): I. 9; III. 104, 105[a, b]; 112. — *Maldon* (3): 7; 109; 140. — *Prayers* (5): III. 56, 57, 58; IV. 44, 52. — *Ruin* (1): 43. — *S. & S.* (2): 100; 130. — *Song of Runes* (1): 33. — *Spirit of Men* (4): 11; 38; 41; 42. — *Wald. A.* (2): 7[a, b].

niedan [-y-], *compel, force* (1): *Mk.* (1): 6.45.

nydan: see *niedan.*

ofseon, *see* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 508[m].

ondettan, *confess, declare* (1): *Bede* (1): 84.17 = 59.16.

onfindan, *find* (1): *Beow.* (1): 2842.

ongietan, *understand, perceive* (7): *Bede* (2): 178.32 = 146.12; 266.27 = 209.30. — *Wærf.* (4): 74.20 = 201 B[3]; 130.6 = B. 160 A[3]; 139.14 = B. 139 C; 285.1 = 345 B. — *Beow.* (1): 1432.

sceawian, *see* (2): *Wærf.* (2): 206.27[a, b] = 252 C[1].

secgan, *say, relate* (3): *Bede* (2): 340.20, 22 = 257.24, 27. — *L.* (1): 24.23.

seon, *see* (14): *Mart.* (3): 2.18, 19; 144.4. — *Rid.* (11): 20.3; 32.3; 33.3, 4[a, b]; 43.2; 52.2; 54.1; 60.2; 65.1, 2.

tali(g)an, *consider, account* (2): Minor Prose (2): *Alex.* (2): 39[a, b].

tellan, *tell, consider* (1): *Bede* (1): 82.4 = 57.29.

todælan, *distribute* (2): *Oros.* (2): 46.16, 17 = 47.16, 17 (but the infinitive phrase is probably used absolutely; hence I have put these, also, in Chap. XII).

wenan, *hope, expect* (3): *Bede* (1): 430.24 = 308.4. — *Wærf.* (1): 181.25 = 220 B[3]. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 590[b].

witan, *know* (10): *Bede* (2): 36.17 = 19.19; 408.21 = 296.13. — *Læce.* (1): 105.32. — *Ju.* (1): 92. — *Gu.* (1): 1312. — *And.* (1): 183. — *Rid.* (3): 50.1; 55.2; 59.1. — *Wids.* (1): 102.

2. Inflected.

Given in full in Chapter VIII, pp. 118–119.

B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

bebeodan, *command* (2): *Bede* (2): 14.13 = 0; 172.9 = 142.8[b].
biddan, *request* (1): *Bede* (1): 38.31 = 21.1.
cweðan, *say, maintain* (1): *Bede* (1): 64.24 = 49.1.
don, *make, cause* (1): *Wulf.* (1): 196.2.
forlætan, *allow* (2): *Bl. Hom.* (1): 33.11. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (1): 18.237.
gefelan, *feel, perceive* (1): *Bede* (1): 378.24 = 278.14.
gefeon [and blissian], *rejoice* (2): *Bede* (2): 470.24, 25 = 346.12[a, b].
gehieran [-i-, -y-], *hear* (2): *Bede* (1): 310.4 = 238.28. — Minor Prose (1): — *Chad* (1): 112.
geleornian, *learn* (1): *Bede* (1): 90.16 = 70.13.
geliefan [-e-, -y-], *believe* (1): *Bede* (1): 208.1 = 162.10.
gemetan, *meet, find* (2): *Bede* (1): 354.17 = 265.10. — *Wærf.* (1): 68.24 = 197 B[1].
gemunan, *remember* (3): *Bede* (3): 440.24, 25, 26 = 313.11, 12, 13.
geomrian, *lament* (1): *Bede* (1): 88.15 = 61.23.
geseon, *see* (16): *Bede* (9): 24.4 = 311.1.; 34.17 = 18.16; 80.33 = 57.23; 340.12 = 257.16; 386.9 = 282.11; 440.21 = 313.9; 444.2 = 314.17; 444.3 = 314.19; 444.8 = 314.24. — *Wærf.* (6): 171.22 = B. 198 B[2]; 204.24, 25 = 249.B[1, 2]; 272.15 = 332 C[1]; 319.17 = 385 A; 335.23 = 404 B[2]. — *Mart.* (1): 186.9.
hatan, *command* (2): *Bede* (1): 18.2 = 204.11. — *Wærf.* (1): 194.18 = 237 B[1].
lætan, *allow* (7): *Wærf.* (1): 294.6 = 356 A[2]. — *Ælf. L. S.* (2): 250.215; XXX. 443. — *Mk.* (1): 7.27[a]. — *Læce.* (1): 101.12. — *Gen.* (1): 2194. — *Gu.* (1): 1235.
ongietan, *understand* (3): *Bede* (2): 330.16 = 252.3; 340.15 = 257.19. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXIII B. 485.
secgan, *say, relate* (1): *Bede* (1): 398.15 = 289.7.
tweog(e)an [twyg(e)an], *doubt* (2): *Bede* (2): 190.22[a, b] = 153.5, 6.
twyg(e)an: see *tweog(e)an.*
willan, *wish, desire* (1): *Bede* (1): 322.21 = 246.10.

AS SUBJECT.

Given in full, both active and passive, in Chapter VIII, pp. 124–125.

IX. The Predicative Infinitive with Dative Subject.

See Chapter IX, pp. 127 ff.

X. The Final Infinitive.[1]

A. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

1. With Active Finite Verb.

The infinitive is found both uninflected and inflected.

abiddan, *request:* U. (1): — ondrincan, *drink* (1): — *Bede* (1): 392.32 = 286.13. — I. (0).
scan: see *iecan.*
steawan: see *æteowan.*
steowan [-ea-], *show, appear:* U. (0). — I. (4): *Bede* (1): 270.4 = 211.10. — *Bl. Hom.* (2): 235.4, 24. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 230[b].
stwindan, *escape, fly away:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 84[b 3].

[1] In this section, besides the finite verb (the initial word) I give the infinitive when uninflected, but not when inflected.

afaran, *travel, go:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Greg.* (1): 385.9 = 300.15.
agi(e)fan [-y-], *give:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Jud.* (1): 131.
agyfan: see *agi(e)fan.*
alædan, *lead away:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *De N. T.* 21.20.
alefan: see *aliefan.*
aliefan [-e-, -y-], *allow:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Wærf.* (1): 254.9 = 309 C[3] (or objective?).
aliesan [-e-, -y-], *release:* U. (1): — **gemunan**, *remember* (1): *L.* (1): 1.72[b]. — I. (1): *L.* (1): 1.72[a].
alyfan: see *aliefan.*
alysan: see *aliesan.*
arædan, *reach, hand:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 88[t 3].
aræran, *disseminate:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXXV. 111.
arisan, *arise:* U. (2): — **neosan** [-ie-], *visit* (1): *And.* (1): 830. — — **siðigean**, *go* (1): *And.* (1): 829. — I. (6): *Pr. Ps.* (1): 26.4 = 26.3. — *Wærf.* (3): 201.23 = 245 B[2]; 227.4 = 277 B; 240.3 = 293 A[1]. — *Bened.* (1): 40.11 = 74.19. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 456.233.
asendan, *send:* U. (1): — **drincan**, *drink* (1): *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Judges* 15.18. — I. (13): *Ælf. Hom.* (6): I. 388[m], 402[b]; II. 74[t 3], 74[b 3], 372[t 3], 452[t]. — *Ælf. Hept.* (2): *De N. T.* 19.36; — *Job* VII[c]. — *Ælf. L. S.* (4): 104.236; 400.266; XXXVI. 20, 35. — *Mk.* (1): 3.14.
astigan, *ascend:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 388[t]. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 284.13.
aweccan, *bring to life:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Greg.* (1): 443.10 = 370.14.
awendan, *translate:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 2[t].
beciepan [-y-], *sell:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Ex.* 21.7.
becuman, *come:* U. (2): — **fremman**, *perform* (1): *Ermahnung* (1): 53. — — **neos(i)an** [**nios(i)an**], *visit:* (1): *Beow.* (1): 2366. — I. (3): *Bede* (3): 22.26 = 296.3; 486.8[a, b] = 8.10[a, b].
becypan: see *beciepan.*
befæstan, *entrust, commit:* U. (0). — I. (9): *Chron.* (1): 80[m], 886 A. — *Wærf.* (3): 111.3[b], 4[a] = B. 140 C[4]; 254.1 = 309 C[3]. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 554[t 4]. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXXVI. 76. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (2): 10.453; 15.16 = 0. — Minor Prose (1): *Apol.* (1): 32.4 = 49[t].
belæfan, *leave:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 90[t 2].
beodan, *commit, entrust, offer:* U. (1): — **drincan**, *drink* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 254[m]. — I. (1): *Bede* (1): 114.19 = 92.22.
beran, *bear:* U. (2): — **drincan**, *drink* (2): *Bede* (1): 396.8 = 287.26. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 180[t]. — I. (8): *Bede* (1): 440.2[b] = 312.16[a]. — *Wærf.* (2): 128.11 = B. 158 C; 186.24 = 228 A. — *Bl. Hom.* (1): 189.8. — *Ælf. Hom.* (4): I. 60[t], 66[m], 512[b]; II. 60[b].
betæcan, *entrust, commit:* U. (0). — I. (16): *Oros.* (2): 292.28[a] = 293.28; 296.2 = 297.4. — *Chron.* (4): 127[t], 992 E; 157[b], 1023 C[a]; 253[t], 1123 E[d, e]. — *Bened.* (1): 90.2 = 158.2. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 380[b]. — *Ælf. L. S.* (5): 118.33; 152.67; 484.222; XXXVI. 50, 105. — *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Gen.* 39.4. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. I* (2): 8.294; 9.383.
beðurfan, *need:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Boeth.* (1): 97.1 = 83.30.
biddan, *request:* U. (2): — **drincan**, *drink* (2): *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Judges* 4.19. — *J.* (1): 4.9. — I. (0).
bi(e)gan, *bend, turn:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Wærf.* (2): 218.4[a, b] = 265 B.
bindan, *bind:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Mat.* (1): 13.30[b].
brecan hine, *retch:* U. (0). — I. (4): *Chron.* (1): 135[m], 1003 E. — *Lacc.* (3): 51.22; 53.2; 81.8.
bringan, *bring:* U. (0). — I. (6): *Bede* (3): 108.16 = 0; 294.21 = 226.4; 366.24 = 0. — *Wærf.* (1): 11.16 = 153 C[3]. — *Ælf. Hept.* (2): *Gen.* 43.21; — *Lev.* 1.3.
cuman, *come:* U. (35): — **acsian**, *ask* (1): *Gen.* (1): 2453. — — **asyndrian**, *separate* (1): *Mat.* (1): 10.35. — — **biddan**, *ask, request* (1): *Wærf.* (1): 251.9 = 308 A[2]. — — **clypian**, *call* (1): *L.* (1): 5.32. — — **don**, *make* (1): *L.* (1): 19.10[b]. — — **geci(e)gan**, *call* (1): Minor Prose (1): *Chad* (1): 148. — — **gefon**, *seize* (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXX. 49[b]. — — **gefyllan**, *fulfill* (1): *Mat.* (1): 5.17[c]. — — **gehuntian**, *hunt* (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXX. 49[a]. — — **gretan**, *greet* (3): *Beow.* (2): 1646; 2010. — *Gen.* (1): 2104. — — **lædan**, *lead, bring* (2): *Beow.* (1): 239 (or predicative?). — *Gen.* (1): 1774 (or predicative?). — — **metan**, *measure, lay out* (1): *Ex.* (1): 92. — — **neosan** [**neos(i)an, niosian**], *visit* (7): *Bede* (1): 296.10 = 226.24. — *Beow.* (2): 2074; 2671. — *Ex.* (1): 474. — *Gu.* (1): 321. — *El.* (1): 152. — *And.* (1): 1389. — — **ræran**, *raise* (1): *Gu.* (1): 157. — — **sceawian**, *see, examine* (1): *Gen.* (1): 1679. — — **scyððan** [**sceððan**], *injure* (1): *And.* (1): 1047. — — **sec(e)an**, *seek* (3): *L.* (1): 19.10[a]. — *Beow.* (2): 268; 1597. — — **secgan**, *say* (1): *Gen.* (1): 438[b]. — — **sendan**, *send* (1): *L.* (1): 12.51. — — **stenan** [**stænan**], *adorn* (1): *El.* (1): 151. — — **styran** [-ie-],

restrain (1): *Ex.* (1): 416 (or predicative?). — — **towurpan [-weorpan]**, *destroy* (2): *Mat.* (2): 5.17$^{a, b}$. — — **ymsniðan**, *circumcise* (1): *L.* (1): 1.59. — I. (80): *Bede* (8): 22.18 = 292.9; 96.8 = 79.30; 158.28 = 132.19; 158.31 = 132.25; 208.21 = 163.4; 220.13 = 169.15; 388.10 = 283.15; 422.14 = 303.17. — *Greg.* (4): 185.17 = 138.19; 187.7 = 140.1; 307.17$^{a, b}$ = 236.6, 7. — *Pr. Ps.* (1): 41.9^{b}. — *Chron.* (4): 12^{b}, 448 F$^{a, b}$; 18^{t}, 565 A; 238^{m}, 1103 E. — *Laws* (3): 42, Ælfred, Intr., c. 49$^{b, c, d}$. — *Wærf.* (5): 46.2 = 180 B^{2}; 113.16 = B. 144 B; 235.2 = 285 C^{2}; 236.24 = 288 C; 343.30 = 418 C^{1}. — *Bl. Hom.*, (3): 11.3; 71.26; 113.19. — *Mart.* (1): 72.19. — *Ælf. Hom.* (15): I. 142^{b} ^{2}, 320^{t} $^{1, 2}$, 548^{b}, 582^{t} $^{1, 2}$; II. 12^{m}, 236^{b}, 388^{m}, 454^{m}, 470^{b} ^{2}, 578^{t}, 586^{t}, 596^{b}, 598^{t}. — *Ælf. L. S.* (3): XXIII B. 625; XXIV. 182; XXIX. 44. — *Ælf. Hept.* (5): *De N. T.* 13.43; — *Gen.* 42.12; — *Ex.* 2.16; — *Num.* 22.6; — *Job* XI. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): *Napier's Ad. to Th.* (1): 102.45. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. I* (4): 1.78; 4.11, 92, 156. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (1): 18.222. — *Gosp.* (16): *Mat.* (9): 2.2; 8.29; 9.13; 10.34$^{1, 2}$; 12.42; 18.11; 20.13; 26.55; — *Mk.* (3): 1.24; 14.8; 15.36^{b}; — *L.* (2): 4.34; 11.31; — *J.* (2): 9.39; 12.47. — *Wulf.* (4): 201.26; 219.26; 222.22; 294.11. — Minor Prose (1): *Apol.* (1): 30.34 = 47^{b}. — *Ps.* (1): 97.8^{b}.

cyðan, *make known* (1): U. (0). — I. (1): *Bl. Hom.* (1): 205.32.

don, *do, make, put:* U. (0). — I. (6): *Bede* (1): 330.30 = 252.19. — *Chron.* (2): 256^{b}, 1127 E$^{c, d}$. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 450^{b} ^{1}. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXVI. 202. — *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Job* VII^{a}.

efstan, *hasten:* U. (2): — **sec(e)an**, *seek* (1): *Beow.* (1): 3103^{b}. — — **seon**, *see* (1): *Beow.* (1): 3103^{a}. — I. (6): *Bede* (2): 376.6$^{a, b}$ = 276.25. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 130^{m} ^{2}. — *Ælf. L. S.* (3): 312.91 = 312.90; XXIII. B. 784; XXXV. 221.

eowian, *show, expose:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Greg.* (1): 277.17 = 210.2. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 522.568.

faran, *go:* U. (5): — **cunnian**, *try, test* (1): Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): *Napier's Ad. to Th.* (1): 102.35^{b} ^{s}. — — **fandian**, *try* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 372^{b} ^{2}. — — **huntian**, *hunt* (1): Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): *Ælf. Gr.* (1): 134.12^{b}. — — **lufian**, *love* (1): Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): *Ælf. Gr.* (1): 134.12^{a} (or futurity?). — — **sec(e)an**, *seek* (1): *Met.* (1): 26.14. — I. (15): *Greg.* (1): 89.21 = 60.13. — *Oros.* (1): 46.17^{c} = 47.16. — *Wærf.* (1): 237.11 = 289 B. — *Bl. Hom.* (2): 229.4; 233.17. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 372^{b}. — *Ælf. L. S.* (3): 330.138; 398.237; XXV. 402. — *Ælf. Hept.* (4): *Gen.* 38.13; — *Deut.* 11.29; 28.63; 32.47. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (1): 15.91. — Minor Prose (1): *Apol.* (1): 31.37.

feran, *go, depart:* U. (7): — **gebiddan**, *pray* (1): *L.* (1): 6.12. — — **gefon**, *seize, take* (1): *Mk.* (1): 14.48. — — **geseon**, *see* (2): *L.* (2): 7.24, 26. — — **sceawi(g)an**, *see* (2): *Beow.* (2): 840; 1391. — — **streonan**, *beget* (1): *And.* (1): 331. — I. (19): *Bede* (4): 372.11$^{a, b}$ = 274.30; 410.19 = 297.14; 410.29 = 297.24. — *Wærf.* (2): 28.18 = 168 A; 63.29 = 193 B^{s}. — *Mart.* (1): 216.17. — *Ælf. Hom.* (2): II. 88^{m}, 90^{t} ^{2}. — *Ælf. L. S.* (5): 404.327; XXVIII. 58; XXXI. 645, 965; XXXV. 329. — *Ælf. Hept.* (2): *Ex.* 3.4; *Jos.* 7.4. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (2): *Ælf. Int.* (2): 155$^{a, b}$. — *L.* (1): 7.25.

findan, *find:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXXV. 52.

flegan: see *fleogan*.

fleogan [flegan], *fly:* U. (0). — I. (3): *Bede* (3): 116.32$^{a, b, c}$ = 94.10, 11$^{a, b}$.

forestihtian, *predestinate:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Pr. Gu.* (1): III. 67.

forgi(e)fan [-y-], *give:* U. (0). — I. (6): *Ælf. Hom.* (2): II. 190^{t}, 364^{t} ^{2}. — *Ælf. Hept.* (3): *Gen.* 15.7; 23.6; — *Deut.* 32.49. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): *Napier's Ad. to Th.* (1): 102.35^{m}.

forgyfan: see *forgi(e)fan*.

forlætan, *leave:* U. (2): — **neosan**, *visit* (1): *Ju.* (1): 554. — — **weardian**, *guard, protect* (1): *Beow.* (1): 971. — I. (1): *Bede* (1): 138.28 = 114.16.

forsendan, *send:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Chron.* (1): 188^{m}, 1057 D.

fundian, *set out:* U. (4): — **dreogan**, *perform* (1): *Gen.* (1): 2270. — — **secan**, *seek* (2): *Beow.* (1): 1820. — *D. R.* (1): 104. — — **witan**, *know* (1): *Spirit of Men* (1): 16. — I. (9): *Boeth.* (1): 98.4 = 83.49. — *Greg.* (2): 93.24 = 64.10; 127.21 = 90.8. — *Solil.* (1): 63.20. — *Bl. Hom.* (2): 93.4$^{a, b}$. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. I* (1): 6.10. — *Læce.* (2): 6.15; 46.17.

gadrian, *gather:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 474^{b} ^{2}.

gan [gangan, gongan], *go:* U. (40): — **ahyrian**, *hire* (1): *Mat.* (1): 20.1. — — **cyðan**, *make known* (2): *Jud.* (2): 56; 243. — — **don**, *do* (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXXI. 917^{b}. — — **drincan**, *drink* (1): Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): *Ælf. Gr.* (1): 134.14. — — **feccan**, *fetch* (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXX. 176. — — **gearwian**, *prepare* (1): *L.* (1): 1.76. — — **gegearwian**, *prepare* (1): *L.* (1): 1.17. — — **geseon**, *see* (4): *Mat.* (3): 11.7^{b}, 8, 9. — *Beow.* (1):

396. — — **gesittan,** *sit* (1): *Bede* (1): 186.30 = 151.8. — — **gretan,** *greet* (2): *Gen.* (1): 2430. — *Rid.* (1): 5.6. — — **hladan,** *load* (1): *Wærf.* (1): 115.7 = B. 146 A^3. — — **leornian,** *learn* (1): Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): *Ælf. Gr.* (1): 134.13^a. — — **neosan,** *visit* (2): *Beow.* (1): 1786. — *Jud.* (1): 63. — — **onlihtan,** *illumine* (1): *L.* (1): 1.79^a. — — **plegean,** *play* (1): *Greg.* (1): 309.14 = 238.10. — — **rædan,** *read* (1): Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): *Ælf. Gr.* (1): 134.13^b. — — **reccan,** *narrate* (1): *Dan.* (1): 159. — — **sceawian,** *see, examine* (4): *Greg.* (2): 415.14 = 336.13; 415.19 = 336.18. — *Beow.* (2): 2744; 3032. — — **secan,** *seek* (1): Minor Prose (1): *Apol.* (1): 28.18 = 45^b. — — **seon,** *see* (2): *Beow.* (2): 387; 920. — — **sittan,** *sit* (6): *Bede* (1): 198.2 = 157.3. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 242^b ^{3}. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 404.348. — *Beow.* (2): 493; 641. — *Jud.* (1): 15. — — **slapan,** *sleep* (2): *Læce.* (2): 58.5; 68.29. — — **tæcan,** *teach* (2): Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): *Ælf. Gr.* (2): 150.18 (?); 151.14 (?). — I. (20): *Bede* (3): 76 12 = 54.24; 162.7 = 136.17; 362.18 = 269.22. — *Greg.* (1): 165.25 = 122.1. — *Bl. Hom.* (2): 165.3, 15. — *Ælf. Hom.* (4): II. 428^t, 428^m, 444^t $^{1, 3}$. — *Ælf. L. S.* (2): XXXI. 917^a; XXXVI. 327. — *Ælf. Hept.* (2): *Gen.* 2.10; 22.5. — *Gosp.* (4): *Mat.* (1): 13.3; — *Mk.* (1): 4.3; — *L.* (2): 1.77, 79^b. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. I* (1): 9.276. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (1): 15.50 = 209.40.

gangan [-o-]: see *gan.*

gearcian, *prepare:* U. (0). — I. (3): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 570^t. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 126.151. — *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Jos.* 1.11^b.

gearwian, *make ready, prepare:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Bede* (1): 296.17 = 226.32.

gebindan, *bind:* U. (0). — I. (3): *Wærf.* (3): 316.2, 4, 11 = 381 $A^{1, 2, 3}$.

gebredan, *draw,* hence, *to feign* (reflexive): U. (0). — I. (1): *Chron.* (1): 134^m, 1003 F.

gebugan, *turn, go:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Oros.* (1): 54.1 = 53.34.

gebycgan, *buy:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Bede* (1): 274.9 = 213.25. — *Mat.* (1): 27.7.

geceosan, *choose:* U. (0). — I. (3): *Bl. Hom.* (1): 157.1. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXIV. 127. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. I* (1): 2.87.

gecierran [-y-], *turn, go:* U. (2): — **benemnan,** *declare, certify* (1): *H. L.* (1): 49. — — **beran,** *bear, carry* (1): *And.* (1): 1079 (or predicative?). — I. (1): *Bede* (1): 12.8 = 92.12.

gecuman, *come:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXIV. 179.

gedon, *commit* (?): U. (0). — I. (1): Minor Prose (1): *Cato* (1): 10 (?).

geemtigian [-æmtigian], *keep oneself free:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Wærf.* (1): 52.9 = 185 B^1.

gefreogan [-freon], *free:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Bede* (1): 236.25 = 178.26.

gefultumian, *help:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Bede* (2): 124.30, 31 = 107.3$^{a, b}$.

gegripan, *seize:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Bl. Hom.* (1): 167.1.

gehwi(e)rfan, *turn:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Greg.* (2): 373.8, 9 = 290.2.

gelæcan, *seize:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 4.39.

gelædan, *lead:* U. (0). — I. (3): *Wærf.* (1): 301.27 = 364 C^3. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 46^b ^{3}. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXIII B. 80.

gelefan: see *geliefan.*

geliefan [-e-, -y-], *believe:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 64^b (or objective?).

gelogian, *arrange:* U. (0). — I. (1): Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): *Ælf. Int.* (1): 286.

gemearcian, *mark, plan:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Gen.* (1): 364.

genægan, *approach:* U. (1): — **betan,** *improve, revive:* (1): *Ex.* (1): 131. — I. (0).

genealæcan, *approach:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Pr. Ps.* (1): 26.3 = 26.2. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 82^b.

gengan, *go:* U. (1): — **sceawian,** *see, examine* (1): *Beow.* (1): 1413. — I. (0).

geniman, *take, accept:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Wærf.* (1): 98.29 = B. 130 A. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 420^t.

gesamnian [-o-], *assemble:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Bede* (2): 132.6 = 110.14; 362.25 = 269.29.

gescieppan, *create, make:* U. (0). — I. (3): *Greg.* (1): 319.1 = 246.1. — *Pr. Ps.* (1): 18. Intr. — *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Gen.* 2.3.

gesecan, *seek:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 110^m.

gesellan [-ie-, -y-], *give, offer:* U. (1): — **drincan,** *drink* (1): *Oros.* (1): 136.16 = 137.10. — I. (5): *Bede* (2): 124.3 = 99.30; 306.26 = 237.9. — *Oros.* (2): 54.11 = 55.3; 108.28 = 0. — *Laws* (1): 10, Hlothære and Eadric, c. 6.

gesettan, *set, establish:* U. (0). — I. (6): *Bede* (2): 66.23 = 49.28; 114.15 = 92.18. — *Greg.* (1): 131.15 = 92.22^a. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXV. 403. — *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Gen.* 3.24. — *Chr.* (1): 1390.

gesiellan: see *gesellan.*

gesittan, *sit:* U. (1): — **eahti(g)an,** *consider* (1): (or predicative?): *And.* (1): 1162. — I. (0).

gesomnian: see *gesamnian.*

gestandan, *stand, stand up:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Wærf.* (1): 109.12 = B. 138 C^{2}.
gesyllan: see *gesellan.*
geteon [-tion], *draw, attract:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Boeth.* (1): 28.28 = 36.21.
getion: see *geteon.*
geðafian, *grant, give:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Pr. Ps.* (1): 43.13 = 43.12.
geunnan, *grant, give:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Oros.* (1): 64.26 = 0.
gewendan, *wend, go:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 424^{b}.
gewitan, *depart, go:* U. (54): — **beran**, *bear, carry* (1): *Beow.* (1): 291 (or predicative?). — — **feran**, *go, journey* (1): *Gen.* (1): 1746^{a} (or predicative?). — — **fleon**, *flee* (2): *Beow.* (1): 1264. — *Gen.* (1): 2262. — — **geseon**, *see* (2): *Beow.* (2): 1126; 1275. — — **geðafian**, *endure* (1): *Dan.* (1): 633. — — **lædan**, *lead, carry* (7): *Gen.* (6): 1357; 1649; 1746^{b}; 1767; 2621; 2870 (or all predicative?). — *And.* (1): 1044. — — **neos(i)an** [**niosian**], *visit* (6): *Beow.* (6): 115; 125; 1125; 1339; 2388; 3045. — — **nerg(e)an**, *save, rescue* (2): *Gen.* (2): 2000; 2509. — — **niosian**: see *neos(i)an.* — — **sceawian**, *see, examine* (4): *Beow.* (1): 2402. — *Gen.* (3): 1780; 1920; 2593. — — **seccan**: see *secean.* — — **sec(e)an**, *seek* (22): *Beow.* (2): 2820; 2950. — *Gen.* (8): 1461; 1818; 1966; 2006; 2020; 2099; 2266; 2293. — *Dan.* (1): 441. — *And.* (4): 226; 698; 977; 1677. — *Ph.* (1): 320. — *Rid.* (3): 3.2; 17.2; 93.9. — *Brun.* (1): 55. — *S. & S.* (1): 204. — *Wife's Compl.* (1): 9^{b}. — — **seon**, *see* (2): *Gen.* (2): 1743; 2084. — — **sigan**, *descend* (1): *Gen.* (1): 1461^{b} (or predicative?). — — **tredan**, *traverse* (2): *Beow.* (1): 1964 (or predicative?). — *Rid.* (1): 14.11^{b}. — — **wlitan**, *look* (1): *Gen.* (1): 1794. — I. (0).
gewyrcan, *make:* U. (1): — **gefegan**, *join* (1): *Gifts of Men* (1): 66 (?). — I. (0).
gi(e)fan, *give:* U. (1): — **drincan**, *drink* (1): *Ps.* (1): 79.5. — I. (4): *Bede* (3): 236.1 = 177.30; 242.7 = 192.17 (or with noun?); 262.8 = 207.4. — *Chron.* (1): 117^{m}, 963 E^{c}.
habban [**nabban**], *have* [*not*]: U. (0). — I. (19): *Bede* (1): 420.2 = 301.28. — *Greg.* (2): 121.18 = 84.24; 127.19 = 90.6. — *Laws* (5): 38, Ælfred, Intr., c. 36$^{a.\ b}$ (or with noun?); 116, Inc, c. 60; 366, II Cnut, c. 79$^{a.\ b}$. — *Bened.* (1): 88.12 = 156.14. — *Ælf. Hom.* (2): II. 430^{b}, 534^{m}. — *Ælf. L. S.* (2): XXIII B. 354; XXXI. 655 (or both with noun?). — *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Gen.* 1.30. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): *Ælf. Gr.* (1): 215.14 (or with noun?) — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. I* (1): 3.520. — *L.* (1): 14.28. — Minor Prose (2): *Apol.* (2): 24.21, 24 = 42$^{b\ 1.\ 2}$.
healdan, *hold, keep:* U. (0). — I. (2): *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (1): 10.56. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 60.163.
hladan, *load:* U. (2): — **drincan**, *drink* (2): *Greg.* (1): 469.7 = 0. — *Wærf.* (1): 220.22 = 269 A^{2}. — I. (0).
iecan [**æcan**], *increase:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Ps.* (2): 50.90, 91 (Cot.).
iernan, *run:* U. (0). — I. (1): Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): *Ælf. Int.* (1): 217.
ingan [**-gangan, -gongan**], *go in:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Bede* (2): 438.14, 15 = 311.25, 26.
ingangan, **ingongan**: see *ingan.*
lædan, *lead:* U. (0). — I. (4): *Bede* (1): 356.31 = 266.27. — *Mart.* (1): 64.24^{b}. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 418.85. — *Mat.* (1): 27.31.
læfan, *leave, entrust:* U. (0). — I. (3): *Ælf. Hom.* (2): II. 90^{t}, 450$^{b\ 2}$. — *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Job* VII^{b}.
lænan, *lend:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 358.328. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): *Ælf. Gr.* (1): 135.8.
lætan, *leave:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Boeth.* (1): 24.11 = 33.46. — *Oros.* (1): 46.22 = 47.20.
lecgean, *lay:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Greg.* (1): 143.14 = 102.21.
libban, *live:* U. (0). — I. (3): *Bede* (3): 66.5$^{a.\ b}$ = 49.10$^{a.\ b}$; 408.17 = 296.9.
licgan, *lie, recline:* U. (1): — **ætlutian**, *hide from* (1): *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Judges* 4.18^{b} (or predicative?). — I. (0).
li(e)htan, *light:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Chron.* (1): 266^{m}, 1140 E^{a}.
logian, *arrange, frame:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 454^{b}. — *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Job* XII (= 6.26).
lufian, *love:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 340^{m}.
nabban: see *habban.*
niman, *take:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Greg.* (1): 381.24 = 296.25.
niðerastigan, *descend:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Greg.* (1): 105.11 = 72.16.
ondfon, *receive:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Bede* (1): 98.18 = 81.17.
onfindan(?), *receive:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Bede* (1): 16.9 = 0.

onfon, *receive, undertake:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Wærf.* (1): 265.11 = 324 A.
onginnan, *begin:* U. (0). — I. (1): *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (1): 10.448.
onlænan, *lend, grant:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Boeth.* (2): 19.22, 23 = 0.
onsendan, *send:* U. (1): — **ondrincan**, *drink* (1): *Bede* (1): 398.1 = 288.20. — I. (2): *Bede* (1): 150.8 = 126.4. — *Dan.* (1): 76.
ontynan, *open:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Greg.* (1): 349.19 = 270.11.
ræcan, *reach, seize:* U. (0). — I. (3): *Chr.* (3): 1621[a, b]. 1622.
reccan, *care:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *De V. T.* 6.27.
sceawian, *grant:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Chron.* (1): 176[t], 1048 E[d].
scieppan, *create, make:* U. (1): — **healdan**, *hold, preserve* (1): *Gnomic Sayings* (1): 129. — I. (0).
scyndan, *hasten:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Bede* (1): 62.14[e] = 47.23[a].
secan, *seek:* U. (0). — I. (5): *Bede* (2): 50.11[a, b] = 30.17[a, b]. — *Bl. Hom.* (1): 73.15[a]. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 368.78. — *Mat.* (1): 2.13.

sellan [-ie-, -y-], *give:* U. (257): — **cyssan**, *kiss* (1): *Laws* (1): 387, Ordal, c. 4, § 1. — — **drincan**, *drink:* (203): *Bede* (5): 30.7 = 13.4; 156.7 = 129.18; 178.8 = 145.20; 192.14 = 153.32; 204.33 = 161.8. — *Greg.* (2): 329.3[b] = 254.4; 459.18[a] = 392.16. — *Oros.* (1): 136.1 = 135.35. — *Wærf.* (1): 161.5 = B. 188 A[1]. — *Bl. Hom.* (2): 229.9, 14. — *Mart.* (2): 44.8; 94.20. — *Ælf. Hom.* (3): I. 574[t 2], 582[b]; II. 108[m]. — *Ælf. L. S.* (2): 312.70, 77. — *Ælf. Hept.* (2): *Gen.* 21.19; — *Ex.* 2.19. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): *Ælf. Gr.* (1): 111.6. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (2): 16.55, 224[b]. — *Gosp.* (7): *Mat.* (4): 25.35[b], 42[b]; 27.34, 48; — *Mk.* (1): 15.36[a]; — *J.* (2): 4.7, 10. — *Wulf.* (1): 288.32. — *Læce.* (170): 8.21; 9.6; 18.24, 26, 29, 30, 31; 19.15, 17, 18, 32, 33, 36; 20.1, 4, 15, 26, 33, 34; 21.10; 24.21; 28.5, 7, 10, 13, 18, 23, 25, 27; 30.20, 23, 26; 31.24; 33.17, 39; 34.3, 5, 8, 15, 16; 35.27; 37.23, 29, 31, 33, 37, 39; 38.22, 29; 41.1[b]; 42.28; 56.9, 10, 33, 36, 37, 41; 57.4, 7, 11, 22, 39; 61.8, 20[b]; 62.24; 64.13, 19, 25, 28, 30, 33, 38; 65.1, 4, 6; 66.3; 68.40; 69.3, 10, 16, 22, 24; 70.30; 71.19, 25, 27, 31, 36, 40; 72.1, 14, 22, 32; 75.6, 7, 9[a, b], 22, 36; 76.5; 77.15; 80.2, 17, 30, 31; 81.33; 82.19; 83.10, 18, 20, 21; 86.22; 87.2, 7; 96.14; 97.27, 31; 98.2[a], 5, 10, 38; 99.10, 23[b], 26; 100.9, 19, 35, 36; 101.6; 102.10, 29, 34[b]; 103.1; 104.11, 31; 108.23; 109.3, 11; 123.17; 125.25; 127.37; 128.13; 129.14, 22[b], 27[b]; 130.6, 25[b], 32; 131.7, 9; 135.14, 18; 136.3, 16, 19; 140.33; 141.10; 142.16, 26; 143.12, 23; 144.14; 146.5, 8, 18; 151.17, 33; 152.3, 20, 22. — *Rid.* (2): 13.5; 72.7. — — **etan**, *eat* (40): *Greg.* (2): 329.3[a] = 254.3; 459.18[b] = 392.16. — *Mart.* (1): 82.6[b]. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (1): 16.224[a]. — *Gosp.* (9): *Mat.* (3): 14.16[b]; 25.35[a], 42[a]; — *Mk.* (3): 5.43[a]; 6.37[a, c]; — *L.* (2): 8.55[b]; 9.13; — *J.* (1): 6.31. — *Læce.* (27): 21.39; 28.6; 39.26; 54.27; 79.37; 80.22; 95.38; 96.16, 20, 30; 97.29; 98.2[b]; 99.5; 100.28[a]; 101.4[a]; 103.7; 109.9; 128.28, 31; 130.25[a], 27; 131.3, 15; 141.12; 143.26; 145.18; 149.30. — — **gewundigean**, *wound* (1): *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Jos.* 11.6. — — **supan**, *sup, drink: Læce.* (8): 37.19; 81.11; 82.26; 100.28[b]; 101.4[b]; 103.3; 143.15, 27, — — **ðicgan**, *take (food, medicine), drink, eat* (4): *Læce.* (4): 55.34; 69.21[a, b]; 150.6. — I. (76): *Bede* (15): 16.14 = 0; 76.30[b] = 55.10; 76.34 = 55.13; 104.29 = 85.29; 158.29 = 132.21; 232.25 = 176.18; 272.9 = 212.21; 396.4 = 287.21; 438.24 = 312.5; 454.9[a, b] = 324.9; 456.19 = 325.15; 464.5 = 329.23; 480.29, 30 = 357.11. — *Greg.* (1): 369.14 = 286.17. — *Oros.* (1): 42.29 = 43.29. — *Pr. Ps.* (1): 38.10 = 38.9. — *Chron.* (2): 34[t], 669 A; 72[b], 874 A. — *Laws* (3): 14, Wihtræd, c. 22, 23; 48, Ælfred, c. 1, § 2[b]. — *Wærf.* (6): 201.1 = 245 A[2]; 206.5[b] = 252 A[2]; 253.13 = 309 B[1]; 253.14 = 309 B[2]; 253.28 = 309 C[1]; 336.3 = 404 C[2]. — *Mart.* (1): 54.22. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 244[t 2]. — *Ælf. L. S.* (2): 330.149; XXVI. 264. — *Ælf. Hept.* (6): *Gen.* 28.20[a, b] (or with noun?); — *Ex.* 6.8; 16.15; *Num.* 11.4 (or with noun?); *Deut.* 1.27. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): *Napier's Ad. to Th.* (1): 102.42[t]. — *Gosp.* (5): *Mat.* (1): 27.26[b]; — *L.* (1): 20.20; — *J.* (3): 6.52[b]; 17.4; 19.16. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (2): 10.547; 18.238. — *Læce.* (25): 8.24; 8.27; 9.2; 17.11; 54.36[a]; 56.39; 57.14; 65.8; 65.26, 29; 66.11; 69.13; 71.13, 30; 72.12; 75.1, 35; 79.15; 80.25; 85.7, 21; 86.20, 26; 87.8, 10. — Minor Prose (1): *Chad* (1): 235. — *Beow.* (1): 1731 (or with noun?). — *Ps.* (1): 54.6. — *Wids.* (1): 134 (or with noun?).

sendan, *send:* U. (8): — **bodian**, *preach* (4): *Bede* (2): 54.31 = 42.22; 226.11 = 172.26. — *L.* (2): 4.18[a], 19. — — **gecegan** [-ie-], *call* (1): *Bede* (1): 250.21 = 199.26. — — **gehælan**, *heal* (2): *L.* (2): 4.18[b]; 9.2[b]. — — **gretan**, *greet* (1): *Bede* (1): 2.1 = 5 (heading). — I. (47): *Bede* (13): 2.3[a, b], 4[a, b] = 5.3[a, b], 4[a, b]; 10.2 = 42.10; 10.14 = 63.1; 104.14 = 85.6; 142.23 = 116.28; 172.17[a, b] = 142.19, 20; 244.30 = 194.20; 250.20 = 199.25; 468.30 = 333.12. — *Greg.* (3): 49.3 = 26.9; 49.17 = 26.22; 405.34 = 326.4. — *Oros.* (4): 96.12 = 0; 138.8 = 139.5; 188.10, 11 = 189.7. — *Chron.* (5): 20[b], 604 A; 32[b], 656 E[c]; 222[b], 1086 E[2]; 227[m], 1092 E[a, b]. — *Laws* (1): 42, Ælfred, Intr., c. 49, § 1[b]. — *Ælf. Hom.* (8): I. 206[b], 372[b], 380[t], 520[t], 578[t]; II. 74[b 1], 202[b], 372[t 1]. — *Ælf. L. S.* (3): 436.76; XXV. 470; XXIX. 163. — *Ælf. Hept.* (2): *Gen.*

46.5; *Num.* 13.17. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (3): *Ælf. Int.* (2): 377, 473; — *Napier's Ad. to Th.* (1): 101.319[m]. — *Gosp.* (3): *L.* (1): 9.2[a]; — *J.* (2): 1.33[a]; 4.38. — *Wulf.* (2): 295.32[a, b].

settan, *set, place:* U. (0). — I. (3): *Chron.* (1): 115[b], 963 E[b]. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 404[t]. — *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Ex.* 16.33[c].
siellan: see *sellan.*
sittan, *sit:* U. (1): — **bidan**, *await* (1): *Gen.* (1): 842 (or predicative?). — I. (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 542[m].
siðian, *travel, go:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 222.39.
sniðan, *cut open:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Greg.* (1): 367.15 = 284.22.
standan [-o-], U. (1): — **healdan**, *hold, keep* (1): *Gen.* (1): 526. — I. (3): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 48[m 2]. — *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Deut.* 27.13. — *Mk.* (1): 11.25.
stician, *stick:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Greg.* (1): 171.7 = 126.3.
stondan: see *standan.*
syllan: see *sellan.*
teon, *make, create:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ps.* (1): 143.1.
tocuman, *come, come to:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Bl. Hom.* (1): 59.11.
[**todælan**, *distribute:* U. (2): *Oros.* (2): 46.15, 16[b] = 47.16. But the infinitives more probably are absolute: see Chapter XII, p. 169. — I. (0).]
tofaran, *separate, disperse:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Laws* (1): 42, Ælfred, Intr., c. 49, § 1[a].
toferan, *separate, disperse:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Wulf.* (1): 21.6.
tosendan, *send:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 232[t].
ðrowian, *suffer, endure:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Ælf. L. S.* (2): XXIII B. 418, 419.
ðurfan, *need:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Solil.* (1): 45.5.
utgan [-gangan, -o-], *go out:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Wærf.* (1): 114.27 = B. 146 A[1].
utgangan [-o-]: see *utgan.*
wegan, *carry, manifest:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Gen.* (1): 2349.
wendan, *wend, go:* U. (1): — **secan**, *seek* (1): *S. & S.* (1): 20. — I. (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXVII. 13.
weorpan, *throw, cast:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Wærf.* (1): 194.20 = 237 B[1].
wil(l)nian, *desire, wish:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Boeth.* (1): 40.25 = 43.3 (or with noun?).
winnan, *struggle, strive:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Greg.* (1): 77.21 = 50.22. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXVI. 23.
wunian, *dwell, remain:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Bede* (1): 388.8 = 283.14.
wyrcan, *make, do:* U. (0). — I. (5): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 4[t]. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXXV. 351. — *Wulf.* (1): 306.29. — *Læce.* (2): 8.25 (?); 56.35.

2. With Passive Verbs.

The infinitive is found both uninflected and inflected.

aliefan [-e-, -y-], *allow:* U. (0). — I. (3): *Gosp.* (3): *Mat.* (1): 12.4; — *Mk.* (1): 2.26. — *L.* (1): 6.4.
asendan, *send:* U. (2): — **sprecan**, *speak* (1) and **bodian**, *preach* (1): *L.* (2): 1.19[a, b]. — I. (6): *Chron.* (1): 11[b], 430 E. — *Ælf. Hom.* (3): I. 194[b 1]; II. 488[b s. c], — *Ælf. L. S.* (2): XXIV. 170[a], XXXII. 146.
befæstan, *entrust:* U. (0). — I. (3): *Wærf.* (1): 275.26 = 336 B. — *Mart.* (1): 114.15. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 554[t c].
beran, *bear, give birth:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 162.256. — *Wulf.* (1): 293.23.
betæcan, *commit, entrust:* U. (0). — I. (3): *Chron.* (1): 223[m], 1087 E[b]. — *Bened.* (2): 56.4 = 104.19; 84.21 = 152.24.
bringan, *bring:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Wærf.* (1): 183.26 = 224 B[1].
ceosan, *choose:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXXII. 223. — *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *De V. T.* 7.7.
forgiefan, *give:* U. (0). — I. (4): *Ælf. L. S.* (4): 16.100, 107, 108; 218.138.
(ge)beodan, *offer:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Greg.* (1): 43.23 = 22.21.
(ge)bringan, *bring:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Wærf.* (1): 104.34 = B. 136 A[4].
(ge)gadrian, *gather together:* U. (0). — I. (3): *Greg.* (1): 347.6 = 268.7. — *Oros.* (2): 284.1[a, b] = 285.3.
(ge) gearwian, *prepare:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Wærf.* (1): 11.12 = 153 C.
(ge)halsian [-gi-, -healsian], *request:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Laws* (1): 409, Judicium Dei IV, c. 2[a].

(ge)healdan, *keep, preserve:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 58.124.
(ge)lædan, *lead:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Wærf.* (1): 301.25 = 364 C[3]. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 254[b].
(ge)laðian, *invite:* U. (0). — I. (2): *Bede* (2): 394.19 = 287.6; 396.14 = 288.2.
(ge)rædan, *advise:* U. (0). — I. (1): Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): *Ælf. Gr.* (1): 182.4 (?).
(ge)samnian [-o-], *assemble:* U. (0). — I. (1); *Wærf.* (1): 315.6 = 380 C.
(ge)sellan, *give:* U. (0). — I. (6): *Wærf.* (2): 324.24 = 392 A[6]; 325.1 = 392 A[6]. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 534[m]. — *Mat.* (3): 20.19[a, b, c].
(ge)settan, *set, place, appoint:* U. (1): — **bodian**, *preach* (1): *Bl. Hom.* (1): 157.35. — I. (7): *Bede* (1): 396.28[a] = 288.16[a]. — *Greg.* (2): 321.7 = 248.1; 321.11 = 248.5. — *Ælf. Hom.* (3): I. 178[m], 540[t]; II. 198[t]. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXIII B. 100.
(ge)smyrian, *anoint:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Mat.* (1): 26.12.
(ge)somnian: see *gesamnian.*
(ge)tacnian, *signify, mean:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Wærf.* (1): 196.15 = 240 B.
(ge)wealdan, *govern, instruct:* U. (1): — **asettan**, *arrange* (1): *Gifts of Men* (1): 47. — I. (0).
(ge)wyrcan, *make, build:* U. (0). — I. (3): *Bede* (2): 354.19[a, b] = 265.13[a, b]. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): *Napier's Ad. to Th.* (1): 101.314[m].
gierwan, *prepare:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Wærf.* (1): 302.10 = 365 A[1].
iecan [y-], *increase:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Az.* (1): 37.
nacian, *make naked:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Wærf.* (1): 287.3 = 348 B[4].
onfon, *receive:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Bede* (1): 232.5 = 175.32.
onsendan, *send:* U. (0). — I. (4): *Bede* (2): 16.21 = 0; 16.30 = 201.1. — *Greg.* (2): 429.15 = 354.3; 441.30 = 368.27.
ontendan, *kindle:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Laws* (1): 36, Ælfred, Intr., c. 27.
sellan, *give:* U. (0). — I. (5): *Bede* (2): 480.26, 27 = 357.9. — *Wærf.* (3): 309.2[a, b] = 372 D[1, 2]; 327.9 = 393 C[1].
sendan, *send:* U. (0). — I. (9): *Bede* (7): 108.23 = 89.5; 160.7 = 135.18; 260.12 = 205.3; 260.13 = 206.1; 272.25[a, b] = 213.9; 420.15 = 302.14. — *Chron.* (1): 55[t], 785 E. — *Bl. Hom.* (1): 137.25.
todrifan, *drive:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Ex.* 5.12.
ycan: see *iecan.*
ymbsellan, *surround:* U. (0). — I. (1): *Bl. Hom.* (1): 11.25.

B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

No clear example has been found.

XI. The Infinitive with Adjectives.

A. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

Normally the infinitive is inflected, but sporadically it is uninflected.

1. Uninflected.

fus, *ready, prepared* (2): *Gu.* (2): 1051; 1053.
gearo [-u], *ready* (3): *Bede* (1): 56.21 = 43.21. — *Ælf. Hom.* (2): I. 534[b 2]; II. 130[t 2].
wierðe [-u-, -y-], *worthy* (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 138.353[b].
wurðe, wyrðe: see *wierðe.*

2. Inflected.

æmetig, *at leisure, free* (1): *Greg.* (1): 191.24 = 144.2.
æðele, *excellent, valuable* (1): *Læce.* (1): 89.18.
ana, *only one* (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 182.225.
andrysnlic, *terrible* (1): *Bl. Hom.* (1): 33.5.
arwyrðlic, *venerable* (1): *Bede* (1): 144.17[a] = 117.29[a].
bealdra, *bolder* (1): *Greg.* (1): 361.14 = 280.6.
behydigest, *most solicitous* (1): *Bede* (1): 466.26 = 332.4.
betere, *better* (4): *Greg.* (3): 457.7 = 388.21; 459.9[a, b] = 392.7, 8. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (1): 14.16.

betst, *best* (3): *Wulf.* (1): 49.21 (or predicative with *beon*?). — *Læce.* (2): 5.33 (?); 44.29.
biterre [— and **grimre**], *bitter* (and *distasteful*) (1): Minor Prose (1): *Alex.* (1): 189[a].
deaflic [**deflic**], *suitable* (1): *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *De V. T.* 7. 41.
deflic: see *deaflic.*
deop, *deep, profound* (2): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 448[t 2]. — *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Pref. to Gen.* 23.3.
digle, *mysterious* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 188[t 2].
earfeð(e): see *earfoð(e).*
earfoð(e) [**earfeð(e)**], *difficult* (9): *Boeth.* (4): 81.3[a, b] = 0; 92.24 = 79.77; 147.23 = 0. — *Chron.* (2): 218[m], 1086 E[a]; 222[m], 1086 E[f]. — *Bened.* (1): 138.27 = 0. — *Ælf. Hom.* (2): I. 188[t 1]; II. 542[b].
earfoðest, *most difficult* (1): *Boeth.* (1): 127.3 = 107.6.
earfoðlic, *difficult* (1): *Chron.* (1): 186[b], 1056 C.
eatolice, *terribly* (1): *Bede* (1): 240.21 = 191.29 (or predicative with *beon*?).
eaðe: see *ieðe.*
eaðelic: see *ieðelic.*
egeful, *terrible* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 182[b 2].
egeslic, *terrible* (1): *Chr.* (1): 919[a].
eðe: see *ieðe.*
fæger, *fair, beautiful* (3): *Oros.* (2): 32.14[a] = 0; 74.13 = 75.11. — *Bl. Hom.* (1): 113.22.
feald [**god** and —], *suitable* (?) (2): *Læce.* (2): 87.15, 16.
feorr, *far* (1): *And.* (1): 424.
freora, *freer* (2): *Greg.* (1): 131.16 = 92.22[b]. — *Solil.* (1): 36.11.
from, *energetic* (2): *Bede* (2): 410.4[a, 5a] = 296.28.
frymful, *beneficial* (1): *Læce.* (1): 146.28.
fus, *ready, eager* (1): *Beow.* (1): 1805.
gearo: see *gearu.*
gearu [-o], *ready* (34): *Bede* (2): 60.29 = 47.6; 98.4 = 80.28. — *Boeth.* (1): 107.32 = 93.69. — *Greg.* (6): 45.9 = 22.28; 173.5, 8[1, 2] = 126.24, 26; 203.12 = 152.10; 423.28 = 346.21. — *Solil.* (1): 11.11. — *Pr. Ps.* (1): 7.13. — *Chron.* (1): 139[b], 1009 E[c]. — *Laws* (1): 166, V Æthelstan, Prol., 1. — *Wærf.* (1): 80.27 = 205 C[2]. — *Ælf. Hom.* (8): I. 128[m], 128[b], 190[t 2], 406[b], 534[b 2]; II. 32[t], 122[t], 130[t]. — *Ælf. L. S.* (7): 228.144; XXIII B. 468; XXV. 113[a, b], 605; XXXVI. 171; XXXVII. 110. — *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Num.* 15.40. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II* (1): 15.104 = 210.90. — *L.* (1): 22.33. — *Dan.* (1): 129. — *And.* (1): 73.
gecoplic, *fit, suitable* (1): *Wærf.* (1): 49.9 = 184 A.
gecweme, *agreeable* (1): *Wulf.* (1): 280.5[a].
gedyrstig, *daring, audacious* (1): *Pr. Gu.* (1): XX. 73.
gehendast, *most convenient* (1): *Oros.* (1): 116.7 = 117.2.
gehyð, *convenient* (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXIII B. 783.
gemyndig, *mindful* (1): *Pr. Ps.* (1): 9.12 = 9.13.
geornful(l) [**giorn-**], *eager, desirous* (3): *Boeth.* (1): 51.9 = 50.14. — *Greg.* (2): 281.5[b] = 212.9[a]; 381.19 = 296.21.
geornost, *most eager* (1): *Laws* (1): 280, I Cnut, c. 2, § 1[b].
geris(e)ne, *suitable* (1): *Bede* (1): 274.7 = 213.24.
gesom, *agreed* (1): *Rid.* (1): 88.29.
getrewe: see *getriewe.*
getriewe [-trewe], *true, safe* (1): *Boeth.* (1): 16.13[a] = 25.36.
geðancol, *thankful* (1): *Ps.* (1): 50.7 (Cot.).
gewuna, *accustomed* (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXIII B. 614 (?).
gifre, *eager* (2): *Boeth.* (2): 50.24[a, b] = 50.8.
giornfull: see *geornfull.*
glæd, *bright, clear* (1): *Boeth.* (1): 14.14 = 23.12.
glæshlut(t)or, *clear as glass* (1): *Boeth.* (1): 14.13 = 23.8.
god, *good* (7): *Bened.* (1): 127.7[a] = 194.13. — *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Gen.* 3.6. — *Læce.* (5): 29.21; 32.36; 34.10; 74.26; 88.3.
grimlic [— and **egeslic**], *terrible* (1): *Chr.* (1): 919[b].
grimre [**bittere** and —], *distasteful* (1): Minor Prose (1): *Alex.* (1): 189[b].
hal, *whole* (1): *Solil.* (1): 28.1.
halwende, *beneficial* (1): *Bede* (1): 214.24 = 166.16.
hræd [— and **geornfull**], *quick, ready* (2): *Greg.* (1): 281.5[a] = 212.9. — *Wulf.* (1): 148.2[b].
hræð, *quick* (1): *Pr. Ps.* (1): 13.6 = 13.3.

iebe [eaðe, eðe, yðe], *easy* (3): *Boeth.* (2): 16.13^{b} = 25.38; 92.27 = 79.79. — *Beow.* (1): 2416.
iebelic, *easy* (3): *Greg.* (1): 419.10 = 340.22. — *Wærf.* (2): 27.8, 9 = 165 C^{9}.
iebre, *easier* (6): *Greg.* (3): 239.10, 11 = 180.21; 277.25 = 210.10. — *Oros.* (3): 80.11, 12$^{a, b}$ = 81.8$^{a, b}$.
læne, *fleeting, deceptive* (1): *Wulf.* (1): 189.4.
læt, *slow* (2): *Greg.* (1): 281.6 = 212.9^{b}. — *L.* (1): 24.25.
lang [-o-], *long, tedious* (3): *Mart.* (1): 130.11. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 302^{m}. — *Wulf.* (1): 298.22.
langsum [-o-], *long, tedious* (6): *Ælf. Hom.* (3): II. 170$^{b\ 1, 2}$, 536^{b}. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 98.139. — *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *De V. T.* 10.4. — *A. S. Hom. & L. S. I* (1): 7.243.
latheort, *slow of heart* (1): Ælfric's Minor Prose: *Napier's Ad. to Th.* (1): 102.34^{t}.
leof, *dear* (2): *Bede* (2): 450.3$^{a, b}$ = 322.8, 9.
leofost, *dearest* (3): *Bl. Hom.* (3): 55.18; 111.26$^{a, b}$.
leofra, *dearer* (3): *Oros.* (2): 286.8$^{a, b}$ = 287.8$^{a, b}$. — *Bl. Hom.* (1): 195.8.
leoht, *light, easy* (1): *Greg.* (1): 23.13 = 2.3.
leohtest, *most light, most active* (1): *Wids.* (1): 72.
licwierðe [-u-], *pleasing, acceptable* (1): *Wulf.* (1): 280.5^{b}.
licwurðe: see *licwierðe*.
listhendig, *skillful* (1): *Gifts of Men* (1): 96.
liðe, *pleasant* (1): *Chr.* (1): 914.
long, **longsum**: see *lang, langsum*.
lustbære, *pleasant, desirous* (3): *Boeth.* (1): 50.10 = 50.1. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 130^{m}. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 96.117.
lustbærre, *more pleasant* (1): *Greg.* (1): 303.9 = 0.
lustfull, *desirous* (1): *Oros.* (1): 100.27 = 0.
lustfullic, *pleasant* (1): *Wærf.* (1): 129.7 = B. 158 D^{2}.
lustlic, *pleasant* (1): *Oros.* (1): 120.9.
lustlicre, *more pleasant* (1): *Bened.* (1): 3.3 = 6.7.
lustsumlic [— and fæger], *pleasant* (1): *Oros.* (1): 32.14^{b} = 0.
lytel, *little, insignificant* (2): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 140^{b}. — *Doomsday* (1): 9.
mære, *glorious, famous* (1): *Dan.* (1): 321.
manigfeald [menig-, monig-], *manifold* (2): *Oros.* (1): 102.23 = 0. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 448$^{t\ 1}$.
manigfealdlicor, *more manifoldly* (1): Minor Prose (1): *Alex.* (1): 66 (?).
menigfeald: see *manigfeald*.
micel, *wonderful* (2): *Oros.* (1): 82.3 = 81.24. — *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *De N. T.* 14.10.
mi(e)htig, *mighty, powerful* (2): *Greg.* (2): 91.15$^{a, b}$ = 62.3, 4.
monigfeald: see *manigfeald*.
myrige, *pleasant* (2): *Ælf. Hom.* (2): I. 182^{t}, 182$^{b\ 1}$.
nedðearf: see *niedðearf*.
nedðearflic: see *niedðearflic*.
niedbeðearfost, *most necessary* (1): *Greg.* (1): 7.7 = 0.
niedðearf [ned-], *necessary, useful* (2): *Greg.* (1): 283.25 = 214.20 (or subjective?). — *Laws* (1): 44, Ælfred, Intr., c. 49, § 5 (or subjective?).
niedðearflic [ned-], *necessary, useful* (1): *Bl. Hom.* (1): 225.26.
nyt(t)wierðe [-y-], *useful* (2): *Greg.* (2): 275.14, 15 = 208.8.
nyt(t)wierðlic [-y-], *useful* (1): *Greg.* (1): 255.12 = 192.23.
nyt(t)wyrðe: see *nyt(t)wierðe*.
nyt(t)wyrðlic: see *nyt(t)wierðlic*.
onderslic, *terrible* (1): *Bede* (1): 144.18^{b} = 117.29.
open, *open* (1): *Greg.* (1): 431.9 = 356.2^{b}.
rædlicost, *most advisable* (1): *Wulf.* (1): 305.34 (or predicative with *beon*?).
reow [reoh], *fierce* (1): *Gu.* (1): 377.
rihtlic, *just, proper* (1): *Wærf.* (1): 345.14 = 421 A^{1}.
scearp, *sharp, eager* (2): *Bede* (2): 410.4^{b}, 5^{b} = 296.28.
scir, *white* (1): *J.* (1): 4.35.
selast, **selest**: see *selost*.

selost [-ost, -est], *best* (3): *Laws* (2): 280, I Cnut, c. 2, § 1[a]; 470, Griõ, Inscr., c. 1. —*Beow.* (1): 257.
selra, *better* (2): *Beow.* (1): 1851. — *S. & S.* (1): 406.
soõlic, *true* (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): 182.226.
strang [-o-], *strong, given to* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 322[m].
strengra, *stronger* (1): *Wulf.* (1): 207.24.
swete, *sweet, pleasing* (2): *Boeth.* (1): 51.5 = 0. — *Bl. Hom.* (1): 59.10.
swift [— and hræd], *swift* (2): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 296[b 2]. — *Wulf.* (1): 148.2[a].
til, *excellent* (1): *Gifts of Men* (1): 76.
toweard, *toward, coming* (6): *Bede* (2): 224.21 = 172.5; 270.2 = 211.7. — *Bl. Hom.* (2): 81.35, 36. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 190[b]. — Minor Prose (1): *Chad* (1): 188.
trum, *firm, strong* (1): *Greg.* (1): 249.6 = 188.10.
õearlic, *painful* (1): *And.* (1): 1136.
õurhwæccendlic, *very vigilant* (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXIII B. 44.
unaberendlicre, *more intolerable* (1): *Greg.* (1): 343.11 = 264.23.
uneaõe: see *unieõe*.
ungearu [-o], *unready* (1): *Greg.* (1): 173.11 = 126.28.
ungeliefedlic, *incredible* (1): *Oros.* (1): 74.14 = 75.12.
ungewunelic, *unusual* (1): *Wærf.* (1): 17.28 = 160 B[2].
unieõe [-eaõe], *difficult* (5): *Greg.* (3): 385.10, 11 = 300.16; 409.20 = 230.1. — *Bl. Hom.* (1): 59.15. — Minor Prose (1): *Alex.* (1): 30.
unrihtlic, *wrong, wicked* (1): *Wærf.* (1): 209.23[a] = 256 C[1].
unscende, *honorable* (1): *Wald. B.* (1): 21.
unwerodre, *more unsweet* (1): *Greg.* (1): 447.19 = 376.9.
unwynsum, *unwinsome* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 184[t].
weorõe: see *wierõe*.
wered [-od], *sweet* (1): *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Ex.* 15.25[b].
wierõe [-u-, -y-], *worthy* (8): *Bl. Hom.* (1): 163.14. — *Ælf. L. S.* (3): 138.353[a]; 180.196; XXVII. 119. — *Mat.* (1): 3.11. — Minor Prose (2): *Alex.* (2): 22, 75. — *Gen.* (1): 622.
wierõelic [-y-], *worthy* (1): *Wærf.* (1): 230.16 = 281 B.
wierõost [-u-, -y-], *most worthy* (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXXI. 637.
winsum, **winsumre**: see *wyn-*.
wrætlic, *wonderful* (1): *Rid.* (1): 40.25.
wundorlic, *wonderful* (1): *Wulf.* (1): 15.14.
wurõe, **wurõelic**, **wurõost**: see *wierõ-*.
wynsum [-i-], *winsome, pleasant* (6): *Bede* (1): 346.4 = 260.32. — *Solil.* (1): 51.11. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXX. 315. — *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Gen.* 2.9. — Minor Prose (1): *Neot* (1): 48. — *Met.* (1): 21.19.
wynsumre [-i-], *more winsome, more pleasant* (1): *Boeth.* (1): 52.8 = 0.
wyrõe, **wyrõelic**: see *wierõ-*.
yõe: see *ieõe*.

B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

Given in full in Chapter XI, p. 158.

XII. Other Adverbial Uses of the Infinitive.

Given in full in Chapter XII, pp. 160 ff.

XIII. The Infinitive with Nouns.

A. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

Normally the infinitive is inflected, but sporadically it is uninflected.

1. Uninflected.

anweald, *power, authority* (1): *L.* (1): 12.5.
myne, *purpose, intention* (1): *And.* (1): 1538.
neod, *need* (2): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 372[m 2]. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): *Napier's Ad. to Th.* (1): 102.35[b 4].

2. Inflected.

æcer, *field* (1): Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): *Ælf. Gr.* (1): 135.7 (or final?).
æht, *property, possessions* (3): *Bened.* (2): 55.7 = 102.19; 104.8 = 170.17. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 580[t 2].
æðelo, *habit* (?) (1): *Boeth.* (1): 91.20 = 79.56.
andefn: see *ondefn.*
andgit, *intellect* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 344[m].
anweald, *authority, power* (12): *Ælf. Hom.* (4): XXXIV. 322[a, b], 328, 329. — *Gosp.* (8): *Mat.* (1): 9.6; — *Mk.* (3): 2.10; 3.15[a, b]; — *L.* (2): 5.24; 10.19; — *J.* (2): 10.18[a, b].
að, *oath* (1): *Chron.* (1): 242[m], 1109 E.
auht, *aught* (1): *Boeth.* (1): 13.14 = 22.35.
bewerenis, *prohibition* (2): *Bede* (2): 86.13[a, b] = 60.12[a, b].
bieldo [-y-], *boldness* (2): *Wærf.* (2): 243.10 = 296 A[2]; 295.3 = 356 C[2].
bisn [bysn], *example* (1): *Greg.* (1): 307.9 = 234.27.
bliss, *bliss, joy* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 368[m].
cild, *child* (1): Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): *Ælf. Gr.* (1): 151.13 (or final?)
cyre, *free-will* (2): *Ælf. Hom.* (2): I. 212[t]; II. 490[m].
drenc, *drink* (1): *Læce.* (1): 42.1.
drinc [-y-], *drink* (1): *And.* (1): 23.
dryne: see *drinc.*
eage, *eye* (1): *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Deut.* 29.4[a].
ealdorlicnes, *authority* (1): *Bede* (1): 206.13 = 161.22.
eare, *ear* (8): *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Deut.* 29.4[b]. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): *Napier's Ad. to Th.* (1): 102.32[t]. — *Gosp.* (6): *Mat.* (3): 11.15; 13.9, 43. — *Mk.* (2): 4.9, 23; — *L.* (1): 14.35.
fæc, *period of time, interval* (1): *Bede* (1): 190.26 = 153.10.
fela, *much* (4): *Greg.* (1): 237.13 = 178.28. — *J.* (3): 8.26[a, b]; 16.12.
feoh, *money* (2): *Oros.* (1): 116.15 = 0. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 178[t].
fierst [-y-], *period of time* (3): *Wærf.* (1): 53.16 = 185 D. — *Wulf.* (2): 202.1[a, b].
flæsc, *flesh* (1): *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Ex.* 16.12.
forebeacen, *portent* (1): *Mk.* (1): 13.22.
fultum, *assistance* (2): *Solil.* (2): 39.15, 16.
fyrst: see *fierst.*
gast, *spirit* (1): *Greg.* (1): 263.21 = 198.22.
gealdor, *charm* (1): *Læce.* (1): 93.22.
gelærednes, *learning, skill* (1): *Bede* (1): 362.28[b] = 269.32.
genog [onoh], *sufficiency* (1): *Chron.* (1): 264[m], 1137[a].
genoh: see *genog.*
geornfulnes, *eagerness, desire* (2): *Bede* (2): 206.11, 12 = 161.21[a, b].
gesceadwisnes, *intelligence, discernment* (1): *Solil.* (1): 16.21.
getydnes, *skill* (1): *Bede* (1): 362.28 = 269.32.
geðoht, *thought, intention* (1): *Greg.* (1): 71.22 = 46.1.
geðyld, *patience* (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXX. 135.
geweald, *power, authority* (3): *Pr. Gu.* (1): V. 227. — *Gen.* (1): 281. — *Ermahnung* (1): 36.
giefu, *gift* (1): *Bede* (1): 20.22 = 258.25.
giemen [gimen], *care* (1): *Bede* (1): 482.1 = 357.13.
gierd [-y-], *rod* (2): *Greg.* (1): 127.1 = 88.14. — *Wærf.* (1): 20.27 = 161 C.
gimen: see *giemen.*
gleawnes, *intelligence* (2): *Bede* (2): 206.10[a, b] = 161.20[a, b].
God, *God* (2): *Ælf. L. S.* (2): 478.93; XXXV. 117.
god, *good* (1): *Boeth.* (1): 94.24 = 80.107.
gryre, *horror* (1): *Bede* (1): 364.5 = 270.6.
gyrd: see *gierd.*

heafod [hæfed], *head* (2): *Chron.* 258, 1127 E[1, 6].
hiht: see *hyht.*
hlaf, *bread* (1): *Mk.* (1): 3.20.
hol, *hole, cave* (1): *Boeth.* (1): 19.8 = 29.14.
hwæt, *anything* (1): *Oros.* (1): 142.25 = 0.
hyht [-i-], *hope* (1): *Bede* (1): 366.32 = 272.7[b].
ielden [ylden], *respite* (1): *Bede* (1): 190.30[a] = 153.13.
intinga, *cause, sake* (5): *Bede* (3): 82.19, 21[a] = 58.22, 24; 120.7 = 97.21. — *Mart.* (2): 86.5[a, b].
lac, *offering* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 584[m].
læcedom, *remedy, medicine* (3): *Læce.* (3): 4.41; 48.8; 52.37.
lacnung, *medicine* (2): *Læce.* (2): 49.32; 70.33.
lamb [-o-], *lamb* (1): *Bl. Hom.* (1): 23.26.
land [-o-], *land* (1): *Boeth.* (1): 40.21 = 0.
lar, *instruction, advice* (1): *Bede* (1): 160.8 = 135.21.
leaf, *leave, permission* (16): *Boeth.* (1): 120.28 = 102.76. — *Greg.* (1): 397.26 = 316.8. — *Chron.* (1): 260[f], 1129 E. — *Laws* (1): 483, Wilhelm I, c. 1[b]. — *Wærf.* (7): 10.2 = 0; 31.27 = 169 B[1]; 198.17 = 241 C[4]; 200.4 = 244 C[1]; 211.20[a, b] = 257 C[2]; 295.4 = 356 C[2]. — *Bened.* (1): 21.17 = 42.17. — *Ælf. L. S.* (3): XXIII B. 442; XXXI. 384, 385. — *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Gen.* 42.34.
leafnes [-nis], *leave, permission* (7): *Bede* (7): 62.8[a, b], 9 = 47.16, 17[a, b]; 112.6 = 91.9; 256.10[b] = 203.15; 400.8[a, b] = 289.29.
lomb: see *lamb.*
lond: see *land.*
lufu, *love* (1): *Bede* (1): 82.25 = 58.29.
lustbærnes, *desire* (1): *Boeth.* (1): 74.7 = 66.16.
mæg(e)n, *power, strength* (4): *Greg.* (1): 399.21 = 318.6. — *Oros.* (1): 174.12 = 0. — *Wærf.* (2): 178.4 = B. 204 C[2]; 244.1 = 297 C[1].
mæl, *time* (1): *Beow.* (1): 316.
mæð, *power* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 456[b].
mare [more], *more* (1): *Chron.* (1): 264[b], 1137 E[b].
meaht: see *miht.*
mete, *meat* (1): *J.* (1): 4.32.
miht [meaht], *might, power* (11): *Bede* (1): 146.22 = 120.20. — *Pr. Gu.* (1): V. 212. — *Ælf. Hom.* (6): I. 322[b], 560[f 1, 2], 588[b 1, 2]; II. 244[f]. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXXI. 484. — *J.* (2): 19.10[a, b].
mildheortnes, *mercy* (1): *Bede* (1): 206.14 = 161.24.
mod, *mind, mood* (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXIII B. 540.
more: see *mare.*
naht, *naught* (1): *Wærf.* (1): 290.21 = 352 A[3].
nanwiht [-wuht], *naught* (3): *Boeth.* (1): 24.16 = 33.49. — *Solil.* (2): 12.12; 46.6.
nanwuht: see *nanwiht.*
neod, *need* (9): *Laws* (1): 256, VI Æthelred, c. 42. — *Bened.* (2): 94.16 = 0; 127.7[b] = 194.14. — *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 372[m 1]. — *Ælf. L. S.* (3): XXIII B. 70, 220, 222. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): *Napier's Ad. to Th.* (1): 102.35[b 2]. — *Mat.* (1): 14.16[a].
niedðearf [nyd-], *need* (1): *Pr. Ps.* (1): 15.1.
nydðearf: see *niedðearf.*
ondefn [an-], *capacity* (1): *Greg.* (1): 95.1 = 64.12.
onlegen, *medicinal application* (2): *Læce.* (2): 54.36[b], 37.
onoh: see *genoh.*
pening, *penny* (1): *Greg.* (1): 327.18 = 252.22.
petraoleum, *petroleum* (2): *Læce.* (2): 52.30, 31.
riht, *right, reason* (1): *Bede* (1): 470.11 = 345.31.
rod, *rood* (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXVII. 118.
rum, *space of time, opportunity* (1): *Jud.* (1): 314.
son, *musical sound* (1): *Bede* (1): 258.24 = 205.11.
sorg, *sorrow, grief* (1): *Greg.* (1): 431.8 = 356.2[a].
sped, *opportunity* (1): *Bede* (1): 256.10[a] = 203.15.
spell, *matter, material* (1): *Oros.* (1): 94.16 = 95.16.
spræc, *speech* (1): *Greg.* (1): 197.2 = 146.24.

stæl, *stick* (1): *Greg.* (1): 127.2 = 88.15.
stow, *place* (7): *Bede* (4): 230.17 = 175.13; 238.24 = 180.1; 436.7, 8 = 310.23[a, b]. — *Wærf.* (2): 226.23 = 277 A; 231.14 = 281 C. — Minor Prose (1): *Neot* (1): 43.
strengð(o), *strength* (1): *Wærf.* (1): 214.28 = 261 C.
tid, *time* (10): *Bede* (4): 262.21[a, b] = 207.19, 20; 366.31 = 272.7[a]; 444.7 = 314.23. — *Mart.* (1): 42.13. — *Ælf. L. S.* (3): XXIII B. 403[b], 478[a, b]. — Minor Prose (2): *Chad* (2): 71, 72.
tima, *time* (9): *Ælf. Hom.* (7): I. 602[t 1, 4]; II. 340[t], 360[b 1, 2, 3, 4]. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (2): *Ælf. Gr.* (2): 135.3, 151.11.
tol, *tool* (1): *Boeth.* (1): 40.16 = 0.
ðæt, *which* (1): Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): *Napier's Ad. to Th.* (1): 102.40[b].
ðearf [ðerf], *need* (13): *Greg.* (1): 67.4[b] = 40.26. — *Solil.* (1): 14.17. — *Laws* (2): 68, Ælfred, c. 34; 256, VI Æthelred, c. 42, § 2. — *Wærf.* (1): 79.6 = 205 A. — *Bl. Hom.* (2): 63.5; 97.17. — *Wulf.* (5): 52.3[a, b]; 78.9; 179.19; 308.22. — *Gen.* (1): 279.
ðearfa, *poor man* (1): *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXXI. 924.
ðeaw, *custom* (3): *Bede* (2): 258.31 = 205.18; 472.27 = 347.18. — *Beow.* (1): 1941.
ðegnung [ðenung], *service, office* (3): *Bede* (3): 300.30 = 230.7[a]; 402.30[a, b] = 291.18[a, b].
ðenung: see *ðegnung*.
ðerf: see *ðearf*.
ðing, *thing* (11): *Ælf. Hom.* (3): I. 222[t]; II. 178[b], 500[b]. — *Ælf. L. S.* (1): XXX. 167. — *Ælf. Hept.* (1): *Num.* 11.6. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (3): *Ælf. Gr.* (2): 119.10[a, b]; *Napier's Ad. to Th.* (1): 101.316[b]. — *Gosp.* (3): *L.* (2): 7.40; 24.41; — *J.* (1): 4.11.
wegnest, *provisions for a journey* (1): *Wærf.* (1): 338.1[a] = 408 A[2].
wela, *wealth, riches* (1): *And.* (1): 1160.
wen, *hope, expectation* (1): *Wærf.* (1): 114.1 = B. 144 C[2].
weorc, *work* (1): *Bede* (1): 418.27 = 301.23.
willa, *will, desire* (4): *Boeth.* (2): 107.13 = 0; 111.7 = 0. — *Ælf. Hom.* (2): I. 394[t], 580[t].
wundor, *wonder* (1): *Bede* (1): 164.27 = 138.9.
yldan: see *ieldan*.

B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

No example has been found.

Note. — *Less Regular Examples of the Inflected Infinitive Modifying a Noun* are given in Chapter XIII, pp. 180–181.

Note: Doubtful Passages. — Owing to the corruptness of the text, it is impossible for me to classify the infinitive in the following: — (1) in the prose: *Pr. Ps.* 26.5[a, b]: *geseon* and *ongitan; Chron.* 128[b], 995 F[b, c]: *sprytan* and *wyrcan; Bl. Hom.* 179.31: *sellan* [*syllan*]; — (2) in the poetry: *Gen.* 2038: *feallan* (or should be *feollon*, as Grein gives it?); *Ju.* 289: *sellan* [*syllan*]; *Chr.* 24: *sprecan; And.* 1025: *neosan.* — The context shows that we probably have a finite verb, not an infinitive, in the following passages: *Solil.* 14.2: *gecyrran; Lacc.* 128.7: *teon* (should be *teo*?); *Pr. Ps.* 16.14[b]: *healdan* (though it is possible that *healdan* may be an infinitive of purpose).

Appendix B.

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Appendix C.

ADDENDA.

Just as the preceding pages were about to go to press, two articles appeared that call for an additional note.

In the latest issue of *Englische Studien* (vol. XLVI, p. 8), Mr. Olaf Johnsen has the following note concerning the infinitive in Anglo-Saxon:

"In Anglo-Saxon I have come across one instance of the infinitive mark *to* being used elliptically, that is with the infinitive understood from the foregoing: *7* gif us hwa abylgð, ðonne beo we sona yrre, *7* willað ðæt gewrecan gif we magon, ðeah we beotiað *to*, 'though we threaten to' (*Blick.* 33)."

Possibly, as claimed by Mr. Johnsen, we have here an elliptical infinitive; if so, it stands alone in Anglo-Saxon literature so far as my observation goes. As the editor of the *Blickling Homilies*, Dr. Richard Morris, indicates, the text of the passage in question is defective. The earliest examples hitherto cited of the elliptical infinitive are centuries later: see Borst,[2] *l. c.*, pp. 413–418; Jespersen,[2] *l. c.*, § 211; and the *New English Dictionary*, as cited below. With Professor Toller, in his "Supplement" to Bosworth-Toller's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, *sub v. beotian*, I consider that *to* belongs to *beotiað*, not to an infinitive to be supplied from the preceding part of the sentence.

The second article is that on *to* in the most recently published fascicle of the *New English Dictionary* (*Ti-Tombac*), "B. *To* before an infinitive (or gerund)," pp. 87–90.

Concerning the differentiation of the uninflected infinitive and the inflected infinitive and the subsequent confusion of the two forms, there is given this interesting statement, under "History," p. 87:

"Originally, *to* before the dative infinitive had the same meaning and use as before ordinary substantives, i. e. it expressed motion, direction, inclination, purpose, etc., toward the act or condition expressed by the infinitive; as in 'he came *to help* (i. e. to the help of) his friends,' 'he went *to stay* there,' 'he prepared *to depart* (i. e. for departure),' 'it tends *to melt*,' 'he proceeded *to speak*,' 'looking *to receive* something.' But in process of time this obvious sense of the preposition became weakened and generalized, so that *to* became at last the ordinary link expressing any prepositional relation in which an infinitive stands to a preceding verb, adjective, or substantive. Sometimes the relation was so vague as scarcely to differ from that between a transitive verb and its object. This was especially so when the verb was construed both transitively and intransitively. There were several verbs in Old English in this position, such as *onginnan* to begin, *ondrædan* to dread, *bebeodan* to bid, order, *bewerian* to forbid, prevent, *geliefan* to believe, *ðencean* to think, etc.; these are found construed either with the simple (accusative) infinitive, or with *to* and the dative infinitive. There was also a special idiomatic use (sense 13*a*) of the infinitive with *to* as an indirect nominative, where logically the simple infinitive might be expected. From these beginnings, the use of the infinitive with *to* in place of the simple infinitive, helped by the phonetic decay and loss of the inflexions and the need of some mark to distinguish the infinitive from other parts of the verb and from the cognate substantive, increased rapidly during the late Old English and early Middle English period, with the result that in modern English the infinitive with *to* is the ordinary form, the simple infinitive surviving only in particular connexions, where it is very intimately connected with the preceding verb (see below). To a certain extent, therefore, i. e. when the infinitive is the subject or direct object, *to* has lost all its meaning, and become a mere 'sign' or prefix of the infinitive. But after an intransitive verb, or the passive voice, *to* is still the preposition. In appearance, there is no difference between the infinitive in 'he proceeds *to speak*,' and 'he chooses *to speak*;' but in the latter *to speak* is the equivalent of *speaking* or *speech*, and in the former of *to speaking* or *to speech*. In form, *to speak* is the descendant of Old English *to specanne;* in sense, it is partly the representative of this and largely of Old English *specan*."

With this general statement should be compared the section on "the Differentiation of the Two Infinitives" in my several chapters, especially that in Chapter II on the Objective Infinitive, pp. 60 ff.

I am glad to see that the explanation of the differentiation of the two infinitives as subject is substantially identical with that offered by me, pp. 20 ff. above. Under 13*a*, p. 89, "with infinitive as subject, or as object with complement, introduced by *it* or an impersonal verb, in quotations *c.* 1205 without *it*," we read:

"Here the infinitive apparently originally depended on the adjective or substantive in the *it* clause (as in sense 9), or on the impersonal verb, and was therefore put in the form with *to*. Thus *hwilum ða leohtan scylda bioð beteran to forlætenne*, 'sometimes the slight sins are better to let alone' (K. Ælf. *Pa. C.* 457), might also be expressed *hwilum hit is betre ða leohtan scylda to forlætenne* (cf. *hit is god godne to herianne*, quotation *c.* 890), 'sometimes it is better to let alone the slight sins;' and this easily passed into the later 'to let alone the slight sins is sometimes better,' where the infinitive clause becomes the subject as in *b*."

Under 14, p. 89, "with infinitive as direct object of a transitive verb," we read:

"Old English normally had the simple infinitive, like modern German. . . . Many of the verbs which in Old English took the simple infinitive could also be followed by *to* with the dative infinitive. But the auxiliary verbs (see *History* above) have always been followed by the simple infinitive; e. g. *Hwæt can ic sprecan?* 'What can I speak?' *We magon gehyran*, 'We may hear.'"

But see Chapter IV, pp. 79 ff., where I have tried to demonstrate that the inflected infinitive is occasionally found with auxiliary verbs in Anglo-Saxon.

In 15*a*, p. 89, two examples are given of the inflected infinitive as the predicate of a subject accusative in Anglo-Saxon, one after *tæcan*, 'teach,' and another after *læran*, 'teach.' See section IV, p. 338, below.

As to the syntactical uses of the infinitive, the classification, given at the end of "History," p. 87, tallies in the main with that given by me:

"The infinitive with *to* may be dependent on an adjective, a substantive, or a verb, or it may stand independently. To an adjective it stands in adverbial relation: *ready to fight* = ready for fighting; to a substantive it stands in adjectival or sometimes adverbial relation: *a day to remember* = a memorable day; to a verb it may stand in an adverbial or substantival relation: *to proceed to work* = to proceed to working; *to like to work* = to like working."

It is clear that, in the large, these groups correspond respectively to the adverbial, the adjectival, and the substantival uses as given in my "Introduction," pp. 2 ff. Later, on p. 89, the *Dictionary* gives a fourth use, "with infinitive equivalent to a finite verb or clause," which in part corresponds to my predicative (or more verbal) use of the infinitive.

But several noteworthy differences appear when we come to the delimitation of the several groups. Under "I. With infinitive in adverbial relation," the differences are fewer and less significant than under the remaining three groups. The subdivisions given under I in the *Dictionary* are as follows:—

"* Indicating purpose or intention," in which we have the inflected infinitive occasionally modifying a noun, though regularly modifying a verb or an adjective. Here, too, the *Dictionary* puts the "absolute or independent construction, usually introductory or parenthetic," of which the earliest example given is *c.* 1305, from *St. Kenelm*, 266: "& to telle hit wiðoute rym ðuse wordes rigt hit were." See Chapter XII, pp. 169 ff., where I have given several examples of the absolute use of the infinitive in Anglo-Saxon.

"** Indicating objectivity," in which the inflected infinitive is "dependent on various verbs, chiefly transitive, passive, or reflexive, with weakened sense of purpose," on various adjectives, and on various abstract substantives (as nouns of action).

"*** Indicating appointment or destination," in which the infinitive is dependent on verb, adjective, or substantive. No example is given from Anglo-Saxon, the earliest in the *Dictionary* dating from 1380.

"**** Indicating result or consequence," especially after *so, such, enough, too.* No example is given from Anglo-Saxon;[1] but see Chapter XII, pp. 162 ff. above, where numerous examples are given of the consecutive infinitive in Anglo-Saxon.

"***** Indicating occasion or condition," which corresponds to my infinitive of cause and my infinitive of specification: see Chapters XII and XI, pp. 160 f. and 149 ff. The *Dictionary's* earliest example of the causal infinitive is from the fourteenth century (*The Seven Sages* and Chaucer). Under this heading, the *Dictionary* includes, also, the conditional use of the infinitive, of which, however, no example has been found in Anglo-Saxon by the author of the article on *to* or by myself: see p. 171 above.

Clearly the chief difference between the classification of the *Dictionary* and of the present monograph, in group I, arises from the inclusion by the former of certain infinitives modifying substantives, concerning which this explanation is offered on p. 88 (1*c*): "The adverbial use may be explained as qualifying the adjective 'intended, adapted' before *to*." While not denying the permissibility, perhaps even the desirability, of this subdivision, I am inclined to believe that, in some of the Anglo-Saxon examples quoted, the infinitive is adjectival rather than adverbial in use.

But, under "II. With infinitive in adjectival relation" (pp. 88–89), the *Dictionary* includes not only the infinitive immediately modifying a noun, as in *Greg.* 127.1, 2 (gif ðær ðonne sie *gierd* mid *to ðreageanne*, sie ðær eac *stæf* mid *to wreðianne*), but also the infinitive used "as predicate after the verb *to be*" and "expressing duty, obligation, or necessity," as in *Chron.* 215,[4] 1083 E (ða munecas . . . nyston hwet heom *to donne wære*). As was stated on p. 5 above, the infinitive of necessity is by most scholars[2] put under the predicative (or more verbal) use; nor does the *Dictionary* seem to me to justify its departure here from the general custom. The subdivisions of group II, as given by the *Dictionary*, are:—

"a. Expressing intention or appointment (cf. I, 6), and hence simple futurity (thus equivalent to a future participle)," as in *Greg.* 127.1, 2 above. See, too, Chapter XIII, pp. 173 ff., above.

"b. Expressing duty, obligation, or necessity," as in *Chron.* 215,[4] 1083 E above.

"c. Expressing possibility or potential action," of which the following is given as an example in Anglo-Saxon:—*Ælf. Hept.: Gen.* 28.20: Gif Drihten . . . sylð me *hlaf to etenne* and *reaf to werigenne.*

"d. Expressing quality or character," of which no example is given from Anglo-Saxon, the earliest in the *Dictionary* belonging to the fifteenth century.

"12. With infinitive equivalent to a relative clause with indicative; chiefly

[1] The earliest example in the *Dictionary* is from 1300 (*A Sermun*).

[2] Mr. Onions, however, *l. c.*, § 169, puts this infinitive under the adverbial use.

after *first, last,* or the like (in this case = *in* with gerund): as *the first to come* = 'the first in coming,' 'the first who comes *or* came.'" The earliest example given is from Coverdale (1535): *2 Sam.* 19.11: "Why wyl ye be the last to fetch the kynge agayne unto his house?"

Under "III. With infinitive in substantival relation," the *Dictionary* gives two larger subdivisions: —

"13*a*. With infinitive as subject, or as object with complement, introduced by *it* or an impersonal verb; in quotations *c.* 1205 without *it:*" see the paragraph on the differentiation of the two infinitives as subject, in the present note.

"*b*. With infinitive as direct subject or predicate, or in apposition with a substantive or pronoun, or after *than:* often replaceable by the gerund or verbal substantive in *-ing.*" Of this use no example is given from Anglo-Saxon, but see Chapter I, pp. 7 ff., and Chapter III, pp. 73 ff., above, where examples are given from Anglo-Saxon.

"14*a*. With infinitive as direct object of a transitive verb," of which examples are unnecessary here. See the paragraph on the differentiation of the two infinitives as object, in the present note, and Chapter II, pp. 28 ff., above. The *Dictionary* puts here, allowably, the infinitive with auxiliary verbs, while I have put this under the predicative use: see p. 79 above.

"*b*. Rarely as object of another preposition, instead of the verbal substantive or gerund. (Probably imitating French use.)" No example is given from Anglo-Saxon; nor have I found any clear example. But see Chapter III, p. 78, above.

Under "IV. With infinitive equivalent to a finite verb or clause," we have these subdivisions in the *Dictionary:* —

"15. With infinitive as complement to a substantive or pronoun, forming a compound object or substantive phrase, corresponding to the 'accusative and infinitive' construction in Latin and Greek."

The *Dictionary* states that the prepositional infinitive is found in this construction (*a*) "after verbs of commanding, teaching, desiring, causing, allowing, or the like; equivalent to a *that*-clause with the substantive or pronoun governing a verb in the subjunctive;" also "after the passive of such verbs, the substantive or pronoun then becoming the subject;" (*b*) "after verbs of saying, thinking, knowing, perceiving, or the like; equivalent to a *that*-clause with verb in the indicative;" also "after the passive of such verbs, and after intransitive verbs of like meaning, as *seem, happen,* etc." The *Dictionary* gives only two examples from Anglo-Saxon, one after *læran,* 'teach,' and one after *tæcan,* 'teach.' But see Chapter VIII, pp. 118–119, above, where these and other examples are given. The *Dictionary* states, also, that more commonly, after each of these groups of verbs, the simple infinitive occurs in this construction in Anglo-Saxon.

"16. With infinitive after a dependent interrogative or relative; equivalent to a clause with *may, should,* etc. (Sometimes with ellipsis of *whether* before *or* in an alternative dependent question.)"

No example is given from Anglo-Saxon, but the following is given from Chaucer's *Man of Law's Tale,* 358: "She hath no wight to whom to make hir mone."

"17. In absolute or independent construction, with subject expressed (in nominative) or omitted: in exclamations expressing astonishment, indignation, sorrow, or (after *O* or other interjections) longing."

Again, no example is given from Anglo-Saxon, but compare my comment on *Oros.* 45.15–16, p. 169 above. The earliest example given by the *Dictionary* is dated 1450, and is from the *Coventry Mysteries*, viii. 77: "I to bere a childe that xal bere alle mannys blyss . . . ho mythe have joys more?"

"18. With infinitive immediately following the subject, in vivid narrative, equivalent to a past tense indicative; almost always with *go* and verbs of like meaning."

No example is given from Anglo-Saxon, but the following is from Layamon's *Brut*, 21655: "Ah Arður com sone mid selere strengðe, And Scottes to fleonne feor of ðan ærde." See my note concerning supposed examples of the historical infinitive in Anglo-Saxon, p. 6, above.

As implicitly stated already, I should put under group IV the infinitive with auxiliary verbs and the infinitive of necessity with *beon* (*wesan*), although the *Dictionary* puts the former under the substantival (objective) use and the latter under the adjectival use.

Besides these four chief groups, the *Dictionary* has another group, "V. Peculiar constructions," subdivided as follows: —

"19. *To* was formerly often used with the second of two infinitives when the first was without it, especially after an auxiliary, with words intervening between the infinitives. (See also note *s. v. than*, conj.[1])"

The earliest example given is from Layamon's *Brut*, 1220: "Swa he gon slomnen & ðer æfter to slepen." For a somewhat similar phenomenon in Anglo-Saxon, see pp. 77 and 147 above.

"20. Occasionally an adverb or adverbial phrase (formerly sometimes an object or predicate) is inserted between *to* and the infinitive, forming the construction now usually (but loosely) called 'split infinitive.' (See Onions, *Advanced English Syntax*, 177.)"

The earliest example given is from the *Cursor Mundi*, 8318 (Cott. & Fairf.): "To temple make he sal be best." See p. 148 above, where I have given a brief note on this construction in Anglo-Saxon.

"21. Used absolutely at the end of a clause, with ellipsis of the infinitive, which is to be supplied from the preceding clause. *Rare* before 19th century; now a frequent colloquialism."

The earliest example given is from the fourteenth-century *Minor Poems from Vernon Manuscript*, xxxiii. 74: "Ðe soules of synners, . . . ðer to take and resseyue so As ðei on eorðe deserueden to." See, at the beginning of the present note, the quotation from Mr. Olaf Johnsen and my comment thereon.

"22. Instead of the dative infinitive, the gerund in *-ing* was sometimes used after *to:* probably originating in a phonetic confusion of *-en* and *-in(g)*, but later perhaps with the notion of a future action (cf. 11*a*); as *to coming* = 'to come,' or 'coming:' see also *come*, *v.*, 32 *β* (after c). Obsolete."

The earliest example given is from Wyclif, *Num.* 32.7: "Thei doren not passe into the place that the Lord is to gyuynge to hem."

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UNIV. [illegible]
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THE

INFINITIVE IN ANGLO-SAXON

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